The Chapter on the Mundane Path (*Laukikamārga*) in the *Śrāvakabhūmi*

A Trilingual Edition (Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese), Annotated Translation, and Introductory Study

Florin Deleanu

Volume I

Introductory Study,
Sanskrit Diplomatic Edition,
Sanskrit Critical Edition

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This book has been prepared as a camera-ready draft on my computer. Several technical problems have led to the disabling of the spellchecking and autocorrection programmes. This has resulted in a number of mistakes which have unfortunately gone unnoticed. I sincerely apologise and provide below a list of the major errors which I have detected so far. As far as typos such as 'practioner' for 'practitioner', 'diferent' for 'different', etc. are concerned, I shall beg the indulgence and patience of my readers. Furthermore, if necessary, I shall be very glad to send a list containing all errors, minor ones included, to anyone who e-mails me to florindeleanu@yahoo.co.jp or writes to the postal address of the International Institute of Buddhist Studies, Tokyo. And needless to say, I shall be profoundly grateful to receive any comments and criticism concerning the book in general.

ADDENDA

(Index) p. 663, l. 15: The following page number should be added to 'Tāranātha': 248.

CORRIGENDA

p. 19, l. 45 (n. 12): ciculating → circulating
p. 22, l. 3: are also used → is also used
p. 27, l. 8: relation with → relation to
p. 34, l. 32 (n. 1): having been → have been
p. 36, l. 31 (n. 18): exant → extant
p. 36, ll. 40-41 (n. 18): is are *kośasthāna*s → is the *kośasthāna*
p. 44, l. 6: is different → are different
p. 44, l. 6: and I enumerate → I enumerate
p. 45, l. 46: independed → independent
p. 51, l. 11: seires → series
p. 51, l. 27: are not given → are given
p. 51, l. 43: et all. → et al.
p. 53, l. 28: by the dGe-'dun → by dGe-'dun
p. 55, l. 22: slant → slanting
p. 59, l. 24: our a text → our text
p. 63, l. 19 (n. 1): commorated → commemorated
p. 77, l. 45: one manuscripts → one manuscript
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p. 80, l. 28: schematical → schematic
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p. 104, l. 47 (n. 118): A a report → A report
p. 112, l. 29: relevations → revelations
p. 112, l. 36: desist → desist from
p. 118, l. 38: the the Liao Canon → the Liao Canon
p. 119, l. 16: the the presence → the presence
p. 129, l. 8: numer → number
p. 132, l. 4: the text has has → the text has
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p. 137, l. 25 (n. 36): the the major → the major
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p. 144, l. 20, (n. 108): It is was → It was
p. 150, l. 33: In a passage → In passage
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p. 153, l. 31: provisio → proviso
p. 157, l. 5: section 3.28.4. → subchapter 3.28.4.
p. 158, l. 27: absorbtions → absorptions
p. 159, l. 2: the the rest → the rest
p. 160, l. 32: Insead → Instead
p. 166, l. 21: signelessness → signlessness
p. 168, l. 28: attidude → attitude
p. 168, l. 28 and passim below: inclusivistic → inclusivist
p. 170, l. 40: condioned factors → conditioned factors
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p. 174, l. 22: define the constitute → constitute
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p. 182, l. 29: transational → transitional
p. 183, l. 8: thoughy → though
p. 183, l. 26: cross-reference → cross-references
p. 185, l. 7: Section 3.16.2. → Subchapter 3.16.2.
p. 187, l. 6: dates → date of
p. 190, l. 26: p. LXXXIV → pp. LXXXIV-LXXXV
p. 190, l. 28: fourished → flourished
p. 192, l. 12: palced → placed
p. 193, l. 24: between 410 to 430 → between 410 and 430
p. 195, l. 15: higly → highly
p. 201, l. 22 (n. 3): chapters, sections, → chapters, subchapters, sections
p. 201, l. 22 (n. 3): as the same as → are the same as
p. 202, l. 17 (n. 11): textual layers → textual layer
p. 203, l. 28 (n. 19): see this a → see this as a
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p. 210, l. 30 (n. 41): one one would → one would
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p. 216, l. 32 (n. 88): temporarirly → temporarily
p. 218, l. 10 (n. 101): an seminal → a seminal
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p. 220, l. 39 (n. 118): non-exisiting → non-existing

p. 223, l. 38 (n. 140): to the to the totatlity → to the totality
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p. 248, l. 13: to a very a succinct → to a very succinct
p. 248, l. 26: have been undertaken → has been undertaken
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p. 249, l. 23: upon all five → upon all the five
p. 268, l. 7 (n. 27): only problems → only problem
p. 268, l. 16 (n. 27): In my poinion → In my opinion
p. 271, l. 1 (n. 44): website of → website of the
p. 277, l. 43 (n. 122) and passim below: binome → bimorphemic lexeme
p. 281, l. 27: reads the same → read the same
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p. 567, l. 18 (n. 257): complete knowledge → thorough knowledge
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p. 583, l. 3 (n. 303): the the *Kośa* → the *Kośa*
p. 584, l. 10 (n. 305): faculites → faculties
p. 584, l. 41 (n. 309): practise → practice
p. 586, l. 1 (n. 313): a a hermeneutical → a hermeneutical
p. 604, l. 9; p. 616, l. 9: et all. → et al.
p. 623, l. 30: *Infinitive* → *Infinite*
p. 633, l. 42: no taiō → to taiō
p. 647, l. 26: are listed → is listed

*

NB: In a number of occurrences, the Tibetan letter འ appears romanised as *'a*. It should be corrected to *'a*.

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PREFACE

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The present book represents the revised version of my doctoral thesis submitted to the University of Hamburg in November 2004 and successfully defended on the 3rd of February 2005. The original title of the thesis was *A Trilingual Critical Edition (Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese), Annotated Translation, and Study of the Chapter on the Mundane Path (Laukikamārga) of the Śrāvakabhūmi*. The slight change in the wording of the title was suggested by Prof. Dr David Jackson and also agreed upon by Prof. Dr Lambert Schmithausen, my supervisor.

The thesis goes back (through a 'chain of dependently originating' events!) to an over-optimistic hope that it is possible and even necessary to explore the early history of meditation in China before taking up the full-scale study of Chan 禪 Buddhism. This is how I thought some eighteen years ago when I was embarking upon the study of Buddhism at the Postgraduate School of Literature of Waseda University in Tokyo. Hardly could I have realised then that what I was regarding as a preliminary glance at the proto-history of Chan would take me far away from the study of this school in particular and Chinese Buddhism in general.

In order to elucidate the way Buddhist meditation was understood (and sometimes misunderstood) in early mediaeval China, I had to become increasingly involved in the study of the so-called *chan jing* 禪經 or 'meditation scriptures', a group of texts translated or compiled from Indian or Central Asian sources and surviving only in Chinese translations. This para-canonical corpus formed the basis of the spiritual theory and practice of many generations of Chinese Buddhists from roughly the latter half of the 2nd century to the end of the 6th century. The 'meditation scriptures' also left their mark, if not strong, at least noticeable, on later East Asian Buddhism. For example, several of these texts appear to have served as a source of inspiration for the impressive meditation system of the Tiantai 天台 Patriarch Zhiyi 智顗 (538-597). Some of them were also used and re-interpreted in Chan/Zen Buddhism during the Song Dynasty (960-1279) in China and the Tokugawa Period (1603-1868) in Japan.

In order to help my understanding of the Indian origins of the 'meditation scriptures' and also prompted by a long-standing interest in Indian philosophy and culture, I also began the study of Sanskrit, Pali, and Classical Tibetan. It took me, however, a while to realise that, except for the linguistic medium, I was slowly turning my back to the spiritual history of the Middle Kingdom and gradually becoming immersed in the study of Indian Buddhism, albeit in Chinese garment. Although my studies at Waseda University are not directly connected with the present book, they no doubt have contributed in an essential way to my formation. I therefore avail myself of this opportunity and express my warmest thanks to all my teachers during those years, especially to Prof. Dr Fumimasa-Bunga Fukui, my supervisor at Waseda University, Prof. Dr Masayoshi Kobayashi, Prof. Dr Jikidō Takasaki, and last but not least, Prof. Dr Takashi Iwata. Actually, my growing interest in Indology brought me in close contact

with Prof. Iwata. I am particularly indebted to him not only for guiding my steps in the labyrinth of the Sanskrit language and Indian Buddhism but also for introducing me to Prof. Schmithausen's research and methodology. Actually, Prof. Iwata is one of the leading disciples of Prof. Schmithausen's, and his admiration for his *ācārya* was a frequent topic in his classes.

Even after the completion of my postgraduate studies at Waseda University, I still thought that I could continue my research into the 'meditation scriptures' with, so to speak, one leg in China and the other in India. Though the *chan jing* genre does require such a methodology (*'à cheval sur l'Inde et sur la Chine'*, as Demiéville says in his study on Saṅgharakṣa's *Yogācārabhūmi*, 1954, p. 342), I found myself more and more in need to work in the field of Indian Buddhist studies. I eventually concluded that it would be through toiling in Sanskrit-Tibetan-Chinese comparative philology and Indian Buddhism proper that I could gain direct knowledge of what an original Indian meditation text is like.

In February 1998, I finally decided to ask the guidance of Prof. Dr Schmithausen, who with his usual bodhisattva-like generosity accepted me as one of his disciples. We soon agreed that the best choice for my thesis would be the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, a text which was not only in tune with my philological and philosophical interests but had also represented the focus of Prof. Schmithausen's attention and work for many decades. His vast and profound knowledge of Buddhist philology and history of ideas combined with a professionally impeccable and humanly warm guidance has been the main pillar of my research throughout all these years. I can hardly find my words to express my sincerest gratitude for his kindness and energy which he has ungrudgingly devoted to guiding my steps through the 'jungle' of Buddhist studies as well as supervising, correcting, and making innumerable suggestions for improving my thesis. Prof. Schmithausen has generously continued to give me all his support even after the completion of the thesis. The illuminating comments in his evaluation (*Gutachten*) of my thesis as well as his kindly checking some fragments of my revisions have brought considerable improvements. Once again, I must stress that I cannot sufficiently thank him for his most generous supervision of my research.

I am also deeply grateful to Prof. Dr David Jackson, who together with Prof. Schmithausen acted as a principal examiner (*Gutachter*) of my thesis. His most kind evaluation and personal advice contained very valuable suggestions, especially concerning Tibetan Buddhism. My warmest thanks are also due to the other members of my examination committee: Prof. Dr Michael Friedrich, Privatdozent Dr Klaus-Dieter Mathes, and Dr Mudagamuwe Maithrimurthi. Their kind comments and the stimulating discussion at the time of my defence represented a great source of inspiration and intellectual delight.

I should also like to express my sincerest appreciation to all the teachers and staff of the Asien-Afrika-Institut in general and the Abteilung für Kultur und Geschichte Indiens und Tibets in particular. Over the years, I have had the chance to attend the classes and/or benefit from the advice and erudition of Professors Lambert Schmithausen, David Jackson, Michael Friedrich, and Harunaga Isaacson. Prof. Dr Isaacson also shared with me his incredibly rich knowledge of Indian philology and kindly discussed some palaeographical aspects related to the manuscript of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*.

Special thanks also go to my dear colleagues and friends at the University of Hamburg. Prof. Dr Michael Zimmermann kindly introduced me to many details of the German academia, and his expert counsel has been of great assistance especially in my early efforts to edit the Tibetan text. To Dr Mudagamuwe Maithrimurthi I am greatly indebted not only for his competent scholarly advice but also for his human warmth and care (so *maitrī*ful indeed!) which has been a great source of emotional support. Dr Martin Delhey's penetrating insights in Sanskrit philology have always been extremely helpful and stimulating, and I earnestly thank him for all his advice and our talks.

Mention should also be made here of the generous educational system of the University of Hamburg and the Hansestadt Hamburg as well as the anonymous but essential contribution of the German taxpayers. Without all this support, I could never have benefited from Prof. Schmithausen's guidance as well as from the pleasure of meeting and studying with such eminent scholars in an academically superb environment. And certainly I shall never forget the wonderful Library of the Institute as well as the kind assistance received from Dr Felix Erb, its Chief-Librarian.

I am sincerely grateful to Prof. Dr Minoru Hara, Director of the International Institute for Buddhist Studies, as well as to the editorial committee of the International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies for having kindly accepted this book to be published in the 'Studia Philologica Buddhica, Monograph Series'. I should also like to offer here my warmest thanks for the support received from my esteemed and distinguished colleagues: Professors Junkichi Imanishi, Kiyotaka Kimura, Minoru Hara, Shin'ichi Tsuda, Hubert Durt, and Toshinori Ochiai as well as Prof. Jirō Sugiyama, who retired in 2004. It has been a great honour to have the chance to work with such eminent scholars and benefit from their knowledge. I also remember with genuine gratitude the late Professors Akira Hirakawa and Shigeo Kamata.

I must also add that I am directly indebted to Prof. Imanishi's expertise in the field of Indian and Buddhist philosophy. He has kindly made very pertinent comments concerning a few fragments from my thesis which were presented during some of our common seminars. Being able to discuss with Prof. Hara has always been a great privilege, and I am deeply grateful for his kindly sharing with me his vast Indological erudition. I could also benefit from Prof. Kimura's profound knowledge of Huayan/Kegon philosophy, and this has helped me better understand the larger context in which some of the major figures of this school came to be interested in the *Yogācārabhūmi* (see Chapter Six, Part One).

My heartfelt thanks also go to Mr Shin'ichirō Hori and Ms Izawa Atsuko of the International Institute for Buddhist Studies. Mr Hori has been tireless in his kind help with many technical details required by the preparation of the camera-ready draft as well as with actually seeing the book through the press. Being able to work in the marvellous Library of the International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies has definitely been a great opportunity, and I am most thankful for the kind and competent assistance received from its staff, especially from Mr Yasuhiro Sueki, our Chief-Librarian and one of the world's leading experts in Buddhist bibliography, Mr Tatsuya Saitō, and Mr Michihiro Ikeda. My hearty thanks are also due the administrative staff of our college for the continued and generous support of my work.

I must also acknowledge my indebtedness to the following scholars who have lent their time and energy to help me with various details of this book. Dr Lore Sander has

kindly read the section on palaeography in Chapter Two, Part One, and made extremely valuable suggestions. Dr Sue Hamilton has kindly given me advice concerning the wording of the Table of Contents as well as the usage of some English words and phrases. My discussions with Dr Stefano Zacchetti about Chinese philology as well as the results of his outstanding research into the history of the Chinese Canon (see Chapter Four, Part One) have greatly stimulated my work. Furthermore, Dr Zacchetti was also kind enough to sacrfice his precious time and share with me some thoughts regarding a difficult passage in Chinese (see Part One, Chapter Six, note 28). Dr Hartmut Buescher took his time to read and kindly make detailed comments upon an earlier paper of mine related to the formation of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* (see Deleanu 2002). To all of them, once again, I must express my profound gratitude.

I am also greatly obliged to my colleagues as well as the staff and students of Kansai Medical University in Osaka where the first part of this thesis was written. Their kind understanding and support for my research is fondly and gratefully remembered.

Unfortunately, lack of time and space makes it impossible for me to give a detailed account of all the assistance, direct and indirect, received over the years. More details are found in quite a few notes throughout the book. I have actually mentioned any concrete instance of my indebtedness to the persons who have helped me in one way or another. With due apologies, here I shall have to limit myself to only listing their names alphabetically. It is thus my duty and pleasure to express my warm thanks to Ms Orna Almogi, Mr Susumu Aoki, Dr Achim Bayer, Dr Yoke Meei Choong, Mr Cindamuni, Prof. Dr Paul Harrison, Prof. Dr Oskar von Hinüber, Mr Kajiura Susumu, Prof. Dr Robert Kritzer, Ms Helen Lee, Mr Lee Sang-bum, Ms Lee Yeon-sook, Prof. Kaie Mochizuki, Ms Ayako Nakamura, Ven. Nyichang Rinpoche, Prof. Dr Nobuchiyo Odani, Dr Barbara Schuler, Ms Sabine Sharma, Dr Peter Skilling, the Śrāvakabhūmi Study Group of Taishō University, Dr Dorji Wangchuk, Prof. Dr Nobuyoshi Yamabe, Prof. Dr Makoto Yoshimura, Ven. Zhanding (Chen Lingxiang) as well as all my former and present students at the International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies.

I must also mention here with much gratitude the following libraries which directly or indirectly made it possible for me to use their materials: Georg-August-Universität Niedersächische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek in Göttingen; Kyoto University Library; Bibliothek der Facultät für Philosophie, Wissenschaftstheorie und Religionswissenshaft of Ludwig- Maxilimians-Universität München; Otani University Library, Kyoto; and Ryūkoku University Library, Kyoto.

Last but not least, on a more personal note, I should also like to thank from the bottom of my heart to my wife and son as well as to my wife's parents for their continued and affectionate support without which this book would have never been completed. And going farther along the chain of 'dependent origination', I must express my deepest gratitude to my late parents to whose memory this book is dedicated.

In spite of all the help which I have received, I fear that mistakes and shortcomings do remain. Needless to say that I alone am responsible for all of them, and I sincerely aplogise for any unsatisfatoriness (*duḥkha*!) created by such imperfections. An act of writing usually stems from free will, but it can easily evolve into the author's enslavement to his or her own text. Luckily or not, this has also happened to me, and in the process of writing (and sometimes being written by...) my book, I have simply lost control of its size. I could not stop piling page after page, note after note, line after line,

and eventually, the length of the book has become discouragingly... Indian or, more precisely, *Yogārabhūmi*-esque. I am myself rather sceptical about the necessity and value of all the information which I have gathered. But in the end, as the deadline was looming more and more ominously, I had to face the inexorable karma of lack of time. And although my colleagues at the International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies have been more than patient in waiting for the submission of my draft, things cannot be postponed ad infinitum. It may sound as a comfortable excuse (and probably it is...), but given the chance to write the book again, I would do it with more conciseness and, I would hope, more refinement. Stylistically, quite a few parts of this book need further polishing, and it is with much regret that I had to limit myself to a minimum of revisions. Want of time would unfortunately make any further attempts to achieve a better style impossible. Hoping that at least the most basic requirements of intelligibility have been met, I have to resign myself to the karmic imperatives of the deadline and leave the style as it is (*yathābhūtam*!).

A heavy toll on my time as well as on the space available in this book was taken by my long and detailed notes. In the Introduction to Part One, I explain why I consider them important or, at least, acceptable. I believe that many philologists (especially the 'hard-core' ones!) and historians will agree with the theoretical necessity of annotations, but this does not mean that my own attempt in this respect is fully satisfactory. In spite of my best intentions, some of my notes may be incomplete or irrelevant, others superfluously detailed. Regarding the latter possibility, I do confess that a clear proclivity (*anuśaya*!) for loquaciousness may have often landed me into (tediously?) prolonged discussions. In the end, it will be the reader who will judge whether all these details have been necessary or represent a mere symptom of 'notomania'.... Should this be the case, I must sincerely apologise for the undue strain and loss of time inflicted upon him or her. And certainly my apologies are also due to the innocent trees unnecessarily sacrificed to satisfy my appetite (*tṛṣṇā*!) for long and tortuous elaborations (*prapañca*!) in the name of academic research....

Tokyo
23 March 2006

श्रावकभूमि:　　　聲聞地　　　ཉན་ཐོས་ཀྱི་ས་

****

Part One

INTRODUCTORY STUDY

****

Introduction

The *Śrāvakabhūmi* (Tibetan, *Nyan thos kyi sa*; Chinese, *Shengwen di* 聲聞地) or *The Disciples' Level* constitutes Book XIII of the *Yogācārabhūmi* (Tibetan, *rNal 'byor spyod pa'i sa*; Chinese, *Yuqie shi di lun* 瑜伽師地論),[1] the vast encyclopaedic *Summa Ascetica* of the Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda School which is attributed to Maitreya by the Chinese tradition and to Asaṅga by Tibetan sources.[2] Although Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda is one of India's major Mahāyāna philosophical schools, the *Śrāvakabhūmi* is a treatise dedicated to the exposition of the spiritual cultivation practised by the followers of the conservative path of Śrāvakayāna (sometimes pejoratively also called Hīnayāna or 'Lesser Vehicle').[3] The nature of its discourse is multiple: presentation of the complex edifice of the spiritual progression from its first steps to the attainment of Awakening, detailed meditation manual, philosophical treatise on a variety of related topics, Abhidharmic taxonomy of doctrines and human psychology relevant to the spiritual praxis, etc. In spite of its incorporation into a basic scripture of the Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda, the *Śrāvakabhūmi* is written from or, at least, reflects a Śrāvakayānika doctrinal standpoint and is not conceived as a stage or part of the bodhisattva's path.[4]

The importance of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* in the history of Buddhist spirituality and philosophy is undeniable. The text reflects a great and unique synthesis of centuries of meditation practice and theory as transmitted in a Northern Buddhist tradition which appears to have been mainly associated with the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda School and was probably also influenced by (or at least displayed similarities with) the Sautrāntika/ Dārṣṭāntikas. Though it has a different textual formation and historical background, the *Śrāvakabhūmi* can be regarded as a counterpart of Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga*, which has remained to this day the most celebrated treatise of spiritual cultivation in the Theravāda tradition. As argued in Chapter Five, the *Śrāvakabhūmi* belongs to the earliest stratum of the *Yogācārabhūmi* and represents a very important witness to the genesis and early history of the Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda School. Last but not least, though not one of the paramount scriptures whose study, practice, and worship led to the formation of schools and mass movements, the *Śrāvakabhūmi* continued for centuries to exert a noticeable influence on Buddhist meditators and philosophers throughout Asia. For instance, Tsong-kha-pa bLo-gros-grags-pa (1357-1419), one of the most famous and influential figures in Tibetan Buddhism, often refers to and quotes the *Śrāvakabhūmi* in his magnum opus, the *Lam rim chen mo*.[5]

The main purpose of my book is a critical trilingual edition (Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese) and annotated English translation of the Chapter on the Mundane Path (*Laukikamārga*) in Yogasthāna IV of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*.[6] The detailed notes which accompany the editions and translation will, I hope, facilitate the understanding of the text in its spiritual, philosophical, and cultural context. The introductory study deals with the main philological and historical aspects related to the *Śrāvakabhūmi* in particular and the *Yogācārabhūmi* in general. The discussions go beyond the Indian world and also touch upon the transmission and reception of the text in Tibet, China, Korea, and Japan. Closely linked to this, I have also included sketchy accounts of the history of the Tibetan *Tanjur* and the Chinese Canon.

The Sanskrit text of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* has been edited in its entirety by the Indian scholar Karunesha Shukla (1973), but his attempt is, unfortunately, fraught with numerous errors, editorial and/or typographical, which make the book quite often problematic and sometimes unusable. More about this will be said in Chapter Two below. Here it will suffice to note that with all due respect for Shukla's pioneering efforts, a new edition of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* is a strong desideratum. This has actually been undertaken by the Śrāvakabhūmi Study Group of Taishō University in Tokyo, but the edition has only reached the final parts of Yogasthāna II.[7] We still have no complete reliable edition and translation for the rest of the text, which actually contains the core of its spiritual path. Parts of it, especially from Yogasthāna IV, have been edited and translated by Alex Wayman (1961), Lambert Schmithausen ([1982] 1984), Hidenori Sakuma (1990), Mudagamuwe Maithrimurthi (1999), and Jong-nam Choi (2001). However, apart from Shukla's problem-fraught edition, the Chapter on the Mundane Path (*Laukikamārga*) has never been entirely edited and rendered into a modern language. The present book is the first attempt of this kind. Furthermore, at the risk of stepping over the bounds of modesty, I would dare to hope that I could also bring some improvements even for those passages edited by Wayman, Sakuma, and Choi. The last two contributions are no doubt based on the highest standards of philological excellence, and my edition and translation certainly does not supersede them. The improvements which could be brought are not due to the laxity of these two editors but rather determined by the fact that their works concentrated upon different subjects, for which the *Śrāvakabhūmi* had collateral or partial importance. By the very nature (*svabhāvenaiva*!) of my thesis, I had to rely on more sources and devote more time to the *Śrāvakabhūmi* itself. This, I hope, will prove to have refined some textual details.

In my edition, I have tried to pay almost equal attention to all the traditional witnesses which have survived, i.e., not only to the Sanskrit manuscript but also to the Tibetan and Chinese translations. Trilingual editions are not a rarity in Buddhist studies, but when edited or consulted, the Tibetan version(s) and (even more conspicuously) the Chinese rendering(s) are sometimes regarded as sources of secondary importance. This is a possible approach, but as far as my edition was concerned, I have treated the Tibetan and Chinese translations as if they were 'beloved kin' rather than 'poor relatives' of the Sanskrit original. Not only that they may represent essential witnesses, especially in a case like the *Śrāvakabhūmi* for which we only have only one surviving Sanskrit manuscript, but they also constitute important linguistic, spiritual, and philosophical documents in the context of their own cultures. Attempting to understand how the text was construed by its native Tibetan and Chinese readers has been to me

almost as important as the task of carefully restoring the original 'shapes' and 'colours' of the Sanskrit text of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*.

One obvious characteristic of my book (by no means unique in European, especially German Buddhist studies) is the length of its annotations, mainly of those accompanying the English translation. Understanding the full sense of a work, especially one of such spiritual depth and complexity as the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, presupposes far more than rendering the denotation of its words and sentences into the target-language.[8] This is, no doubt, a basic part of the translator's duty, and in this respect, I have endeavoured to be as faithful as possible to the original. Although I have tried to avoid the fallacy of the 'Buddhist Hybrid English' idiom, in its both lexical and syntactical varieties, I have not considered appropriate to add an unwarranted stylistic lustre to the translation. The Sanskrit text of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* is not a monument of literary splendour and philosophical clarity. Its wording must have been difficult even for traditional Buddhist readers, as often reflected in the Tibetan and Chinese renderings, both done by first-class scholars. I do not mean that its language and style were unnatural or unintelligible to the audience and readers to which the text was addressed, but most probably, it was not the kind of clarity and wording we would expect from, say, our school textbooks or newspaper articles.

As many other works belonging to its genre, the *Śrāvakabhūmi* is a highly specialised and technically dense text. I believe it would be misleading to bring unjustified embellishments and clarifications into a translation only to make it more palatable to modern tastes. My rendering has attempted to keep a balance between a basic degree of intelligibility and the peculiar style of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*. In an undertaking such as the translation of ancient philosophy and spirituality, balance remains, however, only an abstract ideal which can hardly be achieved and is much too often decided in accordance with one's own subjective criteria. I must confess that I have frequently hesitated as to what the right balance should be, and whenever in doubt, I have preferred to stay closer to the original (within, I hope, the limits of intelligibility) than to evolve my own wording of the text.

Another stylistic difficulty was the degree to which words and phrases of yore should be allowed into the English translation. I still have doubts as to whether my choice was appropriate or not, but in the end, it seemed to me that a plain, modern literary style would do more justice to the original. It is true that a rendering skilfully worded in an elegantly archaising language, like that of many of the early Pali Text Society translations, is possessed of great aesthetic value in itself and succeeds in evoking a nostalgic charm of days bygone. Needless to say that even if I had decided in favour of such a style, my linguistic background, so sadly distant from the Shakespearean *Āryāvarta*, as well as lack of literary talent would have precluded me from achieving anything which could be even remotely described as poetic beauty. However, even leaving aside my linguistically inauspicious Latino-Balkan background, doubts as to the wisdom of such a style do, methinks, remain.[9] The basic one is that a work like the *Śrāvakabhūmi* probably did not sound or look archaic to the Indian ears and eyes to which it was addressed. This, admittedly, is something not easy to ascertain. There is no way we can know for sure what was the linguistic background of the people listening to and reading the *Yogācārabhūmi*, and even less, what their linguistic emotions were. One thing, however, is fairly certain—rather than being an old thing of

the past supplanted by the various Middle Indo-Aryan idioms, still novel at that time, Sanskrit was *the* language of the spiritual, cultural, and social elites. Far from sounding archaic and outdated, it must have been rather felt as the most appropriate medium of conveying in an impeccable (*saṁskṛta*!) way the essence of reality and its newest interpretations. For the listeners and readers of the *Yogācārabhūmi*, the work, although expressing immutable truths, must have been the state of the art in the formulation of the spiritual path. Making the translation of the *Yogācārabhūmi* (as well as of the *śāstra* literature in general) sound archaic would evoke different feelings from those probably experienced by the traditional listeners and readers in India. The language was that of the elites, and was therefore elevated and subtle, but it was not outdated. The *Yogācārabhūmi* probably evoked, *mutatis mutandis*, linguistic feelings closer to our reading, say, Jung than Shakespeare.[10] Therefore choosing a modern literary style, in spite of its banality, seems more in tune with the milieu where the *Yogācārabhūmi* took shape and was transmitted.

It is well too known that no matter how hard a translator tries to be faithful to the meaning and style of a text, its full significance cannot be restored completely. Meaning is not an entity to be transposed in another linguistic medium but rather a complex process or a 'semiosis', to borrow Peirce's terminology.[11] For the author(s), compiler(s), and their immediate audiences and readers, such a process was presupposed to be largely, if not completely, shared. Full intelligibility of a text means a close approximation of this semiotic process. Different socio-cultural groups and ages, which no longer share the full semantic codes underlying the words and sentences, erode the intelligibility of the text until, in extreme cases, it is reduced to a mere 'pile' of sounds. Clarifying the original semiotic horizon of the text is as important as rendering the denotations of its words. While in its initial phases, this process is covert, i.e., forms a common code tacitly shared by both the creator(s) and receiver(s) of the text, in a different cultural paradigm, the semiosis must become overt. And this can be obtained only by unravelling the 'hidden knots' (*saṁdhinirmocana*!) of the process by means of annotations.

Ideally, annotations to ancient texts should be three-dimensional, i.e., they should cover all relevant cultural, doctrinal, and historical facets of a word, phrase, sentence, or passage. In reality, these facets frequently overlap, and many of the cultural and doctrinal facets actually represent the indistinguishably intertwined semiosis process underlying the common code shared by the text-creator(s) and text-receiver(s). The historical facet is more complex: although partially covering some of the areas of the first two dimensions, it also implies a trans-author perspective. For the modern student of a certain tradition, this dimension covers the origin and evolution of an idea or term (which can often be partially or wholly unknown to the text-creator(s), or at least perceived in a different vein) as well as, whenever possible and/or necessary, with later developments (commentarial elaborations, doctrinal re-interpretations, philosophical influence, etc.), which obviously are unknown to the author(s). By doing so, the historical dimension of the annotations will help not only to restore the original 'shapes' and 'colours' of the meaning, but also to place it in a larger context or, so to speak, in a properly illuminated 'hall' of a chronologically and thematically coherent 'museum of ideas'. Of course, we should not forget that meaning, especially its connotative level, does not exist in a pure isolation but is activated within a context of hierarchically

arranged units, from phrase and sentence to textemes, text, and ultimately, intertexuality.[12] In other words, meaning becomes fully functional at the intersection of the semantic plane with the syntactical level.

It goes without saying that not all my annotations are devoted to clarifications of cultural, doctrinal, and historical aspects. Especially, the footnotes to my editions register such details as codicological peculiarities of the manuscript or woodblock prints and, needless to say, all *variae lectiones*. In the footnotes to my Sanskrit critical edition, I also dicuss orthographic, lexical, or grammatical peculiarities of the original text and explain my reasons for emendation. This often implies a comparison with the Tibetan and Chinese translations, and points of divergence between these textual witnesses are noted in the footnotes to all the three critical editions. When such points are doctrinally relevant or too complex to be analysed in the limited space of a footnote, they are dealt with in the notes to the English translation.

Such a critical apparatus is much more detailed than, for example, in the case of classical Greek or Latin editions. The tradition of Buddhist philology is, however, still young when compared to classical philology, and our common awareness concerning the judgements and procedures implied by editing and translating may still show discrepancies. Last but least, the basic comparison pattern, Sanskrit-Tibetan-Chinese, often touching upon many other languages, too, may imply linguistic subtleties unknown to classical philology. Space- and time-consuming as they may be, detailed notes appeared to me the safest way to make my decisions clear for anyone wishing to think together about all textual details. And this was further required by the fact that I have also attempted to pay equal or near-equal attention to the Tibetan and Chinese translations *per se*.

This, to be, sure is not the only possible approach to editing and translating Buddhist texts, but I hope that such an exercise in overt restoration of the ancient semiosis codes and their later historical evolution is at least acceptable.[13]

NOTES

[1] The Tibetan and the Chinese translations were made on the basis of the Sanskrit original (see Chapters Three and Four below). I would call such renderings primary traditional translations and distinguish them from renderings into Classical Japanese (*kundoku* 訓讀 style), Mongolian, Manchu, Uighur, Tangut, etc. Generally speaking, the latter, which might be termed secondary traditional translations, were often made on the basis of either Chinese or Tibetan translations. Although very important for the philological and religious traditions of their cultures and occasionally helpful for the way the Chinese or Tibetan translations can or should be construed, they are not essential for the understanding of the Sanskrit original.

As far as I know, we only have two secondary traditional translations of the *Yogācārabhūmi*: one into Classical Japanese (*kundoku*), the other into Mongolian. A brief presentation of the most widely used editions of the former is found in Section III of Chapter Two below. The Mongolian Canon contains the entire translation of the *Yogācārabhūmi* (*Yogazari-yin γaǰar*), with each of its main parts as well as the *Śrāvakabhūmi* (*Širavag-un γaǰar*) and the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (*Bodhisaduva-yin γaǰar*) treated as distinct texts (see *Catalogue of Mongolian Ganjuur and Danjuur*, vol. II, pp. 1490-1491, nos. 4595-4602). The division and mode of treating the basic units of the text is most probably based upon the tradition of the

Tibetan Canon (see Appendix to Chapter Two below). According to the colophon of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* (reproduced in *Catalogue of Mongolian Ganjuur and Danjuur*, vol. I, p. 713), this Book of the *Yogācārabhūmi* was translated from Tibetan by Erdeni Bilig-tu, but no date is mentioned. Not all colophons to the *Yogācārabhūmi* state the language from which the Mongolian translation was made (e.g., the colophon to the No. 4595 *Yogazari-yin γaǰar*, in *Catalogue of Mongolian Ganjuur and Danjuur*, vol. I, pp. 712-713), but on the whole the entire text appears to have been rendered from the Tibetan. (I am most grateful to Mr Cindamuni who has kindly helped me to locate the text in the Mongolian Catalogue and also translated the Mongolian titles and colophons for me.) (For the history of the Mongolian Tanjur in general, see Heissig 1952.) I have often used and sometimes discussed the Japanese *kundoku* translation (see Critical edition of the Chinese Translation), but unfortunately, I do not read Mongolian and could not therefore collate this version with the Tibetan rendering.

The Manchu Canon does not contain the translation of the *Yogācārabhūmi* (see Walravens 1981; Zhuang 1991). (I am indebted to Mr Yasuhiro Sueki for his kindly directing my efforts to the relevant bibliographical sources for the Manchu Canon.) Neither is there any translation of the *Yogācārabhūmi* into Tangut amongst the texts edited by Grinstead (see Grinstead ed. 1971, Part 6, pp. 6-10). (It must be noted, however, that this does not represent the entire corpus of Tangut translations and texts—see Sueki 1998, 64-66; 1999, 14; 2000, 10-11; 2001, 13.) To the best of my knowledge, there is no translation (primary or secondary) of the *Yogācārabhūmi* into any other Central Asian language.

[2] The problem of the differences between the Chinese and Tibetan traditions concerning the authorship of the *Yogācārabhūmi* has been carefully examined by Suguro (1989, 94-125).

[3] In India, the *Yogācārabhūmi* was no doubt a basic scripture of the Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda School (see Suguro 1989, 8-15). The Tibetan doxographic treatises *Grub mtha' chen mo* by 'Jam-dbyang bzhad-pa'i-rdo-rje Ngag-dbang-brtson-'grus (1648-1722) and *Grub mtha'i rnam par bzhag pa gsal bar bshad pa thub bstan lhun po'i mdzes rgyan* by lCang-skya Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje (1717-1786) mention the *Yogācārabhūmi*, referred to by the title *Sa sde* (see Appendix to Chapter One below), as the representative text of the followers of the scriptures (**āgamānusārin*; *lung gi rjes 'brangs*), a branch of the Cittamātra (*Sems tsam*) School (see fragments edited in Hakamaya 1976, 21-22) (for a brief presentation of these two Tibetan works, see Hopkins 1996, 172-173). Tibetan doxographers often distinguish between this branch, whose proponents advocate the teachings of Asaṅga and Vasubandhu, and the followers of reasoning (**nyāyānusārin*; *rigs pa'i rjes 'brangs*), who rely mainly on the logico-epistemological systems of Dignāga and Dharmakīrti (see ibid., 174-176).

The Far Eastern Buddhist tradition speaks of 'the six sutras and eleven treatises' 六經十一論 which constitute the fundamental scriptural authority for the Faxiang/Hossō School 法相宗. The *Yogācārabhūmi* is listed as the first of these treatises (see Yokoyama 1976a, 74; Hakamaya 1982, 48; etc.), and the impressive number of commentaries dedicated to it in China, Korea, and Japan bears testimony to the influence of this work (see Chapter Six below).

[4] For the doctrinal affiliation of the ŚrBh and its relation with other Books of the YoBh, see Chapter Five.

[5] More details are found in Chapter Six.

[6] For the textual units of the ŚrBh, see Chapter One.

[7] More will be said about this edition in Chapter Two.

[8] The theory of translation has a long history which in the West starts with Cicero's exhortation not to render Greek into Latin *verbum pro verba* and in the East with, as far as I know, Daoan 道安 (312-385). The latter is a famous scholar-monk who played a major role in the process of acculturation of Buddhism in China. He also formulated principles for the translation of Buddhist scriptures into Chinese which were called 'the five [ways in which] the original

[meaning] is lost and the three [instances which should] not be changed' 五失本三不易.

Tons of ink and acres of forest have been sacrificed to the problem of what an ideal translation should be like, but mankind is still far from having achieved a consensus on the matter. George Steiner's *After Babel: Aspects of Language and Translation*, the modern classic on the theory of translation, gives a clear survey of the history and problems faced by this human enterprise (see especially his Chapter Four, The Claims of Theory, pp. 248-311). More relevant to Buddhist studies is the volume edited by Doboom Tulku (1995) which contains essays (of various approaches and quality) on the topic of Buddhist translations. Noteworthy is especially Seyfort Ruegg's contribution 'On Translating Tibetan Philosophical texts' (pp. 75-86). An enlarged and annotated version of the latter was published in 1992 (note 2 in this version also contains substantial bibliographical data 'on translation as art and science'). Seyfort Ruegg also makes pertinent comments on the theory of translation in his article 'On Translating the Buddhist Canon' (1974). I do not claim that the following lines in my Introduction will solve or bring an important contribution to the problem, but I feel that a sketch of my views on meaning and how this can be conveyed is necessary or, at least, acceptable.

[9] As noted in the Preface, Dr Sue Hamilton has kindly answered some of my doubts concerning the wording of the Table of Contents and some problems of English usage. Apart from this, however, lack of time has prevented me from asking a native speaker to check the language and style of the book. I must therefore apologise for any possible linguistic errors and stylistic clumsiness. I do, however, hope that basic desideratum of intelligibility has been achieved, but even this may have been compromised by my stubborn refusal to accept that academic writing (especially in humanities) should primarily consist of short and clear sentences. While clarity in expressing my views has remained a major concern, I see no harm in attempting to word these in long (at times, even baroque!) sentences in which metaphor and humour can go hand in hand with scientific precision. I leave it to the reader to decide whether this ideal has been matched by an acceptable linguistic performance.

[10] Of course, the name of the psychologist implies no similarity in content or style with the *Yogācārabhūmi*.

[11] One of Peirce's definitions of the term is: 'By semiosis I mean an action, an influence, which is, or involves, a cooperation of *three* subjects, such as a sign, its object and its interpretant, this tri-relative influence not being in anyway resolvable into actions between pairs' (cited after Eco 1979, 15).

[12] Time and space do not allow me to discuss the various meanings of the notion of 'texteme' in text ligusitics and semiotics. It will suffice to say that here I employ the term in the sense of a constitutive unit of a text larger than a sentence and smaller than the entire text. (Of course, there are also very short texts, like, for instance, epigraphical inscriptions, in which the text coincides with a texteme and even with a sentence.) In my usage here, a texteme refers to a passage which can be isolated from the surrounding text on account of its thematic coherence. Its size may vary from a few sentences to several paragraphs (though in a well-written work, especially one dealing with clearly structured matters, a texteme may often coincide with a paragraph). Typologically, there are several classes of textemes. One of them, especially important for the textual history of religious literature, is the 'pericope', a term which is frequently employed in Biblical studies and also by some Buddhist scholars (for the latter, see, e.g., Griffiths [1986] 1999, p. 153, n. 45; Griffiths 1983, 11-21). A pericope basically defines standard formulaic or descriptive textemes ciculating in a certain tradition, at least within a given period in the formation of a sacred corpus, as building blocks which can be borrowed and incorporated in many of its scriptures. An example directly relevant to our study is that of the standard descriptions of the eight meditative attainments in Buddhist literature.

[13] For technical details concerning the notes to the critical editions, see Editing Conventions.

CHAPTER ONE

Synoptic Presentation of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*

The synopis below presents the main chapters, sections, and subsections of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* also including, whenever necessary, brief citations and explanations.

Any type of summary presentation must necessarily navigate between the Scylla of thoroughness and the Charybdis of conciseness. It is hoped that my essay to put the very complex content of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* in a nutshell has succeeded in at least reaching the mimum standards of safe 'navigation'. I fear, however, that the attempt is not entirely free from, so to speak, 'unwholesome factors' (*akuśaladharmāḥ*!).[1] Firstly, it indulges in simplification, which means that many subsections have not been mentioned at all. For my present purpose, a detailed presentation would, however, have become too long. Secondly, some sections have been briefly summarised, others have received more attention. The synopsis of Yogasthāna IV in particular is more detailed because it contains the Chapter on the Mundane Path.[2] Thirdly, I have sometimes quoted passages of relatively minor importance in the general structure of the work (e.g., Section 2.4.) mainly because of their relevance for the text 'geology' (see Chapter Five below).

The *Śrāvakabhūmi* is a voluminous and intricate text. Even with a synopsis of manageable size, it is easy to lose sight of the basic path of spiritual cultivation which it describes and advocates. I hence believe that it will not be superfluous to give first a very brief account of this path. Needless to say, many important details and subltleties will have to be sacrificed for conciseness.[3]

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The spiritual cultivation expounded in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* begins with a preparatory phase and then branches into two different lines of progression: the mundane path (*laukikamārga*) and the supramundane path (*lokottaramārga*). There are some technical aspects which interconnect these two paths, but in principle, they do not presuppose each other. The yogi[4] practising the mundane path attains a series of ever deeper and more refined states of tranquillity, but these altered states of consciousness, to use a modern term, as well as the rebirth realms which they entail are temporary and cannot lead to the final Liberation. It is only the supramundane path which is conducive to Nirvana.

The preparatory practices basically consist of a set of five techniques, also known from canonical and other Buddhist sources. They are the meditations (1) on impurity (*aśubhā*), (2) on friendliness (*maitrī*), (3) on dependent origination (*idaṁpratyayatā-pratītyasamutpāda*), (4) the analysis of the elements (*dhātuprabheda*), and (5) the mindfulness of breathing (*ānāpānasmṛti*) (see Sections 3.7.2. and 3.26.2. below). The choice of a particular technique is determined by the fundamental proclivity which underlies the practioner's psyche. (1) Persons dominated by passion (*rāgacarita*) should contemplate the impure (*aśubhā*) in the form of either the repellent anatomical parts and physiological processes of the human body or the various stages in the decay of a corpse.

(2) If dominated by hatred (*dveṣacarita*),[5] the practioner should meditate on friendliness (*maitrī*), a feeling which should gradually be extended towards all sentient beings.[6] (3) The yogi dominated by bewilderment (*mohacarita*) should reflect upon the fact that all phenomena arise on the basis of a complex chain of causation which ultimately has neither doer nor experiencer (*niṣkārakavedakatva*; ŚrBh-Gr (15) 8, 6 = Sh 210, 7). (4) The beginner dominated by arrogance (*mānacarita*) should analyse the human being and comprehend that it consists of nothing more than six basic elements, to wit, earth (*pṛthvīdhātu*), water (*abdhātu*), fire (*tejodhātu*), wind (*vāyudhātu*), space (*ākāśadhātu*), and sentience or consciousness (*vijñāna*).[7] The mindfulness of breathing is the practice recommended for those who are dominated by restless thought (*vitarkacarita*).[8]

The ascetic must grasp and refine the characteristic (*nimitta*) of his meditative object until he purifies the mind (*cittaṁ viśodhayati*)[9] from the respective proclivity. The notion of *nimitta* '(essential) characteristic(s)' or 'mental image' of the meditative object is fundamental for the understanding of the yogic praxis and theory in the *Śrāvakabhūmi.*[10] Let us see how this works in the case of the meditation on impurity.[11] First, the yogi must go to a charnel-ground (*śmaśāna*) and carefully behold a decaying corpse or, when unfeasible, grasp its basic characteristics from a painting or representation made of wood (*citrakṛtād vā kāṣṭhaśmaśānakṛtād vā nimittam udgṛhāṇa*; Sh 416, 7). Having imprinted the image (*nimitta*) on his mind, the ascetic has no more need to observe the physical object as such and can start meditation proper. He must look for a quite place under a tree (*vṛkṣamūla*) or in a solitary abode (*śūnyāgara*) and bring his mind in a state of non-distraction and mindfulness (*cittāvikṣepe smṛtyupanibaddhaṁ kuru*) (Sh 416, 13). After dwelling a while in this state of concentration, undisturbed by inner and outer stimuli, the yogi will start visualising the image which he has grasped (Sh 416, 19-22). Obtaining a clear image of it is, however, not easy to achieve, and the ascetic has two ancillary methods to boost his performance. One is to alternate the practice proper with the visualisation of light (*ālokanimitta*) (Sh 421, 18-422, 9). This will eventually make the image of the decaying corpse appear brighter.[12] The second is to repeatedly wipe off imperfect images and replace them with ever better ones until a flawless mental representation is attained (Sh 421, 3-8).[13] The process is compared to the training of a painter's disciple (*citrakārāntevāsin*) who is given a model to copy. He first produces an imperfect replica, then wipes it off and tries again and again until his copy becomes faultless (Sh 437, 8-19). The meditative exercise does not stop here, and once a perfect image is obtained, the yogi imagines the whole world pervaded with corpses (Sh 420, 1-9). This makes him cogitate that in the course of the beginningless cycle of rebirths, he has assumed an even larger number of bodies and this will continue to increase for ever unless Liberation is attained (Sh 420, 9-421, 1). In this way, our ascetic achieves his basic aim of purifying his mind from passion for sensual pleasures, which is the very cause triggering this vividly imaged *saṁsāric* horror.

Once the purified conviction with regard to the meditative object arises (*pariśuddhaś cālambanādhimokṣaḥ pravartate*) (Sh 437, 12-13),[14] the yogi can choose between the mundane or the supramundane path. The former implies achieving the four absorptions (*dhyāna*), the four immaterial attainments (*ārūpyasamāpatti*), the two attainments without mental activity (*acittike samāpattī*), and the five supernatural

faculties (*abhijñā*). Technically, the eight meditative attainments, i.e., the *dhyāna*s and the *ārūpyasamāpatti*s, are obtained by means of the so-called seven contemplations (*sapta manaskārāḥ*). The same set of methods are also used for the supramundane path but in a different way. I shall omit here any further details since the mundane path is the subject of the chapter edited and translated in this book.[15]

The supramundane path represents a series of meditative steps which lead to the full realisation of the Four Noble Truths. Much attention is given to the insight into the Truth of Suffering (*duḥkhasatya*), which involves the contemplation of all conditioned things (*sarvasaṁskārāḥ*) under four aspects, viz., impermanence (*anityākāra*), suffering (*duḥkhākara*), emptiness (*śūnyākara*), and non-self (*anātmākara*) (see Subsection 3.29.1.1. below). But meditating upon conditioned things alone is not sufficient. The yogi succeeds in completely directing his mind towards Nirvana only when any notion of a permanent ego is eliminated. He does this by contemplating the mind itself and realising that it consists of nothing but a series of ever changing moments. The ascetic will thus gain direct insight into the fact that the mind, too, is impermanent, conducive to suffering, empty, and non-self (Sh 497, 3-499, 12).

Although the supramundane path does not require the practice of the eight meditative attainments and the two states without mental activity, the ascetic reaches now a form of deep tranquillity (*śamatha*) in which the mind seems to have no object any longer and thus cease to function altogether. This, however, should not to be confused with the actual realisation (*abhisamaya*) of the Four Noble Truths (Sh 499, 17-500, 5). The first true insight into them occurs after the emergence from this tranquillity. It is a non-conceptual (*nirvikalpa*) cognition based upon direct perception (*pratyakṣajñāna*) which effects the defintive cognition (*niścayajñāna*) of the Four Noble Truths (Sh 500, 6-17). The entire process of spiritual progression is actually explained through and matched to Abhidharmic categories, and this stage corresponds to the elimination of the defilements to be abandoned by the path of vision (*darśanaprahātavyāḥ kleśāḥ*), i.e., those defilements related to wrong views and doubts (see Section 3.29.3. below). The meditative effort continues and the supramundane insight is repeatedly applied until the defilements to be abandoned by the path of cultivation (*bhāvanāprahātavyāḥ kleśāḥ*), i.e., emotional proclivities, are completely eradicated (see Section 3.29.4). The final contemplatative act, the so-called diamond-like concentration (*vajropamaḥ samādhiḥ*), the *summum bonum* (*agraphala*) of the spiritual path brings the attainenment of the Arhatship (*arhattva*), the transcendence of all suffering and the final Liberation (see Section 3.29.7.).[16]

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From a compositional point of view, the *Śrāvakabhūmi* is divided into three *Bhūmi*s and four *Yogasthāna*s. The former is a term which is used in the *Yogācārabhūmi* with a double meaning, i.e., 'textual unit' and 'spiritual level'.[17] *Yogasthāna* similarly refers to textual unit and is employed as such not only in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* but also in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*. The use of two parallel textual units, having no mutual relation, shows that our work has a double-structured composition, a feature not uncommon in Indian literature.[18] The first two Bhūmis, which are relatively short, are included in Yogasthāna I. The last Bhūmi begins with the second half of Yogasthāna I and covers the rest of the text.

YOGASTHĀNA I (*Prathamaṁ yogāsthānam*)[19]
[Treating the preliminary stages and requisites of the path][20]

PART [ONE] ON LINEAGE
(*Gotrabhūmi; Rigs kyi sa;* 種姓地)

1.1. Definition of the lineage (Skt. *gotra;* Tib. *rigs*; Ch. 種姓) (ŚrBh-Gr 2, 17) 'What is a lineage? Answer: it is the factor which represents the seed (**bīja*) of a person stationed in a lineage.' (*de la rigs gang zhe na | smras pa | rigs la gnas pa'i gang zag gi sa bon gyi chos gang yin pa ste* | ŚrBh-Gr 2, 17-18).[21]

1.2. Establishment of the lineage (*gotravyavasthāna; rigs kyi rnam par gzhag pa;* 種姓安立)[22] (ŚrBh-Gr 4, 4). The main topics include:

1.2.1. dichotomy between the subtle (**sūkṣma; phra ba*; 細), i.e., non-manifested lineage/seed, and the coarse (**audārika; rags pa*; 麁), i.e., manifested lineage/ seed (ŚrBh-Gr 4, 4)

1.2.2. single or multiple nature of the continua (*rgyud gcig gam rgyud du ma;* 一多相續) of the lineage (ŚrBh-Gr 4, 11)

1.2.3. four causes for not attaining [i.e., obstructing the attainment of] *Parinirvāṇa* (*yongs su mya ngan las ma 'das pa'i rgyu bzhi;* 四因縁故不般涅槃) (ŚrBh-Gr 4, 22)

1.2.4. conditions [necessary for the attainment] of *Parinirvāṇa* (*yongs su mya ngan las 'da' ba'i rkyen rnams;* 涅槃法縁) (ŚrBh-Gr 8, 13)

1.2.4.1. main conditions (**pradhānapratyaya; rkyen gtso bo*; 勝縁), which include the True Teaching having been preached in the world and one's own correct reflection upon it (ŚrBh-Gr 8, 17).

1.2.4.2. minor conditions (**nihīnapratyaya; rkyen dman pa*; 劣縁), including twelve conditions, eight of which are found in the list of thirteen requisites detailed in 3.4. (ŚrBh-Gr 8, 20).

1.3. Characteristics (*liṅga*; *rtags*; 相) of the persons those stationed in the lineage (*gotrasthapudgala; rigs la gnas pa'i gang zag*; 住種姓補特伽羅), i.e., persons having the quality necessary for the attainment of *Parinirvāṇa* (**parinirvāṇadharmaka; yongs su mya ngan las 'da' ba'i chos can;* 般涅槃法者), and those lacking the quality necessary for the attainment of *Parinirvāṇa* (*aparinirvāṇadharmaka; yongs su mya ngan las 'da' ba'i chos can ma yin pa*; 不般涅槃法者) (ŚrBh-Gr 24, 2; Sh 16, 7)

1.4. Classification of the persons stationed in the lineage (*gotrasthapudgala; rigs la gnas pa'i gang zag*; 住種姓補特伽羅) (ŚrBh-Gr 28, 19; Sh 19, 7): twenty-three types of persons.

PART [TWO] ON ENTRY [INTO THE PATH]
(*Avatārabhūmi; 'Jug pa'i sa;* 趣入地)

2.1. Essence of the entry [into the path] (*avatārasvābhava*; *'jug pa rang bzhin*; 趣入自性) (ŚrBh-Gr 40, 6) *Avatāra* is defined as entry, proceeding, going into the path,

course, and accomplishment (*lam gang yin pa dang lam srang gang yin pa dang sgrub pa gang yin pa der zhugs pa dang yang dag par zhugs pa dang rab tu zhugs pa yin pas na | de'i phyir zhugs pa zhes bya ste |* ŚrBh-Gr 42, 2-4) leading to *Parinirvāṇa*.

2.2. Establishment of the entry [into the path] (*avatāravyavasthāna; 'jug pa rnam par gzhag pa;* 趣入安立) (ŚrBh-Gr 42, 6) *Avatāra* is explained as the preliminary stage of spiritual cultivation in which the practitioner 'for the first time acquires [faith], observes morality, grasps the teachings, develops generosity, and purifies [his] views' (*[dad pa] dang por thob par gyur cing tshul khrims yang dag par len pa dang thos pa 'dzin pa dang gtong ba spel ba dang lta ba sbyong bar byed pa gang yin pa ste | de ni zhugs pa zhes bya'o | |* (ŚrBh-Gr 42, 18-20). Persons are classified according to whether they have entered the path, are in course of ripening, or have achieved full maturity as well as on the basis of six general degrees of spiritual levels, from one having potentiality (*bhavya*) to one who has attained the culmination [of the path] (*niṣṭhāgata*).

2.3. Characteristics of the person who has entered [the path] (*avatīrṇasya pudgalasya liṅgāni*; *zhugs pa'i gang zag gi rtags rnams;* 已趣入者所有諸相) (ŚrBh-Gr 52, 14; Sh 28, 14): eight spiritual characteristics of such a person.

2.4. Persons having entered [the path] (*avatīrṇāḥ pudgalāḥ*; *zhugs pa'i gang zag;* 已得趣入補特伽羅) (ŚrBh-Gr 58, 5; Sh 32, 3) A brief passage listing four types of persons classified according to their degree of ripeness. The section concludes: 'And their division should be understood as above. The other persons, [i.e.,] those with weak faculties, etc. have been explained in the Part on Lineage. Their division should be known here, too, according to what is suitable in each case.' (*eṣāṁ ca pūrvavad vibhāgo veditavyaḥ || tadanye mṛdvindriyādayaḥ pudgalāḥ Gotrabhumau nirdiṣṭāḥ | teṣām ihāpi yathāyogaṁ vibhāgo veditavyaḥ ||*) (Sh 32, 5-8, which I follow here; ŚrBh-Gr 58, 8-10).

PART [THREE] ON DELIVERANCE
(*Naiṣkramyabhūmi; Nges par 'byung ba'i sa;* 出離地)

3.1. Definition of deliverance (ŚrBh-Gr 60, 1; Sh 33, 1). 'What is the Part on [or: Level of] Deliverance? Answer: It is the way to detachment by the mundane path, the way to detachment by the supramundane path, and the requisites [necessary] for these two' (*naiṣkramyabhūmiḥ katamā | āha| yac ca laukikena mārgeṇa vairāgyagamanam, yac ca lokottareṇa mārgeṇa vairāgyagamanam, yaś ca tayoḥ saṁbhāraḥ* ŚrBh-Gr 60, 1-3).

3.2. Definition of the mundane path (*laukika mārga; 'jig rten pa'i lam;* 世間道) (ŚrBh-Gr 60, 1; Sh 35, 7): it consists in the practice of the eight attainments (*samāpatti*).

3.3. Definition the supramundane path (*lokottara mārga; 'jig rten las 'das pa'i lam;* 出世道) (ŚrBh-Gr 60, 16; Sh 36, 2): it represents the contemplation of the Four Noble Truths and knowing them as they are in reality (*yathābhūtaṁ prajānāti*).

3.4. Requisites (*saṁbhāra; tshogs;* 資糧) (ŚrBh-Gr 62, 2; Sh 36, 11) A lengthy section, which occupies about two thirds of Yogasthāna I . It deals with the thirteen

requisites necessary for the two paths:

3.4.1. propitious conditions regarding oneself (*ātmasaṁpad; bdag gi 'byor pa;* 自圓滿) (ŚrBh-Gr 62, 8; Sh 37, 4)[23]

3.4.2. propitious conditions regarding others (*parasaṁpad; gzhan gyi 'byor pa;* 他圓滿) (ŚrBh-Gr 62, 8; Sh 37, 4)

3.4.3. wholesome aspiration for the Teaching (*kuśalo dharmacchandaḥ; dge ba'i chos la 'dun pa;* 善法欲) (ŚrBh-Gr 62, 8; Sh 37, 4)

3.4.4. restraint in morality (*śīlasaṁvara; tshul khrims kyi sdom pa;* 戒律儀) (ŚrBh-Gr 62, 11; Sh 37, 7)

3.4.5. restraint of senses (*indriyasaṁvara; dbang po sdom pa;* 根律儀) (ŚrBh-Gr 100, 1; Sh 63, 14)

3.4.6. moderation in food (*bhojane mātrajñatā; zas kyi tshod rig pa nyid*; 於食知量) (ŚrBh-Gr 116, 1; Sh 73, 19)

3.4.7. staying awake and meditating in the first and last watches of the night (*pūrvarātrāpararātraṁ jāgarikāyogasyānuyuktatā*; *nam gyi cha stod dang nam gyi cha smad la mi nyal bar sbyor ba'i rjes su brtson pa nyid;* 初夜後夜常勤修習覺寤瑜伽) (ŚrBh-Gr 150, 1; Sh 97, 16)

3.4.8. mindful [/discerning] conduct (*saṁprajānadvihāritā; shes bzhin du spyod pa nyid;* 正知而住) (ŚrBh-Gr 172, 1; Sh 111, 11)

3.4.9. qualities of the spiritual guide (*kalyāṇamitratā; dge ba'i bshes gnyen;* 善友性) (ŚrBh-Gr 212, 1)

3.4.10. listening to and reflecting upon the True Teaching (*saddharmaśravaṇa-cintanā; dam pa'i chos nyan pa dang sems pa;*聞思正法) (ŚrBh-Gr 226, 4; Sh 134, 6)

3.4.11. lack of obstructions (*anantarāya; bar chad med pa;* 無障) (ŚrBh-Gr 244, 2; Sh 144, 1)

3.4.12. generosity (*tyāga; gtang ba;* 捨) (ŚrBh-Gr 256, 4; Sh 149, 8)

3.4.13. [spiritual] adornments of the ascetic (*śramaṇālaṁkāra; dge sbyong gi rgyan;* 沙門莊嚴) (ŚrBh-Gr 268, 2; Sh 155, 1)

YOGASTHĀNA II (*Dvityaṁ yogāsthānam*)

[Discussing categories relevant to the spiritual path]

3.5. Classification of persons (*pudgala*; *gang zag*; 補特伽羅) (ŚrBh-Gr (13) 82, 3; Sh 169, 14): twenty-eight types of persons.

3.6. Establishment of [different types] of persons (*pudgalavyavasthāna; gang zag rnams gyi rnam par gzhag pa;* 補特伽羅建立)[24] (ŚrBh-Gr (13) 104, 10; Sh 184, 1): eleven criteria for classifying persons.

3.7. Meditative objects (*ālambana; dmigs pa;* 所縁) (ŚrBh-Gr (14) 28, 3; Sh 192, 21). Four categories:

3.7.1. universal meditative objects (*vyāpy ālambanam; khyab pa'i dmigs pa;* 遍滿所縁) (ŚrBh-Gr (14) 28, 8; Sh 193, 4).[25]

3.7.2. meditative objects for purifying the conduct (*caritaviśodhanam ālambanam; spyad pa rnam par sbyong ba'i dmigs pa;* 淨行所縁)

(ŚrBh-Gr (14) 52, 3; Sh 202, 3). This section describes the five basic techniques which include meditation on impurity (*aśubhā*), on friendliness (*maitrī*), on dependent origination (*idaṁpratyayatā-pratītyasamutpāda*), analysis of the elements (*dhātuprabheda*), and mindfulness of breathing (*ānāpānasmṛti*).[26]

3.7.3. meditative objects for proficiency (*kauśalyālambanam; mkhas pa'i dmigs pa;* 善巧所緣) (ŚrBh-Gr (16) 108, 4; Sh 237, 6).

3.7.4. meditative objects for purifying [/removing] defilements (*kleśaviśodhanam ālambanam; nyon mongs pa rnam par sbyong ba'i dmigs pa;* 淨惑所緣) (ŚrBh-Gr (16) 118, 13; Sh 249, 12).

3.8. Instruction (*avavāda*; *gdams ngag;* 教授) (ŚrBh-Gr (16) 132, 17; Sh 258, 14): four types.

3.9. Training (*śikṣā;* bslab pa; 學) (ŚrBh-Gr (17) 8, 2; Sh 261, 8): three types, i.e., training in morality (*adhiśīlaṁ śikṣā; lhag pa'i tshul khrims kyi bslab pa*; 增上戒學), training in mind [cultivation] (*adhicittaṁ śikṣā; lhag pa'i sems kyi bslab pa*; 增上心學) (i.e., meditation), and training in wisdom (*adhiprajñaṁ śikṣā; lhag pa'i shes rab kyi bslab pa;* 增上慧學).[27]

3.10. Factors suitable for the training (*śikṣānulomikā dharmāḥ; bslab pa dang rjes su mthun pa'i chos;* 隨順學法) (ŚrBh-Gr (17) 18, 4; Sh 270, 11): ten factors.

3.11. Failures in spiritual practice (*yogabhraṁśa; rnal 'byor nyams pa*; 瑜伽壞) (ŚrBh-Gr (17) 28, 8; Sh 273, 1): four types.

3.12. Spiritual practice (*yoga; rnal 'byor;* 瑜伽) (ŚrBh-Gr (17) 36, 2; Sh 275, 23): four categories, i.e., faith (*śraddhā; dad pa;* 信), aspiration [for progressing on the spiritual path and attaining Liberation] (*chanda; 'dun pa;* 欲), vigour (*vīrya; brtson 'grus;* 精進), and method [of practising mindfulness and meditation] (*upāya; thabs;* 方便).

3.13. Contemplation (*manaskāra; yid la byed pa*; 作意) (ŚrBh-Gr (18) 8, 2; Sh 278, 1): two taxonomic sets, each containing four types. Also discussed are four types of characteristics (*nimitta*) and nine classes of conviction (*adhimokṣa*).

3.14. Functions of the spiritual practice (*yogakaraṇīya; rnal 'byor du bya ba;* 瑜伽所作) (ŚrBh-Gr (18) 20, 2; Sh 283, 2): four aspects.

3.15. Levels of the ascetic (*yogācāra; rnal 'byor spyod pa*; 瑜伽師) (ŚrBh-Gr (18) 22, 2; Sh 284, 4): three levels, i.e., beginners (*ādikarmika; las dang po pa*; 初修業瑜伽師), who are at the level of practising the first of the seven contemplations (see 3.28. and 3.29. below), adepts (*kṛtaparicaya; yongs su spyod pa byas pa;* 已習行瑜伽師) who practise the next five levels of contemplation, and practitioners who have transcended the practice of contemplation (*atikrāntamanaskāra; yid la byed pa las 'das pa;* 已度作意瑜伽師), who enjoy the seventh level of *manaskāra,* which is called 'the fruit of the culmination of the practice' (*prayoganiṣṭhāphalo manaskāraḥ*).[28]

3.16. Spiritual practice (*yogabhāvanā*; *rnal 'byor bsgom pa*; 瑜伽修) (ŚrBh-Gr (18) 24, 17; Sh 285, 11) Two types:

3.16.1. cultivation of ideation (*saṁjñābhāvanā; 'du shes sgom pa;* 想修) (ŚrBh-Gr (18) 26, 2; Sh 285, 13)

3.16.2. cultivation of the [thirty-seven] factors of awakening (*bodhipakṣyā bhāvanā; byang chub kyi phyogs bsgom pa;* 菩提分修) (ŚrBh-Gr (18) 30, 8; Sh 288, 19).[29]

3.17. Fruits of spiritual cultivation (*bhāvanāphala; bsgoms pa'i 'bras bu;* 修果) (Sh 331, 1): the four fruits of the ascetic life (*śrāmaṇyaphala*), discussed in relation with the defilements (*kleśa*) abandoned at each of these spiritual stages. The chapter also contains a discussion of the characteristics of the persons with a slight degree of impurity (*mandarajaskasya pudgalasya liṅgāni*).

3.18. Types of persons (*pudgalaparyāya; gang zag gi rnam grangs;* 補特伽羅異門) (Sh 338, 9): one taxonomic set of six types and another of eight types.[30]

3.19. Acts of evil (*mārakarman; bdud kyi las;* 魔事) (Sh 343, 10): four classes of evil, i.e., the evil of aggregates (*skandhamāra*), the evil of defilements (*kleśamāra*), the evil of death (*maraṇamāra*), and Māra the [evil] deity (*devaputramāra*) as well as their acts.

3.20. Reasons for failing in the undertaking of the right exertion (*samyakprayuktasyāpi ārambho viphalo bhavati; yang dag par rab tu brtson pa yang rtsom pa 'bras bu med par 'gyur;* 正修行者精勤發空無有果) (Sh 347, 9): three reasons.

YOGASTHĀNA III (*Tṛtyaṁ yogāsthānam*)
[Dealing with the initial training of the beginner, focusing of the mind, purification of hindrances, and contemplation]

3.21. Initiation of the beginner (*ādikarmika; las dang po pa;* 初修業者) into spiritual praxis (*yoga; rnal 'byor;* 瑜伽) (Sh 351, 1). The beginner approaches the master of spiritual cultivation (*yogin; rnal 'byor pa;* 瑜伽師)[31] and begs for instruction. After encouraging the beginner to embark upon the path, the master questions him about his faith and basic knowledge of the Buddhist Teaching and examines him with regard to lineage, sense organs, etc. Then, he 'instructs [the beginner] on five points' (*pañcasu sthāneṣu vinayate*, Sh 358, 2; *gnas lnga po 'di* [...] *nges par sbyar bar bya'o,* D 130a5; 於五處如應安立, T 449c15-16).[32] The five points, which are the main topics of this Yogasthāna, are:[33]

3.22. Guarding and accumulating the requisites [necessary] for meditation (*samādhisaṁbhārarakṣopacaya; ting nge 'dzin gyi tshogs bsrung zhing bsags pa;* 護養定資糧) (Sh 358, 4): a brief discussion of the restraint in morality (*śīlasaṁvara tshul khrims kyi sdom pa;* 戒律儀) (see Section 3.4.4. above) and the mention of the other requisites (*saṁbhāra; tshogs;* 資糧) which are treated in Sections 3.4.5 to 3.4.13. above.

3.23. Solitude (*prāvivekya; rab tu dben pa;* 遠離) (Sh 359, 1) Three perfect conditions for dwelling in solitude:

3.23.1. perfect conditions regarding places (*sthānasaṁpad; gnas phun sum tshogs pa;* 處所圓滿) suitable for meditation (Sh 359, 2)

3.23.2. perfect conditions regarding bodily postures (*īryāpathasaṁpad;*

spyod lam phun sum tshogs pa; 威儀圓滿) (Sh 360, 10)

3.23.3. perfect conditions regarding isolation (**vyapakarṣasaṁpat; dben pa phun sum tshogs pa;* 遠離圓滿)[34] (Sh 362, 1). This includes physical seclusion (*kāyavyapakarṣa*), i.e., dwelling away from monks and laymen alike, and mental seclusion (*cittavyapakarṣa*), i.e., cultivating wholesome contemplation which is obtained 'after having removed the defiled and neutral contemplation' (*kliṣṭam avyākṛtaṁ ca manaskāraṁ*[35] *varjayitvā* | Sh 362 ,4-5).

3.24. Focusing of the mind (*cittaikāgratā; sems rtse gcig pa nyid;* 心一境性) (Sh 362, 11):

3.24.1. definition of the focusing of the mind (Sh 362, 11)

3.24.2. nine types of tranquillity (*śamatha*) and four types of insight (*vipaśyanā*) (Sh 363, 13)

3.24.3. nine types of practice comprised in the white category (*śuklapakṣasaṁgṛhītaḥ prayogaḥ*) (Sh 388, 21)

3.25. Purification from hindrances (*āvaraṇaviśuddhi; sgrib pa rnam par sbyong ba;* 浄障) (Sh 397, 11): four hindrances, i.e., discontent (*paritasanā*)[36], obstacles (*nivaraṇa*), thoughts [directed at pleasures] (*vitarka*)[37], complacency (*ātma-saṁpragraha*). This chapter also contains discussions of the insight (*vipaśyanā*) and tranquillity (*śamatha*), of the meditations on impurity (*aśubhā*), etc., and on the path of the conjoined praxis (*yuganaddhavāhīmārga*) of insight and tranquillity.

3.26. Cultivation of contemplation (*manaskārabhāvanā; yid la byed pa bsgom pa*; 修作意) (Sh 405, 19)

3.26.1. Four types of contemplation and their application in general:

3.26.1.1. Definition of the four contemplations (Sh 406, 7): the contemplation making the mind undergo austere training (*cittasaṁtāpano manaskāraḥ; sems kun tu gdung bar 'gyur ba'i yid la byed pa;* 調練心作意), the contemplation fostering [literally, 'moistening'] the mind (*cittābhiṣyandano manaskāraḥ; sems mngon par brlan par 'gyur ba'i yid la byed pa* 滋潤心作意), the contemplation engendering ease (*praśrabdhijanako manaskāraḥ; shin tu sbyang pa skyed pa'i yid la byed pa;* 生輕安作意), and the contemplation purifying the wisdom and view (*jñānadarśanaviśodhano manaskāraḥ; yes shes dang mthong ba rnam par sbyong ba'i yid la byed pa;* 浄智見作意).

3.26.1.2. Application of the four contemplations in general (Sh 407, 10). The passage discusses the factors conducive to loathing (or: fright) (*saṁvejanīyā dharmāḥ; kun tu skyo bar 'gyur ba dang mthun pa'i chos;* 可厭法), the factors conducive to rejoicing (*abhipramodanīyā dharmāḥ; mngon par dga' bar 'gyur ba dang mthun pa'i chos;* 可欣尚處), and the application of the four contemplations.

3.26.2. Detailed description of the actual practice of contemplation (Sh 411, 5) by grasping the five characteristics [/iamge] (*pañca nimittāni; mtshan ma lnga po dag;* 五種相) in correlation with:

3. 26.2.1. the meditation on impurity (*aśubhā*) (Sh 411, 14)

3.26.2.2. the meditation on friendliness (*maitrī*) (Sh 426, 20)

3.26.2.3. the meditation on dependent origination (*idaṁpratyayatāpratītyasamutpāda*) (Sh 429, 10)

3.26.2.4. the analysis of the elements (*dhātuprabheda*) (Sh 430, 14)

3.26.2.5. the mindfulness of breathing (*ānāpānasmṛti*) (Sh 432, 4).[38]

YOGASTHĀNA IV (*Caturthaṁ yogāsthānam*)

[Describing the mundane and supramundane paths]

3.27. Choosing the path (Sh 437, 1). After mastering the basics of contemplation (*manaskāra*) and obtaining a limited degree of delight in abandonment (*parīttaprahāṇarati*), the yogi proceeds by either the mundane path or the supramundane path.

3.28. Mundane path (*laukikamārga; 'jig rten pa'i lam;* 世間道) (Sh 437, 16)

3.28.1. Types of persons proceeding by this path: one taxonomic set of four categories and another of two classes of persons (Sh 437, 16)

3.28.2. The seven contemplations (*sapta manaskārāḥ; yid la byed pa rnam pa bdun*; 七作意) (Sh 437, 3)

3.28.2.1. Description of the seven contemplations with reference to attainment of the first absorption (*dhyāna*) (Sh 439, 3)

3.28.2.1.1. Enumeration of the seven contemplations (Sh 439, 3)

3.28.2.1.2. contemplation perceiving characteristics (Sh 439, 9) (*lakṣaṇapratisaṁvedī manaskāraḥ; mtshan nyid so sor rig pa'i yid la byed pa;* 了相作意). This represents a discursive examination, on the basis of listening (*śruta*) and reflection (*cintā*), upon relevant Buddhist doctrines with regard to six aspects, i.e., meaning (*artha*), thing (*vastu*), characteristic (*lakṣaṇa*), category (*pakṣa*), time (*kāla*), and reasoning (*yukti*) of the meditative object. The most amply treated object is the coarseness of the sensual pleasures and the serenity of the first absorption.

3.28.2.1.3. contemplation leading to [/characterized by] conviction (*ādhimokṣiko manaskāraḥ; mos pa las byung ba'i yid la byed pa*; 勝解作意) (Sh 443, 12). Transcending the level of listening and reflection, the ascetic gains conviction

regarding the object only in the form of meditative cultivation (*bhāvanākāreṇaiva*).

3.28.2.1.4. contemplation engendering separation (*prāvivekyo manaskāraḥ*; *rab tu dben pa'i yid la byed pa*; 遠離作意) (Sh 443, 19). As a result of his assiduous practice, the yogi generates for the first time the path leading to the elimination of defilements.

3.28.2.1.5. contemplation comprising delight (*ratisaṃgrāhako manaskāraḥ; dga' ba sdud pa'i yid la byed pa*; 攝樂作意) (Sh 443, 23). The ascetic actually begins to feel the benefit of the abandonment of sensual pleasures and consequently experiences a small degree of joy and pleasure at being separated from them.

3.28.2.1.6. investigating contemplation (*mīmāṃsā-manaskāraḥ; dpyod pa'i yid la byed pa*; 觀察作意) (Sh 444, 8). The ascetic ascertains whether the elimination of the latent proclivities is only due to his meditative effort or is achieved by nature (*dharmatā*), i.e., in a spontaneous, effortless manner. As the former proves to be the case, he continues his training.

3.28.2.1.7. contemplation attaining the culmination of the practice (*prayoganiṣṭho manaskāraḥ*; *sbyor ba mthar thug pa'i yid la byed pa;* 加行究竟作意) (Sh 445, 1). The yogi cultivates the antidotes for defilements, repeatedly investigates whether the defilements have been abandoned or not, and in the end, his mind is temporarily freed from all the defilements pertaining to the realm of sensual pleasures.

3.28.2.1.8. contemplation representing the fruit of the culmination of the practice (*prayoganiṣṭhāphalo manaskāraḥ; sbyor ba mthar thug pa'i 'bras bu'i yid la byed pa*; 加行究竟果作意) (Sh 445, 10). This constitutes the attainment of the meditative goal, which in this case is the first absorption proper (*mauladhyāna*).

3.28.2.2. Three additional remarks concerning the function and grouping of the seven contemplations (Sh 445, 13).

3.28.2.3. Application of the seven contemplations to the other three absorptions (*dhyāna*) and the four immaterial attainments (*ārūpyasamāpatti*) (Sh 447, 1).

3.28.3. Glosses upon the canonical formulae describing the four absorptions (*dhyāna; bsam gtan;* 靜慮) and the four immaterial attainments (*ārūpyasamāpatti; gzugs med pa dag la snyoms par 'jug pa;* 無色定) (Sh 449, 14).

3.28.4. The two attainments without mental activity (*acittike samāpattī; sems med pa'i snyoms par 'jug pa*; 無心定) (Sh 458, 19): attainment of non-ideation (*asaṁjñisamāpatti*) and attainment of cessation (*nirodhasamāpatti*).

3.28.5. The five supernatural faculties (*abhijñā; mngon par shes pa;* 神通) (Sh 460, 19), i.e., range of miraculous powers (*ṛddhiviṣaya*), recollection of the previous lives (*pūrvanivāsānusmṛti*), divine ear (*divyaśrotra*), knowledge of the death and rebirth [of all sentient beings] (*cyutyupapādajñāna*), knowledge of the ways of thought [of other sentient beings] (*cetaḥparyāyajñāna*). These supernatural faculties are achieved by means of the twelve ideations (*dvādaśa saṁjñāḥ; 'du shes rnam pa bcu gnyis;* 十二想).

3.28.6. Rebirth in different heavenly worlds in accordance with the meditation level attained by the practioner (Sh 468, 10).

3.28.7. Characteristics of the person who has become detached from sensual pleasures by means of the mundane path (*vītarāgasya liṅgāni; 'dod chags dang bral ba'i rtags;* 離欲者相) (Sh 469, 12).

3.29. Supramundane path (*lokottaramārga; 'jig rten las 'das pa'i lam;* 出世道)[39] (Sh 470, 7). This is also achieved by means of the seven contemplations:

3.29.1. Contemplation perceiving characteristics (*lakṣaṇapratisaṁvedī manaskāraḥ; mtshan nyid so sor rig pa'i yid la byed pa;* 了相作意) (Sh 470, 10).

3.29.1.1. Description of the contemplation perceiving characteristics (Sh 470, 10)

3.29.1.1.1. The ascetic 'perceives the characteristic of the truth of suffering under four aspects, to wit, the impermanence aspect, the suffering aspect, the emptiness aspect, and the non-self aspect'. (*caturbhir ākārair duḥkhasatyasya lakṣaṇaṁ pratisaṁvedayate | tadyathā 'nityākāreṇa duḥkhākareṇa, śūnyākareṇa anātmākareṇa ca |* Sh 470, 13-15;[40] *rnam pa bzhi po 'di lta ste | mi dga pa'i rnam pa dang | sdug bsngal ba'i rnam pa dang | stong pa'i rnam pa dang | bdag med pa'i rnam pas bden pa sdug bsngal gyi mtshan nyid so sor rig par byed do ||* D177b6; 由四種行了苦諦相，謂無常行苦行空行無我行。T 470c18-19) (Main treatment is found at Sh 471, 1-492, 16) Along this well-known set of four aspects, we also find here another group of ten aspects

(*daśākārāḥ*), which are peculiar to the ŚrBh. The latter are actually distributed over the four aspects in the following way. All conditioned things (*sarvasaṁskārāḥ*) are impermanent (*anitya*) because they are subject to change-and-decay (*vipariṇāma*), annihilation (*vināśa*), and separation (*viyoga*); these three aspects are imminent (*sannihita*), and this is the nature (*dharmatā*) of things. The conditioned things are characterised by suffering (*duḥkha*) because they are unpleasant (*aniṣṭa*), represent fetters and bondage (*saṁyojanabandhana*), and are not [conducive to] security (*ayogakṣema*). They are empty (*śūnya*) because no substantial self can be observed (*anupalambha*) as being the subject of the cognitive processes or the agent of rebirth. Finally, they are non-self (*anātman*) because they are not autonomous (*asvatantra*), i.e., they depend upon conditions.[41]

3.29.1.1.2. The ascetic '[perceives the characteristic of] the truth of origination under four aspects, to wit, cause, origination, production, and condition'. (*caturbhir ākāraiḥ samudayasatyasya tadyathā hetutaḥ samudayataḥ prabhavataḥ pratyayataś ca* Sh 470, 15-16; *rnam pa bzhi po 'di lta ste | rgyu'i rnam pa dang | kun 'byung ba'i rnam pa dang | rab tu skyes ba'i pa dang | rkyen gyi rnam pas bden pa 'byung ba'i mtshan nyid so sor rig par byed do ||* D 177b6-7; 由四種行了集諦相，謂因行集行起行緣行。T 470c19-20) (Main treatment: Sh 492, 17-494, 7).

3.29.1.1.3. The ascetic 'perceives the characteristic of the truth of cessation under four aspects, to wit, cessation, calm, excellence, and going forth [from suffering]'. (*caturbhir ākārair nirodhasatyasya lakṣaṇaṁ pratisaṁvedayate | tadyathā nirodhataḥ śāntataḥ praṇītato niḥsaraṇataś ca* Sh 470, 17-19; *rnam pa bzhi po 'di lta ste | 'gog pa'i rnam pa dang | zhi ba'i rnam pa dang | gya nom pa'i rnam pa dang| nges par 'byung ba'i rnam pas bden pa 'gog pa'i mtshan nyid so sor rig par byed do ||* D177b-7-178a1; 由四種行了滅諦相，謂滅行靜行妙行離行。T 470c20-21) (Main

treatment: Sh 494, 8-12).

3.29.1.1.4. The ascetic 'perceives the characteristic of the truth of path under four aspects, to wit, path, method, practice, and leading forth [from suffering]'. (*caturbhir ākārair mārgasatyasya lakṣaṇaṁ pratisaṁvedayate | tadyathā mārgato nyāyataḥ pratipattito nairyāṇikataś ca* | Sh 470, 19-21; *rnam pa bzhi po 'di lta ste | lam gyi rnam pa dang | rigs pa'i rnam pa dang | sgrub pa'i rnam pa dang | nges par 'byin pa'i rnam pas bden pa lam gyi mtshan nyid so sor rig par byed pa ste* | D178a1-2; 由四種行了道諦相，謂道行如行行行出行。T 470c22-23) (Main treatment: Sh 494, 13-19).

3.29.1.2. The preceding analysis refers to the aggregates belonging to one's own [sphere] (*prātyātmikāḥ skandhāḥ*), and this should be extended to the other spheres as well (Sh 494, 20).

3.29.2. Contemplation leading to conviction (*ādhimokṣiko manaskāraḥ; mos pa las byung ba'i yid la byed pa*; 勝解作意) (Sh 495, 15). By observing these sixteen aspects in his mental continuum (*cittasantati; sems kyi rgyud*; 心相續), the yogi gains access (*avatīrṇo bhavati; zhugs pa;* 悟入) to the Four Noble Truths and finally attains the supreme mundane factors (*laukikā agradharmāḥ*; *'jig rten pa'i chos kyi mchog rnams*; 世第一法) (*tasya yāval laukikebhyo 'gradharmebhya ādhimokṣiko manaskāraḥ* Sh 502, 12-13).

3.29.3. Contemplation engendering separation (*prāvivekyo manaskāraḥ; rab tu dben pa'i yid la byed pa*; 遠離作意) (Sh 502, 15). The ascetic attains the supramundane direct insight into the Four Noble Truths and eliminates the defilements to be abandoned by the path of vision (*darśanaprahātavyāḥ kleśāḥ; mthong bas spang bar bya ba'i nyon mongs pa;* 見道所斷一切煩惱).[42]

3.29.4. Investigating contemplation (*mīmāṁsāmanaskāraḥ; dpyod pa'i yid la byed pa*; 觀察作意) (503, 2). The yogi begins his effort to eliminate the defilements to be abandoned by the path of cultivation (*bhāvanāprahātavyāḥ kleśaḥ; bsgom pas spang bar bya ba'i nyon mongs pa;* 修道所斷一切煩惱). Persevering in his spiritual cultivation, he investigates time and again the defilements which have been abandoned as well as those which have not been abandoned yet (*tasyaivam bhāvanāprayuktasya kālena ca kālaṁ kleśānāṁ prahīṇāprahīṇatāṁ mīmāṁsataḥ* Sh 506, 6-7). This Section also contains an excursus on the eleven types of cultivation (*bhāvanā; bsgom pa;* 修).[43]

3.29.5. Contemplation comprising delight (*ratisaṁgrāhako manaskāraḥ;*

dga' ba sdud pa'i yid la byed pa; 攝樂作意) (Sh 506, 8). The ascetic repeatedly makes his mind loathe [or: become frightened] on the basis of the factors conducive to loathing [/fright] and makes it rejoice on the basis of the factors conducive to rejoicing. Thus he will attain the contemplation comprising delight (*kālena kālaṁ saṁvejanīyeṣu dharmeṣu cittaṁ saṁvejayataḥ, kālena kālaṁ abhipramodanīyeṣv abhipramodayataḥ, so 'sya bhavati* <*rati*>[44] *saṁgrāhako manaskāraḥ* | Sh 506, 8-10).[45]

3.29.6. Contemplation attaining the culmination of the practice (*prayoganiṣṭho manaskāraḥ; sbyor ba mthar thug pa'i yid la byed pa;* 加行究竟作意) (Sh 506, 10). This is equated with the diamond-like concentration (*vajropamasamādhi; rdo rje lta bu'i ting nge 'dzin;* 金剛喩三摩地). Relentlessly cultivating the contemplation comprising delight, the ascetic generates the diamond-like concentration by which all defilements to be abandoned by the path of cultivation are eliminated (*sarvapaścimaḥ śaikṣo vajropamaḥ samādhir utpadyate. tasyotpādāt sarvve bhāvanāprahātavyāḥ kleśāḥ prahīyante*. Schmithausen [1982] 1984, 460, which I follow here; Sh 506, 13-15).

3.29.7. Contemplation representing the fruit of the culmination of the practice (*prayoganiṣṭhāphalo manaskāraḥ; sbyor ba mthar thug pa'i 'bras bu'i yid la byed pa*; 加行究竟果作意) (Sh 507, 7). Here, this contemplation represents the diamond-like concentration, the supreme fruit of the path, the attainment of Arhatship (*tatra yo vajropamaḥ samādhir* <,> *ayaṁ prayoganiṣṭho manaskāraḥ. yaḥ punar agraphalārhattvasaṁgṛhīto manaskāro* <, '>*yaṁ prayoganiṣṭhāphalo manaskāraḥ*. Schmithausen [1982] 1984, 472, which I follow here; Sh 510, 10-12).

NOTES

[1] Different ways of summarising the content of the text having been attempted so far. The most comprehensive and reliable synopsis of the whole text is the table of contents in KIK meticulously compiled by Katō Seishin on the basis of the Sino-Japanese commentarial tradition, especially Ji's 基 *Yuqieshi di lun lüe zuan* 瑜伽師地論略纂 and To-ryun's 道倫 *Yuga ron gi* 瑜伽論記. (Here and below, I am indebted to Mr Lee Sang-bum for his kind help in romanising the Korean proper names in accordance with the McCune-Reischauer system of transliteration.)

Ui 1958, 113-128, also summarises the content of the ŚrBh on the basis of the Chinese translation.

Wayman (1956, 318-324) includes a brief presentation of the ŚrBh, but it unfortunately insists too much on some sections and omits altogether some important parts of the text. His later and more detailed work (1961, 58-134) contains a so-called 'analysis' of the ŚrBh, which is actually a selection of important passages (Sanskrit original and English translation). Despite its imperfections, Wayman's undertaking should be acknowledged as the first major effort to present, partially edit and translate the ŚrBh into a Western language. His analysis is useful,

though it fails to present some important parts and is rather too long for a bird's eye view of such a complex text as the ŚrBh.

Potter ed. 1999 (407-414) contains a summary of more manageable sizes. This presentatuion basically relies upon Wayman 1961. Unfortuanately, it, too, omits some important parts and concepts. In the summary of Yogasthāna IV (Potter ed. 1999, 413-414), for example, no mention is made of the seven contemplations and their function on the soteriological path.

Shukla 1991 contains 'A Short Survey of the Contents' (pp. CLVIII—CLIX) (quite short indeed!) and 'An Analytic Summary of the SBH [i.e., ŚrBh]' (pp. CLX—CCXI). Though useful, the latter does not always offer a satisfactory presentation and division of the text. For instance, the Chapter on the Supramundane Path (3.29. in my Syonpsis) is not structured according to the seven contemplations and contains a rather chaotic list of the topics discussed, which makes it fairly difficult for the reader to follow how the yogi advances along this path. Besides, Shukla's presentation is largely rendered into a 'Buddhist Hybrid English' style which leaves many of the Sanskrit terms untranslated.

The best synopsis so far, fulfilling rigorous philological and comparative standards, has been achieved by the Śrāvakabhūmi Study Group (ŚrBh-Gr, pp. XXI—XXXV; ŚrBh-Gr (13) 77-79; ŚrBh-Gr (14) 24-26; ŚrBh-Gr (15) 5-6; ŚrBh-Gr (16) 81-82; ŚrBh-Gr (17) 5-6; ŚrBh- Gr (18), 5-6; ŚrBh-Gr (19), 5-6; and ŚrBh-Gr (20) 5-6). As the work of the Group is still in progress, it is obviously restricted to the first half part of the text which has been published so far (see below). Besides, it contains only the Sanskrit and Classical Chinese titles, which makes it difficult, especially for non-specialists, to immediately grasp the content of the text. Two very useful collation tables of the MS, Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana's negatives, Shukla's edition, Peking edition of the Tibetan translation, and Taishō edition of the Chinese translation are found in the introduction to the *Facsimile Edition of the "Śrāvakabhūmi" Sanskrit Palm-leaf Manuscript.* A brief collation table and presentation of the MS is also found in Matsunami 1992.

Though not a synopsis in itself, very detailed and useful is also the way Bhikkhu Huimin divides the ŚrBh text in his homepage of the *Yogācārabhūmi* website (see Chapter Two below).

[2] Concerning the Chapter on the Mundane Path, its content can be also grasped by looking at the titles given to each passage in my English translation.

[3] The ŚrBh meditative path is discussed in Schmithausen 1982b (the most detailed study on this subject), Schmithausen 2005b, 2-11, and Mōri 1989.

[4] I use here the terms 'yogi' and 'ascetic' interchangeably, but in my English translation of the Chapter on the Mundane Path, I employ the former for rendering Skt. *yogin* and the latter for *yogācāra*. As also explained in note 4 to Engl. tr., the ŚrBh does not, however, seem to make a doctrinally relevant distionction between these two words.

[5] At ŚrBh-Gr (14) 70, 4 (= Sh 209, 14), this type of person is called *vyāpadacaritaḥ pudgalo*.

[6] An excellent edition (Sanskrit and Tibetan) and German translation of the main passages connected to the practice of the meditation on friendliness in the ŚrBh is found in Maithrimurthi 1999, 277-304.

[7] See the definition of *vijñāna* here, see ŚrBh-Gr (15) 16, 12-15 = Sh 218, 6-8.

[8] The matching of these techniques with various personality types is found in several places in the ŚrBh. Here I rely on the treatment found at ŚrBh-Gr (14) 40, 14-42, 6 (= Sh 198, 12-20) and in the final passages of each subsection of 3.7.2. (see Synopsis below).

[9] See, for instance, ŚrBh (15) 8, 8 (= Sh 210, 10-11): *mohacaritāc cittaṁ viśodhayati* (MS omits *moha*; supplied from Tib. and Ch., see ŚrBh (15) p. 8, n. 8) '[the yogi] purifies the mind from [his being] dominated by bewilderment'.

[10] The term *nimitta* is polysemic. It also means 'sign', 'phenomenon', 'cause', etc.. For more details, see note 17 to my English translation of the Chapter on the Mundane Path.

The importance of *nimitta* in Buddhist meditation is witnessed in other sources as well. See,

for instance, *Visuddhimagga* IV, § 31ff.; etc.

[11] This meditation is described in detail in Schmithausen 1982a, 63ff; 2005b, 8-9. A detailed examination of the object of the meditation on impurity in the ŚrBh is found in Huimin 1994a, 134ff.

It should be noted that the entire passage presented here is written in the form of instructions directly given by the master to the novice acetic. This is also apparent from the imperative form of the verb in the examples cited below.

[12] See also Sh 416, 2-4.

[13] See also 395, 2-7; 397, 2-19.

[14] The passage appears in Chapter 3.27. in my edition and translation below.

[15] The mundane path in the ŚrBh is also discussed in Schmithausen 1982a, 74-76; 2005b, 2-4.

[16] The supramundane path is also discussed in Schmithausen 1982a, 76-85; 2005b, 5-7.

[17] For the meaning of *bhūmi* in the textual organisation of the *Yogācārabhūmi*, see Appendix to Chapter One. The term is also used in the ŚrBh, which is structured into three *bhūmis*: *Gotrabhūmi, Avatārabhūmi* and *Naiṣkramyabhūmi*. Though *bhūmi* is here best understood as primarily denoting a textual unit, the nuance of 'level' is not utterly absent. The *Gotrabhūmi* deals with the classification of the persons who embark upon the spiritual path, therefore still at the zero-level or propaedeutic stage when each practioner has to know where he or she stands. Quite obviously, the *Avatārabhūmi* represents the entry upon the path, and the *Naiṣkramyabhūmi* details the actual progression. When I refer to the word as a textual unit, I render *Bhūmi* in the title of the seventeen **Maulyo bhūmayaḥ* as 'Book' and within the ŚrBh itself, i.e., the three *Bhūmis* above, as 'Part'.

[18] As shown by Renou (1957), this kind of double structuring of texts has a long history in India. The practice goes back to the Vedas (ibid., 487-504) and, though less popular in later times, it continues to be seen in some classical Sanskrit works (ibid., 506-507). (I am indebted to Prof. Minoru Hara who has kindly drawn my attention to this study.)

The ŚrBh shows similar case of dual textual division using *Bhūmis* side by side with *Yogasthānas*. It is rather difficult to find a suitable rendering for the latter: 'volume' is a tempting solution, but this would raise the problem of the relation between the 'parts' (*bhūmi*) and the 'volumes' (*yogasthāna*). Besides, generally speaking, a 'volume' would evoke the image of a separately bound text, which probably was not the case. At least, the exant Sanskrit MS of the ŚrBh does not suggest anything like this. In the end, I have decided to use the Sanskrit word *Yogasthāna* as such, hoping that this will better convey the duality of the textual structure.

As to the exact meaning of *yogasthāna*, I would construe it in the following manner. The second member of the compound, i.e., °*sthāna* is most likely used here in the sense of 'section'. In his presentation of the YoBh, Démieville (in Renou and Fillliozat 1953, 450) actually renders *yogasthāna* as *topiques*, though he does not offer details concerning his choice. The word is actually known to denote textual units in medical literature, but in such texts it may also have a more concrete meaning (*"siege" de la maladie?*, conjectures Renou, ibid., 511). We actually find °*sthāna* with the meaning of textual unit in Buddhist literature, too. A famous example is are *kośasthānas* in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (Renou also briefly refers to it; see ibid., p. 511, n. 67). In the AKBh (actually, quite in a similar way to the ŚrBh), the *kośasthānas* have no titles and are simply numbered. Unlike the ŚrBh, however, they have a more precise thematic unity. Thus, for example, we read at the end of *Kośasthāna* II: *abhidharmakośabhāṣye indriya-nirdeśo nāma dvitīyaṁ kośasthānaṁ* 'Kośasthāna II, entitled "the elucidation of faculties", in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*' (AKBh 110).

Now, to return to *yogasthāna*, the first part of the compound is more difficult to explain. The most likely explanation is that *yogasthāna* represents a subtype of what Renou calls 'interference between the title of the work and the chapter name' in which there is 'conformity

with the anterior member' (ibid., 514, with such examples as *Samayamātṛkā, Prameyaratnāvali*, etc.). Thus, *yoga°* should be understood here as coming from the title *Yogācārabhūmi*. If this interpretation is correct, we must assume that the of textual units called *yogasthāna* began to be used after the *Yogācārabhūmi* as a more or less unitary text bearing this title took shape (see Chapter Five below). Or it may be that as surmised in note 113 to Chapter Five, *Yogācārabhūmi* initially was the title of the ŚrBh only, and thus *yoga°* standing for part of the title would make perfect sense. This conjecture is, however, not entirely free from problems since *yogasthāna* is also found in the BoBh. (Was then the latter text also called *Yogācārabhūmi* in the very beginning?—less likely!) Finally, another alternative, would be to see the word *yoga°* employed in its sense of 'spiritual praxis', and *°sthāna* as a 'section' dealing with certain aspects of this practice.

Let us also note here that while the thematic unity of the *bhūmi*s is obvious and made clear by the titles given by the author(s)/editor(s) of the ŚrBh, the *yogasthāna*s do not seem to display a similar structural coherence. Actually, they have no titles and are simply designated as Yogasthāna Ⅰ, Yogasthāna Ⅱ, etc. The titles given by me in square brackets are (probably with the exception of Yogasthāna Ⅳ) far from satisfactorily conveying the complete range of themes dealt within each of *Yogasthāna*.

The *Yuqie shi di lun fen men ji* 瑜伽師地論分門記 (T No. 2801; Pelliot No. 2053), a commentarial work composed in the 9th century in Dunhuang, seems to imply that the following themes or titles should be assigned Yogasthāna Ⅰ, Ⅱ, Ⅲ, Ⅳ respectively: 'Yogasthāna on Lineages' 種姓瑜伽處, 'Yogasthāna on Generating the Aspiration' 發心瑜伽處, 'Yogasthāna on Spiritual Cultivation' 修行瑜伽處, and 'Yogasthāna on Obtaining the Fruits [of spiritual cultivation]' 得果瑜伽處 (T85.851c). (Cf. also T43.109b; 128c). These four themes are most probably taken from a very brief presentation of the ŚrBh found in the **Yogācārabhūmivyākhyā* (T30.887b20-23). As apparent from this passage, which is translated in Chapter Six below, there is no explicit linking of these themes with the four Yogasthānas (which actually are not mentioned at all). Although useful in offering a very concise image of the rough content of the ŚrBh, I think that the titles suggested by the *Yuqie shi di lun fen men ji* (as actually my own titles, too!) are an oversimplification of the thematic variety of each of the four *Yogasthāna*s.

[19] The synopsis gives only the page and line number in the Śrāvakabhūmi Study Group's edition and Shukla's edition for each of the large textual units below. The former edition is still in progress, and its text is available up to the Section on the *bodhipakṣyā bhāvanā* (ŚrBh-Gr (20) 48, 12 = Sh 330, 18) (see Section 3.16.2. and note 29 below). After this Section, I only note the page number in Shukla's edition. The ŚrBh-Gr edition also contains the Tibetan text of the initial missing portion and subsequent lacunas in the MS and Sh, which follows the MS only. This explains why the page number for Shukla's edition misses in some of the sections below.

Shukla's edition actually contains a further omission amounting to about one folio. This lacuna originally occurs in the MS, but a scribe (or 'proofreader'?) appears to have noticed the omission, and the passage was written at two other places in the MS. The missing passage was identified and edited by Kimura (1992) (cf. also Matsunami 1992, 32). Part Ⅱ of Shukla's edition (1991, 2-10) contains Sanskrit reconstructions from the Tibetan translation of two missing passages. As such attempts, even when resulting in pieces of perfect Sanskrit composition, remain hypothetical, I give only the page and line number in the Śrāvakabhūmi Study Group's edition of the Tibetan version.

[20] Obviously, the square brackets represent my own additions or clarifications.

[21] The basic meaning of *gotra* is 'lineage, clan, family, etc.' (see Schmithausen 1969a, pp. 114-115, note 47; Schmithausen 1973b; Seyfort Ruegg 1976). In a yogic context in general and the YoBh in particular, it is more appropriate to construe the word as *Anlage* or *[Heils-]Anlage*,

as suggested by Schmithausen 1969a, p. 45 and note 47 (pp. 114-115), or, even more precise, *natürliche, von Anfang an gegebene Anlage zu Heil* (Schmithausen 1973b, 123). See also Roth 1977, 407, who translates the word on the basis of Schmithausen's renderings as 'innate spiritual predisposition (to reach Enlightenment)'. In his examination of this term in the YoBh, Yamabe (1990b) reasonably concludes 'at least within the framework of *Yogācārabhūmi*, one cannot say that the re-interpretation of *gotra* in a Tathāgatagarbha vein had been completed' 少なくとも『瑜伽論』の如来蔵的再解釈が完了しているとは言い得ない (p. 84). Cf. also Yamabe 1990a. More on the term 'seed' (*bīja*) will be said in Chapter Five, Section II, Subsection 6 below.

On the concept of *gotra* in the ŚrBh, see Huimin 1990b, 1990c, and 1991b. More generally on the problem of *gotra* in Buddhist history, see Seyfort Ruegg 1969; 1976; etc.

[22] Skt. *vyavasthāna* 'establishment' also conveys the meaning of 'differentiation' or 'distinction' (as *vi-* clearly suggests). According to Mikogami (1960), who analyses the usage of the term in the BoBh where it occurs more than 80 times, *vyavasthāna* has two main meanings: (1) (60 occurrences) to establish, to place a doctrine, a presupposition, etc., on a firm basis, to determine (確立する事、設定、説などを一定に立てること、安置・決定する事); (2) (26 occurrences) to dwell in a certain state (used about human behaviour) (人の行動がある状態に決ったこと) (Mikogami 1960, 140). According to the Japanese scholar, the first meaning is the most important one in the BoBh. He further describes it as referring to those doctrines which are established or proven and thus have the value of a permanent truth because they become the firm ground of the practice (その言説は實踐の確かな根據となるものであるから、確立され、久住性があるとされるのであろう。) (ibid.). In the ŚrBh here as well as in Chapter 3.6. below, *vyavasthāna* appears to be used primarily with this meaning of 'establishing or determining something as being valid'. The secondary nuance may be that this establishment is made by 'differentiating' or 'distinguishing' characteristics.

Tib. *rnam par gzhag pa* is also seen in other sources as a translation of *vyavasthāna* (Chandra s.v., on the basis of the *Kāśyapaparivarta*). It consists of *rnam par*, which as usual stands for Skt. *vi-*, and *gzhag pa*, which is the future/potential form of the verb *'jog pa* 'to put in a place or lay in order' (see BTsh, s.v.: *gnas su 'jog pa'am sgrig pa'i don du go ba'i 'jog pa'i ma'ongs pa*). Ch. 安立 used here as well as 建立 emplyed in 3.6. below means 'to establish'.

[23] 'Propitious condition' for *saṁpad* is admittedly a free rendering. Closer translations are 'excellence', 'perfection', or 'fulfilment'. It is also possible that, as suggested by Wezler (2002, 440, 441), *saṁpad* could mean *in fine compositi* 'complete group' of factors. Here as well as in 3.4.2., we actually have to deal with series of factors (five each) ensuring that oneself and the environment in which one lives are fit for the practice of the Buddhist Path. Indeed, as in some examples discussed by Wezler, the complete group of factors becomes thus necessary, and it is this completeness which *saṁpad* might express. I think that this remains a possibility, but even taken separately, each factor can be understood as a 'perfection' or, more freely, a 'propitious condition'. Cf. also the rendering of *saṁpad* in Tib. as *'byor ba* 'acquirement, benefit' and in Ch. 圓滿 as 'perfection'.

[24] See note 22 above. Here *vyavasthāna* is construed as the basis upon which the differentiation (*prabheda*) between various types of persons is made.

[25] The term should be construed rather as 'meditative approaches [/modalities] universally [/generally] applicable to all types of meditative objects'. A rendering like 'general [ly applicable] meditative object' would seem more appropriate.

[26] For the treatment of this and closely related sets of practices in the so-called 'meditation scriptures' 禪經, see Odani 2000, 175-303.

[27] In the ŚrBh (ŚrBh-Gr (17) 10-12), *adhi* in *adhiśīlam*, etc. is explained as both *adhikāra*

'[with] reference [to]' and *adhika* 'surpassing, superior' (the latter being reflected in the Tib. and Ch. translations of the term). The three types of training is an old canonical set (e.g., DN III 219, 13-14, AN I 235, 14-29; etc.).

[28] These three levels seem to represent a fairly well-established Sarvāstivādin taxonomy. They appear in the AMVibh, where the Chinese equivalents (in Xuanzang's rendering of the treatise) are roughly similar to those used in our text: 初修業位, 已熟修位, and 超作意位 (T27.205b12-13). We cannot know the exact Sanskrit words which they translate, but in view of the parallel set in the AKBh (see below), the original terms were probably similar (in the AKBh *kṛtaparijaya* is the only difference) or identical. The context here is that of the *yogācāra* (or *yogin*) practising the meditation on the impure (瑜伽師修不浄觀有三位。T27.205b11-12), but in another place, the AMVibh connects these three levels with the four applications of mindfulness. After giving details on the scriptural basis and meaning of the triple aspect of the *smṛtyupasthāna*, i.e., mindfulness application in itself (自性念住, **svabhāvasmṛtyupasthāna*), mindfulness application through connexion (相雜念住, **saṁsargasmṛtyupasthāna*), and mindfulness application as meditative object (所縁念住, **ālambanasmṛtyupasthāna*) (T27.936c13-937a24), the AMVibh states that the Exalted One 世尊 expounded the last one for beginners, the second one for adepts, and the first one for those who have transcended the level of contemplation (T27.937a29-b2). The same taxomony is also found in the AKBh, where the terms employed are almost identical with the ŚrBh. At AKBh 338, 3-17, Vasubandhu speaks in the similar context of the meditation on the impure of three levels of practioners: *ādikarmika, kṛtaparijaya*, and *atikrāntamanaskāra* (cf. also AKVy 526, 23ff.). Vasubandhu also discusses the triple aspect of the *smṛtyupasthāna* (AKBh 341, 16-342, 16; cf. AKVy 529, 15ff.) but does not connect it with the three levels of practice as the authors of the AMVibh do. The same three categories of meditators are also discussed in the NAS (T29.671a15-17 [verse] and 671c6-672a3 [commentary). Cf. also Cox 1992, p. 95, n. 35.

Wayman (1961, 42) links these three levels of practioners in the ŚrBh to the set of **pṛthagjana*, **śaikṣa*, and **aśaikṣa* in Saṅgharakṣa's **Yogācārabhūmi* (on this work, see Chapter Five below). (The American scholar actually refers to Demiéville's study on the text; see Demiéville 1954, 398-399). The Chinese original is found at T15.182c2-6, and the three categories read: 凡夫, 學向道, and 無所學 (in An Shigao's translation of the text, these are: 未得道者, 學者, and 不學者; T15.231b4-5). This taxonomic group can be traced to canonical sources. DN III 218, 1-2, lists three categories of persons: a person who practises (*sekho puggalo*), a person who needs no more practice (*asekho puggalo*), and a person who is neither practioner nor non-practioner (*n'eva sekho nāsekho puggalo*) (cf. also DN III 219, 3-4; for a similar pair of *sekho bhikkhu* and *asekho bhikhu*, see also Vin III 24, 7). The latter category is identified by Buddhaghosa with a *puthujjano* (DN-a III 998, 36). The exact meaning of the word here is not perfectly clear. Since this person is said to be 'neither practioner nor non-practioner' and *sekho* usually refers to an advanced practioner, the last category, the *puthujjana* in Buddhaghosa's explanation, is probably more than a totally ignorant ordinary person. Saṅgharakṣa's **Yogācārabhūmi* actually defines 凡夫 as 'a novice in spiritual cultivation' 所謂凡夫修行新學 (T15.182c3-4).

The similarity suggested by Wayman is, however, too general to be considered a direct source for the taxonomy in the ŚrBh. It is quite possible that the canonical set of three types of persons may have (at least partially) inspired Saṅgharakṣa's classification. However, as far as the the three levels of *ādikarmika, kṛtaparijaya*, and *atikrāntamanaskāra* are concerned, they seem to represent a parallel and more refined form of development of the early canonical model. The classification in the ŚrBh appears to have directly relied upon this more refined taxonomy, which had probably been developed in the Sarvāstivādin system and can be already be found in

the AMVibh.

It is worth mentioning that while the AMVibh links the three levels with an Abhidharmic doctrinal category, i.e., the triple aspect of the mindfulness application, the ŚrBh is more praxis-oriented and connects it with the actual practice of the seven contemplations.

[29] The latest issue of the ŚrBh-Gr edition and translation concludes the entire section on the *bodhipakṣyā bhāvanā* (ŚrBh-Gr (20) 48, 12 = Sh 330, 18).

[30] Here it seems more natural to construe Skt. *paryāya* as 'type' (see BHSD, s.v. *paryāya* (4): '(alternative) *kind, sort*') rather than 'way of expression' or 'alternative term'.

[31] We often find the word *yogajña* (Tib. *rnal 'byor shes pa;* Ch. 善達瑜伽) used as a quasi-synonym or epithet for the spiritual master (*yogin*) (e.g., Sh 411, 8; W 122).

[32] MS 96b4R, Shukla, 358, 2, and W 106 read: *vinayate*. Tib. *nges par sbyar bar bya'o* and Ch. 如應安立 suggest something like: *viniyojayet* or *niyojayet*, in which case, the rendering should be 'to commit [the beginner] to the five points'. Cf. *manaskārabhāvanāyāṁ viniyujyate* (Sh 411, 5-6), translated into Tibetan as *yid la byed pa bsgom pa la nges par sbyor bar byed* (D 51a6) and into Chinese as: 於修作意如應安立 (T 456b25-26). Cf. also Sh 434, 19: *viniyoga*.

[33] The *uddāna* at the end of Yogasthāna III (MS 113a6-7; Sh 434, 18-20; cf. also Tib.: D 163b7-164a1; Ch.: T 448b28-29) suggests a rather different division of the text:

1. *upasaṁkramaṇa* '[the beginner's] approaching [the master]' (in Sh's edition, this corresponds to p. 351, ll. 2-11)
2. *yācñā* (MS and Sh have: *yā ca*) '[the beginner's] begging for [instruction] (Sh 351, 11-16)
3. *harṣaṇā* '[the master's] encouragement [of the beginner] (Sh 351, 17-353, 1)
4. *pṛcchanā* '[the master's] questioning [of the beginner] (Sh 353, 1-11)
5. *eṣaṇā* '[the mater's] examination [of the beginner] (Sh 353, 12-357, 14)
6. *viniyoga* 'instruction' (358, 1-434, 16, i.e., end of Yogasthāna III). All the other topics of the Yogasthāna seem to be subordinated to this heading. Thus the division of the text would continue like:
    - 6.1. *(samādhisaṁbhāra)rakṣopacaya*
    - 6.2. *prāvivekya*
    - 6.3. *cittaikāgratā*
    - 6.4. *āvaraṅaviśuddhi*
    - 6.5. *manskārabhāvanā*

[34] MS 97a2L-M reads: *prāvivekyaṁ katamat| yā sthānasaṁpad īryāpathasaṁpad* | (cf. Sh359,1-2; W 107: *prāvivekyaṁ katamat / yā sthānasaṁpad īryāpathasaṁpat / prāvivekyasamapat ca*), thus mentioning only two of the perfect conditions. On the other hand, Tib. (*rab du dben par gnas pa gang zhe na | gnas phun sum tshogs pa dang | spyod lam phun sum tshogs pa dang | dben pa phun sum tshogs pa gang yin pa'o* || D 130b3-4) and the Ch. (云何遠離？謂：處所圓滿、威儀圓滿、遠離圓滿。T 450a3) list three perfect conditions. The Sanskrit text does, however, mention a third category called *vyapakarṣa* (starting at MS 97b4L). This is rendered into Tibetan (D 131b7) as *dben pa phun sum tshogs pa* and into Chinese (T 450b19) as 遠離圓滿. The Sanskrit sentence above must have originally contained *vyapakarṣasaṁpad*, which was later lost in the process of scribal transmission. (For the meaning of *vyapakarṣa*, see Edgerton s.v. *vyapakṛṣṭa*).

[35] Sh reads: *manaskāraṁ ca*. However, MS 97b4R contains no *ca* after *manaskāra*.

[36] Sh 398, 16; 399, 1, and 399, 10, reads: *paritamanā*. The corresponding reading in the MS is found at 105a4M, 105a4R, and 105a6R respectively, and I think that in all cases the scribe meant *paritasanā*. However, it must be stressed that *ma* and *sa* are virtually similar *akṣara*s in the ŚrBh script. Similarly, Sh 272, 14 as well as ŚrBh-Gr (17) 26, 13, reads *aparitamanā*, and Sh 272, 16 as well as ŚrBh-Gr (17) 26, 14, has *paritamanā*. The word *paritamanā* is, however,

unattested. On the other hand, BHSD contains terms as *paritasana* ('great longing', 'depression'), *paritasyati*, etc. Cf. also BWDJ, s.v. *paritasana*, etc.

In our context here, *paritasanā* refers to two aspects of discontent which a solitary yogi may experience. Its explanation goes as follows: *tatra paritasanā yā naiṣkramyaprāvivekya-prayuktasya kliṣṭā utkaṇṭhā aratiḥ* | (Sh 399, 1-2) '*paritasanā* is defiled longing [for the sensual pleasures formerly experienced] [and] dissatisfaction [with the hardships and loneliness of the wilderness] [which may arise] in one who has dedicated himself to [the practice of] detachment and solitude'.

[37] The term is explained as: *vitarkaḥ kāmavitarkādayaḥ kliṣṭā vitarkāḥ* | (Sh 399,4-5).

[38] Actually, the end of the subsection on the analysis of elements and the beginning of the subsection on the mindfulness of breathing are missing in Shukla's edition. These passages have been edited from MS folio A*a-b and folio 29b-30a by Kimura Takayasu (1992).

[39] The treatment of the seven contemplations in relation to the supramundane path is far from simple. It is not always easy to understand the exact matching between various contemplations (see especially sections 3.29.4. and 3.29.5) and the steps of the classical Sarvāstivādin path of spiritual cultivation. Equally difficult to determine with precision is whether the seven contemplations represent here a straight progression or an intricate pattern allowing for different contemplations to operate simultaneously at the same level.

[40] Shukla omits *śūnyākāreṇa*. Wayman (W 130) includes the word but spells it as *śūnyatākāreṇa*. MS 130a7L clearly reads: *śūnyākāreṇa*.

[41] Many of the renderings of these ten aspects are adopted from Schmithausen 2005b, 6.

[42] This and the following subsections are particularly hard to define and delimitate accurately. Especially difficult to decide is the boundary between the sentences and subsections at Sh 502, 14-503, 3. Grammatically, it appears that the best way to construe the text is: < | > *satyāny abhisamitavataḥ darśanaprahātavyeṣu kleśeṣu prahīṇeṣu prāvivekyo manaskāraḥ prahāṇāya ca ata ūrdhvaṁ yathā pratilabdhaṁ mārgaṁ bhāvayato* <'>*bhyasyataḥ*. MS 127a1R-2L and Sh 502, 14-503, 2 punctuate, however, differently: they have no *daṇḍa* after *ādhimokṣiko manaskāraḥ*, place a *daṇḍa* after *prahāṇāya ca* and continue the sentence after <'>*bhyasyataḥ* with *kāmāvacarāṇām adhimātramadhyānāṁ kleśānāṁ prahāṇāt sakṛdāgāmī bhavati* | (Sh 503, 2-3) (Shukla also has comma after *prāvivekyo manaskāraḥ*). If we follow my punctuation of the text, the definition of *prāvivekyo manaskāraḥ* reads as follows: 'One who has comprehended the [Noble] Truths by having abandoned the defilements to be abandoned by the path of vision and who cultivates and repeats hereafter the path as he has attained it in order to eliminate [all the defilements] has [i.e., obtains] the contemplation engendering separation'. Xuanzang translates *prahāṇāya ca ata ūrdhvaṁ* as: 復從此後爲欲進斷修所斷惑 (T30.476b3) 'hereafter in order to eliminate the defilements to be eliminated by the path of cultivation'. Actually, both Tib. and Ch. seem to take *prahāṇāya ca* with the next sentence, but punctuate only after *bhavati*. (In the Skt. sentence of the extant MS, this is grammatically impossible.) I am not certain whether we should supply <*kleśa*>*prahāṇāya* as suggested by Tib. *nyon mongs pa* or the compound <*bhāvanāprahātavyakleśa*>*prahāṇāya* as hinted by Ch. 修所斷惑, but the main problem with the interpretation above is that it conflicts with the explanation found below (Sh 503,9-11; see note 43 below). Let us also note that the Chinese 復從此後爲欲進斷修所斷惑 cited above is considered by Katō Seishin (KIK, p. 267) as referring to the investigating contemplation.

[43] Section 3.29.4. has no clear definition of the investigating contemplation, but its function appears to be explained at Sh 503, 9-11: < | > *tatra sarvo bhāvanāmārgaḥ pratyavekṣya pratyavekṣya mīmāṁsāmanaskāreṇa prahīṇāprahīṇatāṁ yathāpratilabdhamārgābhyāsa-prabhāvitaḥ* (Sh reads °*maprabhāvitaḥ*) 'the whole path of cultivation is established as the result of the repeated practice in accordance with the path attained, after contemplating again

and again [which defilements] have been abandoned and [which] have not been abandoned [yet] by means of the investigating contemplation'. This is actually summarised at ŚrBh Sh 506, 6-7. The Sanskrit sentence continues, separated by no *daṇḍa* or half-*daṇḍa*, with the passage cited in the following section on the contemplation comprising delight (Sh 506, 8-10). Though difficult to delimitate and subdivide, the section on the investigating contemplation appears to consist of four subsections:

(1) remarks on the elimination of different defilements on the path of cultivation and the respective spiritual level attained thereby (*sakṛdāgāmin*, etc.) (Sh 503, 2-503, 9);

(2) the sentence quoted above which connects the investigating contemplation with the path of cultivation (Does this represent an addition by a later redactor?) (Sh 503, 9-11);

(3) an excursus on different types of cultivation (Sh 503, 12-506, 5); and

(4) a final summary (Sh 506, 6-7).

44 Shukla (p.506, n. 2) says that *rati* is added by a separate hand. The MS is blurred here, but I can hardly see anything looking like an addition by a separate hand. Both the Tibetan and Chinese translations contain the equivalent of *rati.*

45 Again, it must be stressed that the text is not clear about the exact definition and role played by the investigating contemplation and the contemplation comprising delight, but if this is the order in which they are supposed to function in the context of the supramundane path, then this is the reverse of the sequence seen in the Chapter on the Mundane Path (3.28.2. above). Another possibility is that on the *bhāvanāmārga*, several types of *manskāra*s may have been conceived of as complexly interacting and complementing each other.

APPENDIX

Structure of the *Yogācārabhūmi*

The *Yogācārabhūmi* is structured into five main parts (or six, in the Tibetan version), each having a number of textual divisions and subdivisions. The first is one is the basic part and deals with the three paths towards Liberation, i.e., the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, *Pratyekabuddhabhūmi*, and *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, as well as with various psychological and doctrinal aspects related directly or indirectly to spiritual cultivation. This part has survived almost completely in Sanskrit manuscript and was translated entirely into Tibetan and Chinese.[1] We do not know with precision the Sanskrit title of the entire part, but judging from the Tibetan and Chinese versions, this can be reconstructed as **Maulyo bhūmayaḥ* or **Maulī bhūmiḥ* (see below).[2] It is divided into seventeen books treating with various 'levels' or 'stages' (*bhūmi*) of spiritual praxis and theory.[3] The *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ* is followed by four (in the Chinese translation) or five (in the Tibetan rendering) parts called 'Collections' (*-saṁgrahaṇī*).

Let us first see the main textual units of the *Yogācārabhūmi*, and then we can briefly discuss the title of its first part as well as the structural differences existing between the Tibetan and Chinese versions.

PART ONE: *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ* (Tib. *Sa'i dngos gzhi*; Ch. 本地分)[4]

Book I : *Pañcavijñānakāyasaṁprayuktā bhūmiḥ* (*rNam par shes pa'i tshogs lnga dang ldan pa'i sa*; 五識身相應地)
Book II : *Manobhūmiḥ* (*Yid kyi sa*; 意地)
Book III : *Savitarkā savicārā bhūmiḥ* (*rTog pa dang bcas shing dpyod pa dang bcas pa'i sa*; 有尋有伺地)
Book IV : *Avitarkā vicāramātrā bhūmiḥ* (*rTog pa med cing dpyod pa tsam gyi sa*; 無尋唯伺地)
Book V : *Avitarkāvicārā bhūmiḥ* (*rTog pa yang med la dpyod pa yang med pa'i sa*; 無尋無伺地)[5]
Book VI : *Samāhitā bhūmiḥ* (*mNyam par bzhag pa pa'i sa*; 三摩呬多地)
Book VII : *Asamāhitā bhūmiḥ* (*mNyam par ma bzhag pa pa'i sa*; 非三摩呬多地)
Book VIII : *Sacittikā bhūmiḥ* (*Sems yod pa'i sa*; 有心地)
Book IX : *Asacittikā bhūmiḥ* (*Sems med pa'i sa*; 無心地)
Book X : *Śrutamayī bhūmiḥ* (*Thos pa las byung ba'i sa*; 聞所成地)
Book XI : *Cintamayī bhūmiḥ* (*bSams pa las byung ba'i sa*; 思所成地)
Book XII : *Bhāvanāmayī bhūmiḥ* (*bsGoms pa las byung ba'i sa*; 修所成地)
Book XIII : *Śrāvakabhūmiḥ* (*Nyan thos kyi sa*; 聲聞地)
Book XIV : *Pratyekabuddhabhūmiḥ* (*Rang sangs rgyas kyi sa*; 獨覺地)
Book XV : *Bodhisattvabhūmiḥ* (*Byang chub sems dpa'i sa*; 菩薩地)
Book XVI : *Sopadhikā bhūmiḥ* (*Phung po dang bcas pa'i sa*; 有餘依地)
Book XVII : *Nirupadhikā bhūmiḥ* (*Phung po med pa'i sa*; 無餘依地)

The next main part, i.e., the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī*, is a collection of commentarial matterials or 'clarifications' (*viniścaya*) on the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ*. The rest of the text represents collections of various doctrinal definitions, lists, exegetical materials dedicated to canonical scriptures, etc. Apart from a very few fragments, all these four (or five) collections survive only in Chinese and Tibetan translations. Since their number and order is different in the two extant versions, and I enumerate them separately.

Chinese Version

PART TWO:	*Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* 攝決擇分
PART THREE:	**Vyākhyāsaṁgrahaṇī* 攝釋分
PART FOUR:	*Paryāyasaṁgrahaṇī* 攝異門分
PART FIVE:	*Vastusaṁgrahaṇī* 攝事分

Tibetan Version

PART TWO:	*Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* (*rNam par gtan la dbab pa bsdu ba*)
PART THREE:	*Vastusaṁgrahaṇī* (*gZhi bsdu ba*)
PART FOUR:	**Vinayasaṁgrahaṇī* (*'Dul ba bsdu ba*)
PART FIVE:	*Paryāyasaṁgrahaṇī* (*rNam grangs bsdu ba*)
PART SIX:	**Vyākhyāsaṁgrahaṇī* (*rNam par bshad pa bsdu ba*)[6]

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The title *Maulī bhūmiḥ* used with reference to the first main part appears in one of the very the few *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* fragments extant in Sanskrit.[7] This is a Nepalese manuscript offered at the beginning of the 20th century by Dalai Lama XIII to the then government of Russia. We owe its identification to the Japanese scholar Matsuda Kazunobu (1988), who also transliterated and discussed a few passages. The *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* actually cites here a sentence from the *Manobhūmi* (YoBh 57, 18) and adds: '[the rest] is as explained in detail in the 'Basic Level [/Book]' (*tad yathā Maulyāṁ bhūmau vistareṇoktaṁ*; in Matsuda 1988, 18). The *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* frequently refers to various Books of the first part as 'Basic Level' (Tib., *Sa'i dngos gzhi*; Ch., *Ben di fen* 本地分). Without the entire text in Sanskrit, we cannot be sure as to whether the entire first part was called *Maulī bhūmiḥ*, a singular used with a collective meaning, or whether the plural form *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ* was employed. The impression one gets from the Tibetan version of the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* is that the *Sa'i dngos gzhi* refers to only one specific Level/Book (e.g., D Zhi 48a1; 49b6; 56a5; 57a1; 57b6; etc.). And the same is true about the Sanskrit passage quoted above.

We actually see a plural form at the beginning of the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* which says: 'the exposition of the [Basic/ Seventeen?] Levels has been completed' (*Sa rnams ni bshad zin to* | | P Zi 1a4; D Zhi 1a2; ZT vol. 74, p. 3, l. 5). We do not know whether this *Sa rnams* = **Bhūmayaḥ* is an abbreviation of the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ* or of the *Saptadaśa bhūmayaḥ*. The Chinese translation would seem, however, to support the first reconstruction: 'the Basic Level[s?] has [/have] thus been expounded' 如是已說本地 (T30.579b8).

The appellation *Saptadaśa bhūmayaḥ* is used in the first main part to refer to its Seventeen Level/Books. The beginning of the extant text defines the *Yogācārabhūmi* as consisting of *Saptadaśa bhūmayaḥ* (*Yogācārabhūmiḥ katamā | sā Saptadaśa bhūmayo draṣṭavyā* | YoBh, 3, 1), and after enumerating these Levels, the text says: 'these *Saptadaśa bhūmayaḥ* are concisely named *Yogācārabhūmi*' (*ity etāḥ Saptadaśa bhūmayaḥ samāsato Yogācārabhūmir ity ucyate* YoBh 3, 12). Without a complete Sanskrit text of the *Yogācārabhūmi*, we cannot, however, be certain that this was the title of the entire unit in the final version of the text. Xuanzang renders *Saptadaśa bhūmayaḥ* in this passage as *Shier di* 十七地 (T30.279a8; 279a13) or 十七 (T30.279a8; 279a20) but refers to the first part of the text as *Ben di fen* 本地分 or 'Section of the Basic Levels' and regularly uses *Ben di* 本地 'Basic Level' in the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī*.[8] The Tibetan version similarly renders *Saptadaśa bhūmayaḥ* here as *Sa bcu bdun, bcu bdun* (D Tshi 1b2) and *Sa bcu bdun po* (D Tshi 2a1-2), but in the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī*, it consistently refers to these Levels/Books as *Sa'i dngos gzhi*.

It is actually only the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* which refers to the first main part as *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ*/ *Maulī bhūmiḥ* = *Sa'i dngos gzhi* or *Ben di fen* 本地分. This probablt is an appellation devised by the authors and/or compilers of the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* (see Schmithausen 2000, p. 245, n. 3). The meaning of *maulī* here is that of 'original' work contrasted with a commentarial text (see MW, s.v. *mūla*), and the designation *Maulī bhūmiḥ* clearly reflects an exegetical standpoint. We could then surmise that the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ*/ *Maulī bhūmiḥ* as a title started to be employed only in the late phases of the *Yogācārabhūmi* formation (see Chapter Five below). This would also imply that in earlier stages, the *Saptadaśa bhūmayaḥ* was an explanatory or alternative title for the *Yogācārabhūmi* or, more precisely, for what is now the first part of the text.[9] If this is true, then using the *Saptadaśa bhūmayaḥ* as a title for this part of the *Yogācārabhūmi* as it is *now*, i.e., reflecting the text as it became crystalised in the last formative phases, may not be completely satisfactory (though not impossible either).

Another title by which the first main part (or at least a substantial portion of it) seems to have been known is *Bahubhūmika*. Hakamaya (1982, 59-60) points out that the colophon of the sDe dge Canon uses the phrase *Sa mang po* 'many Levels/Books' to refer to the various Bhūmis of the first part. The colophon reads: *'di na rNal sbyor spyod pa'i sa las Phung po med pa'i sa rdzogs te Sa mang po rdzogs so* || (D Tshi 283a7) 'Here the *Nirupadhikā bhūmiḥ* of the *Yogācārabhūmi* comes to an end, and so do the many [other] Bhūmis [which make up this part]'. The same *Sa mang po* appears in Bu-ston's Catalogue: *Sa'i dngos gzhi'i sa bco lnga pa'i bar Sa mang po pa zhes pa* (Nishioka 1981, p. 56. ll. 23-24; see also Hakamaya 1982, p. 74, n. 46); and the *lDan-dkar-ma* also contains it: *rNal 'byor spyod pa'i sa las | Sa mang po pa |* (Lalou 1953, p. 614, # 614). Hakamaya remarks that this does not necessarily mean that *Sa mang po* was the title of this part of the *Yogācārabhūmi* and therefore a reconstruction like **Bahubhūmika* has not much sense. It is indeed hard to know whether the appealation was invented by the Tibetan scholars or has Indian roots. In Tibet, it appears to have been a useful way of referring to the Bhūmis of the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ*, more of the than not, excluding the *Śrāvakabhūmi* and the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*. Actually, the latter two were traditionally considered in Tibet to be independed books (in format and as

catalogue entries), separate from the other Bhūmis of the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ* which together formed a unit apart.

In the end, although not attested as such in Sanskrit, the plural form *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ* seemed to me an appropriate or at least possible way of referring to the first main part of the *Yogācārabhūmi*.[10]

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What was the number of parts in the original text of the *Yogācārabhūmi*? To begin from the conclusion, the *'Dul ba bsdu ba* (**Vinayasaṁgrahaṇī*) seems to be an redactional modification peculiar to the Tibetan transmission of the text.[11] The *'Dul ba bsdu ba* (**Vinayasaṁgrahaṇī*) actually corresponds to a chapter in the Chinese translation of the *Vastusaṁgrahaṇī* which deals with Vinaya matters. Inner evidence from the *Yogācārabhūmi* itself suggests that the text was originally organised into five main parts. For example, the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* says that the Buddha's teaching (**deśanā*; *bshad pa*; 教導) contains the *Piṭaka* and the *Mātṛkā* and that the latter consists of the **Saptadaśa bhūmayaḥ* (*Sa bcu bdun*; 十七地) and the **Catvāraḥ saṁgrahaṇyaḥ* (*bsDu ba bzhi*; 四種攝) (P Zi 195b7; T30.654b6).[12] The fact that not only the Chinese translation but also the Tibetan version clearly speaks of 'four *Saṁgrahaṇī*s' corroborates our conjecture about the number of parts in the original. And although no indication is given here as to the names of these 'four *Saṁgrahaṇī*s', comparison with the Chinese translation makes quite probable that the Sanskrit text of the *Yogācārabhūmi* did not contain a **Vinayasaṁgrahaṇī*.

Furthermore, Suguro (1989, 280-283) points out that while the Chinese translation contains largely similar closing formulae after each of the chapters which deal (1) with *sūtra* 契經事 (T30.868b20-22), (2) *vinaya* 調伏事 (T30.878a22-24), and (3) *mātṛkā* (T30.881b26-c2) respectively, nothing like this is found at the end of the *'Dul ba bsdu ba* (P Yi 26b-27a3). Besides, the final passage of the Tibetan translation of the *Vastusaṁgrahaṇī* (P 'I 381b6-382a2) puts together elements only from what in the Chinese translation represents the end of chapters (1) and (3) and seems to deliberately avoid any mention of *vinaya*.

The reason for having a separate textual unit treating *Vinaya* separately is, however, not so difficult to imagine and certainly not illogical. Its addition makes the text contain three parts, i.e., the *Vastusaṁgrahaṇī* (*gZhi bsdu ba*), the **Vinaya-saṁgrahaṇī* (*'Dul ba bsdu ba*), and the *Vyākhyāsaṁgrahaṇī* (*rNam par bshad pa bsdu ba*), which correspond to the tripartite classification of the Buddhist Canon into the *Sūtrapiṭaka*, *Vinayapiṭaka*, and *Abhidharmapiṭaka*. It is more difficult to know when such a re-organisation of the text happened. The *lDan-dkar-ma* Catalogue contains no textual unit entitled *'Dul ba bsdu ba* (Lalou 1953, 334). The entry on the *Yogācārabhūmi* in Bu-ston's Catalogue reads: *'Phags pa Thogs med kyis mdzad pa'i Sa sde lnga tshang ba la 130 bam po* '[*Yogācāra*]*Bhūmi* in five parts composed by Āryāsaṅga, having a total of 130 *bam pos*' (Nishioka 1981, p. 56. ll. 22-23).[13] After this, Bu-ston lists each of the main parts with their basic bibliographical details. Their titles are: *rNam par gtan la dbab pa bsdu ba*[14] (*Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī*), *gZhi bsdu ba* (*Vastusaṁgrahaṇī*), *rNam grangs bsdu ba* (*Paryāyasaṁgrahaṇī*), and *rNam par bshad pa bsdu ba* (*Vyākhyāsaṁgrahaṇī*) (Nishioka 1981, p. 56, # 695-#698). The order is

different from the Chinese version of the *Yogācārabhūmi*, but we find no *'Dul ba bsdu ba* (**Vinayasaṁgrahaṇī*).

The title *Sa sde lnga* seems to have actually been often employed in Tibet for the *Yogācārabhūmi* (see Hakamaya 1985a, 220; Hakamaya (Kuwayama and Hakamaya) 1981, 281), though it does not seem to appear in early sources. It cannot be found in Dunhuang manuscripts (ibid. Hakamaya 1985a, p. 251, n. 52) and is not used in the *lDan-dkar-ma* Catalogue either. I am not aware of the earliest occurrence of the title in Tibetan literature, but sources after Bu-ston appear to use it quite frequently as a well-established name for the text. For example, the title *Sa sde lnga* is found in the *Sems tsam pa* (*Cittamātra*) Section of the *bsTan 'gyur dkar chag* of the Mustang *Tanjur* which was completed in 1447 (see Eimer 2002c, p. 79, n. 32).[15] We also find the same title in historical sources such as Tāranātha's *Chos 'byung* which refers to the *Yogācārabhūmi* as the *Sa sde lnga* (p. 88, l. 7).[16]

The above data appears to indicate that the re-organisation of the *Yogācārabhūmi* in Tibet took place at a rather late date. But on the other hand, there is no definitive evidence to rule out completely the possibility that the departure from the original five-division structure may have been the deliberate editorial effort of Jinamitra, Yes-shes-sde, etc.[17] I see the latter scenario less likely, but further investigation into Tibetan sources is definitely necessary before a more certain conclusion could be drawn.

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Finally, let us say a few words about the order of the last three (/four) *Saṁgrahaṇīs*, which as we have seen, is different in the Tibetan and Chinese versions.[18] The problem has been carefully analysed by the Japanese scholar Suguro Shinjō (1976, 25-31; 1989, 273-279) who searched for clues in the grammatical forms of the verbs used in the cross-references found all throughout the *Yogācārabhūmi*. Suguro reasonably infers that future forms like *bshad par bya'o*, *rtogs par bya'o* in Tibetan or constructions such as 我當廣說 in Chinese show that the passage which is referred to comes later in the text. On the basis of such occurrences, Suguro concludes that the correct order is to have the *Vastusaṁgrahaṇī* placed after the *Paryāyasaṁgrahaṇī* like in the Chinese translation. There are no clear textual clues regarding the place of the *Vyākhyāsaṁgrahaṇī*, but Suguro surmises that the Chinese version may show the correct order. Actually, Jinaputra's **Yogācārabhūmivyākhyā* briefly describes the five main parts of the *Yogācārabhūmi* in the following order is the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ* 本地分, *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* 攝決擇分, **Vyākhyāsaṁgrahaṇī* 攝釋分, *Paryāyasaṁgrahaṇī* 攝異門分, and *Vastusaṁgrahaṇī* 攝事分 (T30.885a5-13).[19] This serves as collateral evidence that the number as well as sequence of the main parts of the *Yogācārabhūmi* is best reflected in the Chinese translation.[20]

It must, however, be said that although not devoid of philological interest, the issue of the order of the *Saṁgrahaṇīs* is not vital for the content of the text. After all, as suggested by Ui (1965, vol. 1, p. 372), as long as the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ* is followed the *Vinścayasaṁgrahaṇī*, the order of the last three/four textual units is not so important.[21] It is very likely that the Chinese translation reflects the original order of the Sanskrit text,[22] but this does not diminish the value of the Tibetan version at all. The latter

shows a very systematic way of structuring its scholastic discourse: it first deals with *Sūtra*, then with *Vinaya*, after which it discusses various *paryāya*s, and finally has the *Vyākhyāsaṁgrahaṇī*, which corresponds to the *Mātṛkā* or *Abhidharma* category (see Suguro 1976, 31). And though probably a deviation from the original order and structure of the text, this does not compromise its substance.

NOTES

[1] There still remain a few parts of the Sanskrit manuscript to be edited. A comprehensive bibliographical presentation of the Sanskrit manuscripts and available editions of the YoBh Books and fragments as well as relevant secondary sources published until 1990 is found in Sugawara 1990, 318-329. Silk 2001, 153-158, also contains an excellent bibliographical survey of the YoBh editions and can certainly serve as a very helpful supplement for the recent years. Relevant entries on primary and secondary sources are, of course, also found in Powers 1991. Kritzer 2005, X V, also lists the main available YoBh editions. Details about most of these editions are also given in my Bibliography at the end of this book.

[2] The Sanskrit reconstruction is hypothetical and, as we shall see below, not easy to determine. For the sake of convenience, I nevertheless omit hereafter the asterisk which marks the conjectural character of the reconstruction.

[3] The term *bhūmi* in the *Yogācārabhūmi* is used both with the meaning of '[spiritual] level' and textual unit dealing with the respective 'level'. In its sense of 'stage' of spiritual practice, *bhūmi* is well-known in Buddhist literature, especially in Mahāyāna texts describing the bodhisattva's career (see Dayal 1932 [1978], 270-291). Occasionally, it is also met with in some *Upaniṣad*s (for *bhūmikā* employed with a similar sense in the *Akṣyupaniṣad*, see Przylusky with Lamotte, 1932 [2004], 192-201).

It must be said, however, that strictly speaking, 'level' in the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ* does not mean a stage in an uninterrupted spiritual progression. The fact that the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* follows the *Śrāvakabhūmi* and *Pratyekabuddhabhūmi* does in no way entail the presupposition that the yogi must initially reach the first two stages and then proceed with the bodhisattva training. In the doctrinal context of the *Yogācārabhūmi*, the term *bhūmi* is construed as referring to different levels of spiritual orientation, which are usually regarded as insurmountable and self-contained. It is only within these levels that progression can take place.

Secondly, in the *Yogācārabhūmi*, the word *bhūmi* also has the connotation of 'textual unit dedicated to a certain spiritual level'. The seventeen *bhūmi*s can thus be rendered as 'books'. A translation doing justice to both meanings would probably be 'book on the level of...'. A similar usage of *bhūmi* is seen in the ŚrBh, which is structured into three textual units called *Gotrabhūmi, Avatārabhūmi* and *Naiṣkramyabhūmi* (see note 17 to Chapter One above). *Bhūmi* as a compositional unit is also seen in a text like *Peṭakopadesa* which belongs now to the Pali Canon but may have originated outside this tradition (see Hinüber [1996] 1997, 80-82).

Last but not least, the word *bhūmi* in the title *Yogācārabhūmi* (as well as in the *Śrāvaka-bhūmi*, *Pratyekabuddhabhūmi*, and *Bodhisattvabhūmi*) could also be understood as the 'ground' or 'foundation' of spiritual practice (see also note 126 to Chapter Five below). This is one of the meanings which later commentarial literature clearly attributes to the word. For example, Jinaputra's **Yogācārabhūmivyākhyā* says: 'Or [another meaning is as follows:] the *yogācārya* relies on this place [/ground] to increase [his] white [i.e., wholesome spiritual] factors. Therefore, it is called *bhūmi*, like [in the case of] farming land'. 或瑜伽師依此處所增長白法。故名爲地，如稼穡地。(T30.884c25-26).

[4] The titles of all the 17 Bhūmis are listed at beginning of the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ*; for Skt., see

YoBh 3,8-13; for Tib., see D Tshi 1a4-1b1; for Ch., see T30.279a14-20.

The *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ* represents half of the whole YoBh. In the Chinese translation, it occupies 50 out of the 100 scrolls which make up the entire text.

[5] There are some slight variations in the wording of the titles of Books IV and V in Tibetan. For example, at D Tshi 37a7, they are given as *rTog pa med pa la dpyod pa tsam gyi sa* and *rTog pa med pa la dpyod pa yang med pa'i sa* respectively.

[6] The Sanskrit title of this part is not attested and can also be reconstructed as **Vivaraṇasaṁgrahaṇī* (see Kritzer 2005, p. XVI and n. 11). Although **Vyākhyāsaṁgrahaṇī* is a conjectural reconstruction, the asterisk will be omitted below.

[7] For the other fragments, see Matsuda ed. and tr. 1995.

[8] It is also noteworthy that the Korean edition of the Chinese Canon, also followed by the Taishō edition, contains at the end of Scroll 50 the following remark: 'the Section on the Basic Levels ends [here]' 本地分竟 (T577c16). No other traditional edition of the Canon seems to contain this reading (see note 9 to Taishō Canon (T), vol. 30, p. 577, and endnote to *juan* 50 in the *Zhonghua dazangjing* (ZC), vol. 27, p. 859c). We cannot rule out the possibility that the remark in the Korean Canon may reflect a genuine reading going back to Xuanzang's manuscript or his translation team. Its absence in all other traditional witnesses suggests, however, that it more probably represents an editorial addition brought by Sugi and/or other Korean redactors of the Canon.

[9] This title may have, however, survived in later ages as an alternative title for the entire text. The *Shier di* 十七地 or *The Seventeen Levels* is often used in Chinese sources as a title for the whole *Yogācārabhūmi*, including the four *Saṁgrahaṇī*s (see Chapter Four below).

[10] I am indebted to Prof. Schmithausen for the suggestion to adopt the plural form when referring to this part of the text.

[11] The Mongolian translation, which seems to be based upon the Tibetan version, also contains a separate part on Vinaya: *Yoga-yin yabudual γaǰar-ač Vinai-yin quriyangγui*. It also has its main textual units structured in the same order and manner as in the Tibetan translation (see note 1 to Introduction above).

[12] See also note 117 to Chapter Five below.

[13] The number of *bam pos* of the extant *Yogācārabhūmi* is different from that registered by Bu-ston. See Chapter Three below.

[14] Nishioka reads: °*bsbu ba*, which probably is a mere typographical error.

[15] On the Mustang *Tanjur*, see Section III of Chapter Three below.

[16] In doxographical works like the *Grub mtha' chen mo* by 'Jam dbyang bzhad pa'i rdo rje Ngag dbang brtson 'grus (1648-1722) and the *Grub mtha'i rnam par bzhag pa gsal bar bshad pa thub bstan lhun po'i mdzes rgyan* by lCang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje (1717-1786), we also see the YoBh referred to by the title *Sa sde* (fragments edited in Hakamaya 1976, p. 21-22), an abbreviation which usually stands for the *Sa sde lnga*. See also note 3 to Introduction.

[17] If we go along such a line of inference, we would have to suppose that Bu-ston knew that the Sanskrit original comprised only five divisions and that the Vinaya chapter initially belonged to the *gZhi bsdu ba* (*Vastusaṁgrahaṇī*). He thus recorded only five main parts and kept their order as well as titles like in the original Sanskrit. This line of inference remains, however, highly speculative.

[18] The differences in the order of the main textual parts are also pointed out and discussed by Ui (1958, 8-11; 1965, vol. 1, p. 372), Sugawara (1990, p. 319, n. 6), etc.

[19] On Jinaputra's **Yogācārabhūmivyākhyā*, see Chapter Six below.

[20] It could be argued that the order of the main parts in the Sanskrit original of the *Yogācārabhūmi* translated by Xuanzang was different and that the Chinese master also changed the order in his rendering of the **Yogācārabhūmivyākhyā* accordingly. Although logically not

impossible, I see such a scenario very unlikely.

[21] It is also possible that the order of the main parts of the YoBh was not a very rigid matter in India. Besides, it is very likely that the main textual units of the text may have been transmited in separate manuscripts, which probably made the issue of their sequence even more complex and relative. The Tibetan tradition of counting all the main parts of the YoBh as well as the ŚrBh and BoBh (see above) as separate texts is not a proof *eo ipso* that the same was the case in India. It suggests, however, that such a manner of transmitting textual units making up a single, huge work like the YoBh is not impossible.

[22] Though admittedly not a strong piece of evidence, another factor which would support this is the historical fact that the YoBh was the *very* motive for Xuanzang's journey to India as well as the text which he venerated his whole life (see Chapter Four below). One would expect that the Chinese master would have been faithful in all details to the original of the YoBh, especially when such details had nothing to do with the intelligibility of his translation to the Chinese readers.

CHAPTER TWO

Sanskrit Original

I Origin and Date of the Manuscript

As far as we know, there is only one Sanskrit manuscript of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* surviving to this day. We owe its discovery to the great Indian scholar Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana (9 April 1903-14 April 1963)[1] who found it in 1938 at the Zhva-lu Monastery[2] in Tibet (see Sāṅkṛtyāyana 1938, 138-139).[3] Sāṅkṛtyāyana's journey in the Land of Snows was the fourth in a seires of expeditions motivated by a keen desire to find Sanskrit Buddhist manuscripts extinct in their country of origin. He and his party, consisting of dGe-'dun Chos-'phel (1905?-1951), a remarkable figure in the cultural life of modern Tibet,[4] Abaya Singh Parera, a Sinhalese expert on Pali literature, the photographer Pheni Moukherji[5] and the artist Kanwal Krishna, reached Zhva-lu on the 27th of May 1938. This was actually Sāṅkṛtyāyana's third visit to the famous Tibetan monastery. In his report on the second journey undertaken in 1936, Sāṅkṛtyāyana gives details about the physical location of the site and its manuscript collection (see Sāṅkṛtyāyana 1937, 9-14). According to this, the old texts were not stored in the Zhva-lu Temple proper but in 'a small monastic establishment called Ṣhu-lu-ri-phug [sic][6], which is a branch of the monastery of Ṣha-lu' (p. 10). This branch-monastery was founded by the celebrated Tibetan exegete and thinker Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub-pa (1290-1364).[7] In 1936, Sāṅkṛtyāyana searched through a large part of the temple's collection of Tibetan and Indian texts, but he did not gain access to one chamber locked and sealed by the Tibetan Government.[8] In his report on his fourth expedition, Sāṅkṛtyāyana mentions that this time he had obtained the whole support of the Tibetan authorities (1938, 137). Although no details are not given, we can infer that in May 1938, he was allowed to open and look into the sealed chamber previously inaccessible. And it was probably here that Sāṅkṛtyāyana discovered the manuscripts of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, the *Pratyekabuddha-bhūmi*,[9] and the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*[10] as well as twelve works by Jñānaśrīmitra[11] and several other Buddhist texts, all of which are listed as new finds in his report on the fourth journey (1938). The Indian scholar and his team spent more than two weeks at Zhva-lu examining and taking photographs of the newly found texts.

The negatives of the photographs were brought back to India and stored at the Bihar Research Society in Patna. In the following decades, a large number of the texts were published on the basis of these negatives mainly due to the efforts of Indian scholars. A report concerning this collection is found in Much 1988. Although it focuses on logical and epistemological texts, the booklet offers general information on the state of the entire collection, amounting to 1300 photos on glass and film negatives, as well as on the Indian catalogues available or under preparation at that time.[12]

Thanks to the efforts of Gustav Roth, copies of the negatives of the photographs were also obtained by the Seminar für Indologie und Buddhismuskunde of Georg-August University of Göttingen (see Einleitung des Herausgebers, in Bandurski et all. eds. *Untersuchen zur buddhistischen Literatur* and Bandurski 1994, 13). A detailed analysis and catalogue of the collection, with copious bibliographical information, was published

by Bandurski in 1994 (for data relevant to the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, see pp. 61-63).

What precisely happened to our *Śrāvakabhūmi* manuscipt after 1938 is not very clear. Next time we learn something about it is in 1992 when the Japanese scholar Yasuo Matsunami reported that 'recently' (no exact dates) he and his colleagues at Taishō University in Tokyo had come to know that the MS was preserved at the China Library of Nationalities in Beijing.[13] The author also mentions that a joint project between the Library and the Institute for Comprehensive Study of Buddhism at Taishō University was initiated in 1990. As far as I know there is no publicly available information on why and how the *Śrāvakabhūmi* manuscript itself was moved from its centuries-old home in the solitary mountain recess (*ri phug*) of Zhva-lu, but the broad outlines of the historical events underlying this long trip to the capital of the Middle Kingdom can be re-constructed. In a recent survey on the history of Sanskrit manuscripts in Tibet, Steinkellner (2004, 20-21) notes that 'in 1959 the manuscripts from Shalu (Źa-lu) were already brought to the Potala' and 'in 1961 a collection of ca 250 manuscripts was sent to the library of the Palace of National Minorities (Zhongguo Minzu Tushuguan) in Beijing as a loan from the "Tibetan Government"'.

The fruit of the co-operation between the China Library of Nationalities in Beijing and the Institute for Comprehensive Study of Buddhism at Taishō University was the publication of the high-quality facsimile reproduction of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* manuscript in 1994.[14] One or two years later, the *Śrāvakabhūmi* manuscript, together with other manuscripts stored in the China Library of Nationalities in Beijing, was moved to Nor-bu-gling-kha in Lhasa, where it was still found when a survey team from the Institute for Comprehensive Study of Buddhism at Taishō University visited Lhasa in July 1997 (ŚrBh-Gr, Introduction, p. IV).[15]

The first description of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* palm-leaf manuscript is found in Sāṅkṛtyāyana 1938 (p. 144), which records its basic codicological data, i.e., size 20½″ × 2⅛″; 126 leaves; 7, 8 lines per folio. The Indian scholar also notes that the text is the work of Asaṅga, its script is Kuṭilā, and it is incomplete (which probably refers to the few lacunae in the MS). The 1994 facsimile reproduction gives a perfect image of the MS, and in spite of its relatively small number of copies (only 100), it has made the decipherment of the original not only much easier (compared with reliance on copies of Sāṅkṛtyāyana's negatives) but also an aesthetically rewarding experience.[16] I hope that through my diplomatic edition I can offer a faithful replica of the MS and its scribal peculiarities.[17]

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Unfortunately, the manuscript has no colophon, and dating it with precision is very difficult. Though not directly connected with the *Śrāvakabhūmi* manuscript itself, some relevant data are, however, found in Sāṅkṛtyāyana's report on his second journey to Tibet (1937, 11-14). At the Zhva-lu Monastery, the Indian scholar came across 'a paper MS [of Manorathanandin's glossary on the *Pramāṇavārttika*] written in Vibhūticandra's own hand' (ibid., 11). This Vibhūticandra appears to be the well-known *mahāpaṇḍita* who played a crucial role in the transmission of the *ṣaḍaṅgayoga* (*rnal 'byor yan lag drug pa*) system to Tibet.[18] He was born in the later half of the 12th century in East India (Stearns 1996, 128) and received much of his early training at the monastic university of Vikramaśilā[19] under Śākyaśrībhadra (1127?-1225?).[20] The latter is a famous figure in

the history of late Indian Buddhism. According to Tāranātha, Śākyaśrībhadra, 'the great *paṇḍita* from Kashmir', was the last abbot of the Vikramaśilā Monastery.[21] After the destruction of this celebrated monastic university at the beginning of the 13th century,[22] he fled first to Jagaddala[23] (see Jackson 1990, edited text p. 22, ll. 5-14), then to Bodhgayā (ibid. p. 23, ll.5-14) and Nepal. Finally, he found refuge in Tibet in 1204,[24] where he was to play a major part in the translation and transmission of the Buddhist teachings.[25] Vibhūticandra was one of the disciples who travelled and stayed together with Śākyaśrībhadra in Tibet. His name is actually found in Śākyaśrībhadra's biography as one of the junior *paṇḍita*s having accompanied their master (see Jackson ed. 1990, edited text p. 42, l. 15: *bla ma bi bhu ta tsandra*; see also Tucci 1949, vol. 2, p 335). At the end of the manuscript 'in Vibhūticandra's own hand' discovered at Zhva-lu, we have a rare sample of a few stanzas and notes composed by the Indian master himself. They are verses and prose lines dedicated to his teacher, Śākyaśrībhadra, and to a local ruler, identified by Sāṅkṛtyāyana as Grags-pa rGyal-mtshan (1147-1216),[26] who was the Sa-skya Patriarch at that time (Sāṅkṛtyāyana 1937, 11-13).[27]

It is difficult to know whether all the Indian manuscripts (or part of them, including our *Śrāvakabhūmi*) in the Zhva-lu collection had been brought by Śākyaśrībhadra and/or his disciples, but I believe that the historical background of the age makes such a hypothesis plausible.[28] Actually, it seems that the manuscripts in Zhva-lu-ri-phug originally had come from Sa-skya (Sāṅkṛtyāyana 1935, 22; Bandurski 1994, 25; cf. also Steinkellner 2004, 11-12).[29] Śākyaśrībhadra was closely associated with the Sa-skya Monastery where he taught various scriptures and re-translated Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇavārttika* in collaboration with Sa-skya Paṇḍita (1182-1251) (Jackson ed. 1990, edited text p. 46, ll. 10-14). The latter, who became one of the most celebrated names in the history of Tibetan Buddhism, actually spent many years studying under Śākyaśrībhadra and his disciples a variety of subjects ranging from Abhidharma and Vijñānavāda to Pramāṇa and Vajrayāna (see Jackson 1987, 26-27).

An important detail in the history of the manuscript is provided by the dGe-'dun Chos-'phel. In his memoirs (1986; 1990), the Tibetan scholar gives a brief description of the discoveries made by Sāṅkṛtyāyana at the Zhva-lu Monastery. According to this, 'the book [i.e., manuscript] of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* and the *Pratyekabuddhabhūmi*' (*Nyan sa dang Rang sangs rgyas kyi sa dpe*) has a long format and is preserved in good quality (*spus legs*) apart from some missing folios in the beginning and the end. dGe-'dun Chos-'phel also mentions that the manuscripts of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* and *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (*Nyan sa dang Byang chub sems dpa'i sa dpe*) contain 266 folios, that [the latter?] has a short format (*dpe thung*) and that [it?] contains on the upper margin (*ya rtse*) [of a folio or cover?] an inscription (*kha byang*)[30] to the effect that these manuscript[s?] were 'offered by sLob-dpon 'Od-zer-seng-ge' (*sLob-dpon 'Od-zer-seng-ges phul ba*) (dGe-'dun Chos-'phel 1986, 23; 1990, 25-26).[31] Why dGe-'dun Chos-'phel juxtaposes the *Śrāvakabhūmi* and the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* in his description is rather puzzling: 266 is the number of folios of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (see Sāṅkṛtyāyana 1938, 145; Dutt's Introduction, p. 3, to his edition of *Bodhisattvabhūmi*), which makes the presence of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* in the same sentence superfluous. Equally unclear is where the inscription is actually found. Nothing of the kind is seen on any folio of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* manuscript (including the interpolated Bhūmis which it contains). Nor does the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* manuscript contain such a notation.[32]

No information concerning the age, origin or other titles than *slob-dpon* is given about 'Od-zer-seng-ge. Historically, it is not excluded that this is the same person with 'Od-zer-seng-ge who ruled twice as Sa-skya regent at the end of the 13th century and beginning of the 14th century (*Deb ther sngon po*, folio 194 (Chandra's number) = Nga 6b (traditional number), line 4; cf. *Deb ther sngon po* tr., vol. 1, p. 217).[33] Nothing is said about the recipient of the donation, but we could conjecture that this may refer to the Sa-skya Monastery itself (which would mean that 'Od-zer-seng-ge had obtained the collection from somewhere else or that he was merely sanctioning its ownership by Sa-skya), or, even more likely, to the Zhva-lu Monastery, which appears to be the next destination (at least as far as we know) of the manuscripts. If the offering was made to a person rather than an institution, then the first name which comes to mind is Bu-ston himself who had resided in Sa-skya before assuming the see of the Zhva-lu Monastery and establishing the Zhva-lu-ri-phug (see Seyfort Ruegg tr. 1966).[34]

This is merely a tentative scenario and certainly not the only possible. After all, Śākyaśrībhadra and his disciples were not the only Indian masters seeking refuge in Tibet at the end of the 12th century and beginning of the 13th century. It is, therefore, possible that the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, and other related manuscripts may have been brought by another Indian or Tibetan monk and eventually found their home in the tranquil (at least, until recent years....) Zhva-lu-ri-phug. Historically speaking, long before the end of the 12th century, either during the First Transmission of the Buddhist Dharma to Tibet or in the early days of the Second Diffusion, manuscripts must have found their way from India into the Land of Snows.[35] However, an attempt to establish links between the manuscripts (including our *Śrāvakabhūmi*) probably brought by Śakyaśrībhadra and his disciples in the wake of the destruction of Vikramaśilā, his association with the Sa-skya Monastery, where the manuscripts were donated or remained, and their being hosted in Zhva-lu-ri-phug (as an offering from 'Od-zer-seng-ge?) is, I believe, more than a sterile exercise in historical imagination.

Finally, it must be said that the conjectured date of the arrival of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* manuscript in Tibet does not coincide with the date of its production in India. Since in our case, we have no colophon or other direct historical document, the only way to reach an approximate dating is through palaeographical analysis, which will be dealt with in our next section.

II Script and Language

A comparison with other scripts, epigraphic or literary, used in the early mediaeval period (ca. 7th-10th centuries) and around the beginning of the later mediaeval period (1000 onwards)[36] shows that there is no particular variety which agrees in all details with that of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* manuscript.[37]

The most detailed discussion of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* manuscript palaeography is found in Wayman 1961, 8-18. According to the American scholar, the manuscript is written in Nepāli Vartula and can be dated to the 12th century. Several of Wayman's findings remain valid or worth considering,[38] but I am afraid that I shall have to disagree with some details of his conclusions. First, I do not think that the script of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* manuscript (hereafter, the *Śrāvakabhūmi* script) can be identified as Vartula proper, especially if we use the term as strictly referring to Nepāli Vartula or

Vartula Newārī, but seems to represent an earlier, related palaeographical variety. Second, although Wayman's hypothesis cannot be ruled out completely, it is more likely that the MS dates back to (probably the first half of) the 11th century.[39]

It must be stressed that generally speaking, pinpointing the date of a manuscript only from palaeographical features is extremely difficult. The following pages attempt a brief discussion of the script and its historical background, but needless to sat that my remarks remain largely conjectural.[40] The general appearance (*ductus litterarum*) of the script is characterised by the fact that nearly all *akṣara*s have a slightly rounded head. This is caused by changing the straight or triangular head-marks of the older North Indian scripts to a slightly curved stroke. The *Śrāvakabhūmi* script seems to represent an earlier stage of the Vartula Newārī in which the head-marker has developed into an elegantly curved stroke. I would suggest that the *Śrāvakabhūmi* script should be included into what might be tentatively called the 'proto-Vartula script'. This term should be taken as referring to a group of closely related synchronical and diachronical palaeographic varieties which can be distinguished from Vartula Newārī proper.

A good example of the latter can be found in the so-called Manuscript B of the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* reproduced in Matsuda 1996.[41] The script of this manuscript is described by Matsuda, a scholar well-known for his expertise in Indian palaeography, as 'Vartula Newalī script, a Nepalese script used around the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D.' (Introductory Remarks, p. XVI).[42] The *ductus litterarum* of the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra* Manuscript B is more upright than the *Śrāvakabhūmi* script which tends to be rather slant. A comparison of the two scripts suggests that the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* Manuscript B is a palaeographical variety later than the *Śrāvakabhūmi*. In the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* Manuscript B, we can clearly see the elegantly curved stroke towards right of the head-marks, which is characteristic of Vartula Newārī proper. This can be seen in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* only in very few cases such as *ka, ca,* and *ta*. In the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* Manuscript B, we also find the stroke for the vocalic marker of *i* and the right stroke of the vocalic marker of *o* drawn up to the bottom level of the *akṣara* (like modern Devanāgarī ि and ो respectively), while in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* manuscript, these strokes are, with a few exceptions, written up to the middle or only at the top level of the *mātṛkā*. Finally, the form of such *akṣara*s as *i* and *śa* in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* is clearly older than that of the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* Manuscript B.[43]

If we look at other North Indian manuscripts dated between the 10th and the 12th centuries, it seems that most of the similarities displayed by the *Śrāvakabhūmi* manuscript tend to concentrate with manuscripts belonging to the 11th century. Bendall's *Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts of the University Library, Cambridge* (1883), especially the plates reproducing some of them as well as the Table of Letters, remains a very valuable source of reference for this purpose. A comparison of some of the *akṣara*s of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* script with the Table of Letters in Bendall's work yields the following correspondences (some of them quite similar, other rough parallels):

e, la, ṣa in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* MS correspond to *e* in MS #1684 (dated 1065) (*la* is also close to MS #1691.2, but the curl at the top is more pronounced and ornamental when compared to the usually smaller buckling stroke of *la* in the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, which could indicate the earlier date of the latter; *ṣa* is also similar with MS #1645, dated 1139 and MS #1686, dated 1165).

kha, gha, ja, ṇa, bha correspond to MS #1643 (dated 1015)
tha, dha correspond MS #1049 (dated 857) (these *akṣara*s in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* have forms similar to their early mediaeval counterparts but this may also be a conservative or deliberately archaising feature of its script)
śa corresponds to MS #1702 (dated 9th century) (its shape is still closely preserved in MS #1643, dated 1015)

The numbers also show marked similarities with manuscripts dated 11th century and before:

'1' corresponds to MSS #1049 (dated 857), #1702 (dated 9th century), #866 (dated1008), #1684 (dated 1065), #1643 (dated 1015) and #1683 (dated 1039)
'2', '40' correspond to MSS #1643 (dated 1015) and #1683 (dated 1039)
'3', '4' correspond to MSS #866 (dated 1008) and #1684 (dated 1065)
'5' corresponds to MS 1702 (dated 9th century) as well as (to a lesser degree) to MSS #1643 (dated 1015) and #1683 (dated 1039)
'6' corresponds to MS 1702 (dated 9th century) as well as (to a lesser degree) to MS #1464 (dated 1025)
'7', '8', '10', '50', '80', '90', '100' correspond to MS #1702 (dated 9th century)
'20' corresponds to MS #1049 (dated 857) as well as (to a lesser degree) to MS #1702, dated 9th century)
'30' corresponds to MSS #866 (dated 1008) and #1684 (dated 1025) as well as (to a lesser degree) to MSS #1643 (dated 1015) and #1683 (dated 1039)
(Let us also note that '9', '60', and '70' have no close equivalents.)

Roughly speaking, the manuscript which comes closest to the *Śrāvakabhūmi* script appears to be MS #1643 (dated 1015), but this does not mean that their *akṣara*s are identical (see especially *tha, pha*, and certain numbers). All in all, the above comparison seems to plead for the 11th century, especially for its first half, as the most likely date of the production of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* manuscript.

A comparison of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* script with that of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* MS Add. 1702 (stored at the Cambridge University Library) is also relevant. The latter was one of the two manuscripts which were used by Unrai Wogihara for his edition of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (the other being a manuscript kept in the Kyoto University Library). Bendall (1883, pp. XXXIX—LI) dedicates a whole section to the analysis of this and the palaeographically close MS Add. 1049. These two are, Bendall argues, the oldest ones in the Cambridge collection of Buddhist manuscripts which he catalogued and examined. The *Bodhisattvabhūmi* manuscript is written in two hands, and Bendall considers one of them to be particularly archaic and even older than MS Add. 1049, which he dates, on the basis of the colophon, to 857 A.D. The English scholar regards the script of these two manuscripts as representing a transitional stage from Gupta to Devanāgarī (p. XLII). In his catalogue entry, the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* manuscript is dated as 9th century. A close look at the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* manuscript, especially at the folio reproduced by Bendall (Plate I.1),[44] shows that the script is related to that of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*. It seems to me that it constitutes an earlier stage of the same

palaeographical lineage. This script probably continued to develop and 100 or 150 years later it assumed the form which we find in the *Śrāvakabhūmi*. In the Cambridge *Bodhisattvabhūmi* manuscript, we still see that *gha, pa,* and *ya* still have the top of the *akṣara* unconnected, which is typical of earlier scripts (see, for example, the Bower MS (400-500 A.D.), Horiuzi MS (500-550 A.D.) in Bühler 1904, *Tafel* VI ; *Daśabhūmikasūtra* MS A as well as the Gilgit/Bamyan Type II script, which started to be used from the beginning of the 6th century and continued as late as the 10th century—cf. Sander 1968, pp. 154-161 and *Tafel* V).[45]

Another very important piece of evidence is Vibhūticandra's own handwriting, which is reproduced in Sāṅkṛtyāyana 1937 (photograph inserted between pages 10 and 11). Since we know that it dates back to the beginning of 13th century, it offers an exact point of reference in time. Though the photograph in Sāṅkṛtyāyana's article is not very clear and the sample is limited to a few lines, it, nonetheless, allows a general assessment. Vibhūticandra's handwriting is closely related to the *Śrāvakabhūmi* script but shows some features typical of younger palaeographical varieties. Thus the vocalic mark for *i* tends to be drawn up to the *akṣara* bottom level as in modern Devanāgarī ि. We find, however, the same vocalic marker written at the top level of the letter like in our *Śrāvakabhūmi* manuscript, which seems to suggest that by Vibhūticandra's time the transition had not been complete. Similarly, *na* and some allographs of *ma* show more developed forms which come much closer to Cambridge MS 1691, 2, dated 1179 (reproduced in *Tafel* V of Bühler 1904) and to the Proto-Bengali-cum-Maithili script as we know it from the Mahāsāṁghika-Lokottaravādin *Bhikṣuṇīvinaya* and *Abhisamācārikā Dharmāḥ* manuscript (see Nolot 1997) as well as in the recently discovered manuscripts of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* and the *Jñānālokālaṁkāra* (see Kouda 2004). The Proto-Bengali-cum-Maithili, which 'was used in the Pāla inscriptions of the 9th -12th century A.D. and in the Sena inscriptions of the 12th century A.D.' (Roth, Introduction to *Bhikṣuṇīvinaya* 1970, p. XXI),[46] seems to represent a variety younger than the *Śrāvakabhūmi* script. The close similarity of the Proto-Bengali-cum-Maithili with Vibhūticandra's handwriting can probably be explained in terms of geographical proximity. Though some doubts concerning its actual location still remain, the Vikramaśilā Monastery, where Vibhūticandra studied in his youth, seems to have been situated in Bhāgalpur District in Bihar.[47]

We are now in a better position (though far from certain) to draw some preliminary conclusions about our *Śrāvakabhūmi* manuscript. Palaeographically, it seems to have been written in the 11th century. It certainly is a Northern Indian script showing affinities with many other manuscripts of this region as well as a tendency to stick to some traditional *akṣara* forms.[48] Dani (1963) subdivides the Northern Indian scripts into (1) Middle Ganges Valley, (2) Eastern India (Bengal and Nepal), and (3) Mathura and the North-Western regions. Though not similar in every detail to any of the scripts reproduced by Dani, it appears, however, that the *Śrāvakabhūmi* script comes closer to the Eastern Indian (Bengali and Nepali) varieties. This actually tallies with the fact that our script seems to represent an earlier phase of Vartula Newārī as well as with my hypothesis concerning the historical background of the manuscript (see above). Supposing that it was brought to Tibet by Śākyaśrībhadra and his party, Vikramaśilā may reasonably be assumed to have been its place of origin. It cannot be excluded, however, that the *Śrāvakabhūmi* had been written in another location and only later

an important contribution to the knowledge of early Yogācāra. Criticism was, however, also voiced and usually directed at the frequently mechanical and peculiar 'translationese' which characterises Wayman's style (see Edgerton 1962, 308; Conze 1964, 229). Wayman's 'tentative conclusion' that 'Asaṅga's *Yogācārabhūmi*, and especially the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, basically represent the doctrines of the later Mahīśāsakas, always subject to further influence of Asaṅga's Mahāyāna views' (p. 29) was equally received with strong reserves (Jaini 1962, 624-625; Mikogami 1964, 52; see also Bareau 1962, 150-151, but admitting upon other grounds of the possibility of certain links between the *Yogācārabhūmi* and the Mahīśāsakas). Although I disagree with many of Wayman's views and readings, I certainly admit that his pioneering efforts are an important contribution, especially if we consider the difficulties raised by deciphering copies from Sāṅkṛtyāyana's negatives.

The complete edition of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* came, rather belatedly, from the hands of the Indian scholar Karunesha Shukla (1973). His book also contains a lengthy Introduction which discusses philological aspects of the text as well as the place of its author (also considered to be Asaṅga) in the history of Buddhist thought. The edition has been reviewed by J. W. de Jong (1976) and E. Kanakura (1977).[54] Quite typical of his well-known academic exigency, de Jong pronounces the following 'sentence': 'The conclusion forces itself upon the reader that Shukla's edition is without any value for the following reasons: 1) It does not adequately reproduce the readings of the his manuscript. 2) It is not based on a systematic and careful comparison with the Tibetan version' (de Jong 1976, 310).[55]

Anyone who has systematically worked with Shukla's edition knows how problematic its readings may be, but personally, I would not go as far as to declare it 'without value'. The book sadly leaves much to be desired, but careful and compassionate (*karuṇā*!) judgement requires to take into account that Shukla, too, had to rely upon Sāṅkṛtyāyana's negatives, which are often illegible or damaged by pin-holes (see Shukla's Preface, pp. XXI and XXIV). Meticuluous collation with (at least) the Tibetan translation and paying more attention to parallels in Buddhist literature would have doubtless resulted in a much better edition. Given that Shukla did *not* follow this classical procedure of Buddhist philology, it is, after all, no small achievement that he succeeded in producing an edition at all. I also assume that Shukla's draft must have been further mutilated in press, an 'unwholesome factor' which until recently used to afflict a substantial number of Indian publications. Before the Śrāvakabhūmi Study Group's undertaking of its critical edition and the facsimile reproduction of the manuscript, though far from laudable, Shukla's edition offered an overall (if blurred) picture of the text, especially for those readers who had no access to the Tibetan and Chinese versions.[56] As in Wayman's case, the fact that I often (but not always!) differ from Shukla's readings and views does not mean that I completely deny the importance his endeavour.

In 1979, Hisao Takahashi, Yasuo Mastunami, and Ryūbin Nakamura of Taishō University in Tokyo commenced to work on a critical edition by collating Shukla's book with the Tibetan and Chinese translations. The first concrete results of their work were published in 1981. This was the beginning of the critical edition and Japanese translation of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, which later grew into the project of the Śrāvakabhūmi Study Group of Taishō University. As the project progressed, its members first obtained copies of Sāṅkṛtyāyana's negatives and then, in 1991, the microfilm of the Sanskrit manuscript

stored in Beijing at that time. In 1991, the Group completed the edition of Yogasthāna Ⅰ, which had taken 10 annual instalments published in the *Taishō daigaku sōgō bukkyō kenkyūjo nenpō*.[57] These were revised and put together in 1998 as an independent volume also accompanied by an introductory study.[58] The Group's undertaking is still progress, having by now approached the end of Yogasthāna Ⅱ.[59] The edition, especially since 1991 when the Group gained access to the manuscript microfilm, has been of high philological standards. It collates the manuscript readings with Shukla's edition, the Tibetan translation (Peking, sDe-dge, sNar-thang, Co-ne Canons) and the Chinese translation (Taishō Canon). Occasionally, some of its readings are debatable,[60] but this does not affect the undeniable value and reliability of the edition. Almost any, if not all, editions may occasionally display controversial points, but if these are the result of a conscious choice and awareness of the problems, they should be considered as part of a philologist's work (karma!). The Japanese translation of the Śrāvakabhūmi Study Group's is basically faithful to the original, though here and there, one may think of different alternatives in construing the meaning. But this is, again, the *traduttore*'s destiny.[61]

Though we have no complete reliable edition of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, partial editions of excellent philological standards have been produced especially by the Hamburg school of Buddhist studies. To start with, we have the 1982 contribution of L. Schmithausen who critically edits the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts of the final passage of the text. Fragments from the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, usually relevant to a particular theme, have also been edited and translated by H. Sakuma (1990), M. Maithrimurthi (1999), and J. Choi (2001). Some of the passages edited by Sakuma and Choi are collated and discussed in my editions and translation (see also Introduction above).[62]

Apart from the above-mentioned translations, we should also add the contributions of Mōri (1985) and Wang (1998, 449-480). The former renders a short passage at the beginning of Yogasthāna Ⅲ from the Sanskrit original (collated with the Chinese and the Tibetan) into modern Japanese. Wang edits and translates fragments from the Chinese version of the *Yogācārabhūmi* into modern Chinese. The excerpts from the *Śrāvakabhūmi* come from Yogasthāna Ⅰ.[63]

Last but not least, one should not forget that we have two impressive translations of the entire text of the *Yogācārabhūmi* from Chinese into Japanese (*kundoku* 訓讀) done by Saeki Jōin 佐伯定胤 (1867-1952) (*Kokuyaku daizōkyō* 國譯大藏經 series) and Katō Seishin 加藤精神 (1872-1956) (*Kokuyaku issaikyō* 國譯一切經 series).[64] Though the *kundoku* style of reading Classical Chinese continues to be a strong presence in the Japanese schools and modern intellectual life and thus represents a more or less living tradition, strictly speaking, it is a variety of the Classical Japanese. In spite of their being produced in the 20th century, these *kundoku* renderings are not exactly modern translations of our text. This, however, diminishes in no way their high scholarly value and usefulness for the understanding of the Chinese translation.

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The *Śrāvakabhūmi* has also been the subject of a number of modern studies. I shall list here only the main contributions dedicated to the or substantially dealing with the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, leaving aside the studies and books mentioned above as well as

discussions and/or occasional references to be found in other secondary sources. Many of the latter as well as the studies enumerated below will be discussed or touched upon in the following chapters. The list, arranged chronologically, includes: Wayman 1956; Ui 1958;[65] Shukla 1968a;[66] Shukla 1968b; Schmithausen 1970 116-119; Katsumata 1975; Shukla 1976; Komine 1976;[67] Takahashi 1977;[68] Sueki 1980a; Schmithausen 1982b; Toyohira 1986; Mōri 1987a; Mori 1987b; Mōri 1989; Huimin 1989; Yaita 1989a; Yaita 1989b; Noguchi 1989; Huimin 1989; Huimin 1990a; Huimin 1990b; Huimin 1990c; Huimin 1991a; Huimin 1991b; Kimura 1992; Huimin 1992; Huimin 1993; Huimin 1994a; Huimin 1994b; Shimizu 1997; Mihono 2001a; Katō 2002; Deleanu 2002; Yamabe, Fujitani, and Harada 2002; Yaita 2003; Yamabe 2003; and Abe 2004.

In this context, mention should also be made of the *Index to the Yogācārabhūmi (Chinese-Sanskrit-Tibetan)* (1996) and the *Sanskrit-Tibetan-Chinese & Tibetan-Sanskrit-Chinese Dictionary of Buddhist Terminology (Based on Yogacārabhūmi)* (1997) compiled by Koitsu Yokoyama and Takayuki Hirosawa (with Hakumyo Niisaku's assistance for the latter volume).[69] There is no doubt that these two lexicographical contributions constitute very useful tools for the reading and study of the *Yogācārabhūmi* in general and the *Śrāvakabhūmi* in particular. However, as showed by Silk (2001), both volumes unfortunately do contain problems. For a detailed dicussion of their peculiarities and shortcomings, the reader is referred to Silk's critical but fair review. Here I shall only say that though having doubtless benefited from them, I often had to struggle with the lack of reference to the page number for the Tibetan translation in the *Index to the Yogācārabhūmi* and for all versions in the *Sanskrit-Tibetan-Chinese & Tibetan-Sanskrit-Chinese Dictionary of Buddhist Terminology*. The need to check the actual context is imperative for any philological research, and it becomes crucial when one has to deal with a problematic edition like Shukla's. Occasionally, I have pointed out some controversial entries in these two reference books which seem to have resulted from the non-critical adoption of Shukla's 'ghost words'.[70]

Last but not least, one should also mention here the impressive homepage of the *Yogācārabhūmi* website created and run by a team led by Bhikkhu Huimin 釋惠敏 (Taipei National University of Art, Taiwan) (http://ybh.chibs.edu.tw/).[71] Ven. Huimin is a specialist in this field (see above), his contributions including, *inter alia*, a solid monograph on the meditative objects in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* (Huimin 1994a).[72] The homepage is an ongoing project and additions as well as revisions of its texts are periodically undertaken. It includes the Chinese translation of the *Yogācārabhūmi* (as of yet, only Scroll One 巻第一), the *Pusa di chi jing* 菩薩持經, the **Yogācārabhūmi-vyākhyā* 瑜伽師地釋論, the *Yuqie shi di lun lüe zuan* 瑜伽師地論略纂, the *Yuga ron gi* 瑜伽論記, Bhattacharya's edition of the *Yogācārabhūmi*, Śrāvakabhūmi Study Group's edition (up to the end of ŚrBh-Gr (14)) and Shukla's edition (complete) of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, Sakuma's critical edition of Sanskrit and Tibetan fragments from the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, Wogihara's edition of *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, etc. The texts are structured into sections, each bearing a title which summarises its content, and cross-reference mark-ups related mainly to the exegetical literature are provided wherever the respective section is commented upon. The homepage also offers basic introductions to the *Yogācārabhūmi*, links to other related texts and websites, a list of bibliographical sources, etc. Even at this stage of the project, it is certainly a great asset to anyone interested in the study of the *Yogācārabhūmi*.

NOTES

[1] Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana is an impressive figure in the cultural history of modern India. His contributions range from translations of Pali scriptures into Hindi and manuals on Tibetan grammar to political writings and novels (for a detailed list of his works, see Alaka Chattopadhaya, 'Mahapandita Rahula Sankrityayana: A Tribute', in Chattopadhaya ed. 1994, 56-61). He was also politically active being a supporter of Gandhi's *satyagraha* movement as well as of communist ideals. As far as I know, the only monograph in English dedicated to the life and activity of Rāhuljī, as he is affectionately called in India, is Prabhakar Machwe's *Rahul Sankrityayan* (Delhi, Sahitya Akademi, 1978; unfortunately, the book has not been available to me.) A short biography of the Indian *mahāpaṇḍita* as well as a bibliography of studies dedicated to his life is found in Bandurski 1994, p. 27, n. 78.

To the data offered by Bandurski, one may add the following contributions (the list being, of course, not exhaustive). Biographical sketches are found in Stoddard 1985, 157-160; S. K. Pathak 1986, 1-3; D.C. Ahir 1993, X I – X IX; D.C. Ahir, 'Mahapandita Rahula Sankrityayana' (in Chowdhuri ed. 1994, 1-10; a more detailed version of the previous contribution by the same author); and Alaka Chattopadhaya, 'Mahapandita Rahula Sankrityayana: A Tribute' (in Chattopadhaya ed. 1994, 51-61). In India, the centenary of Rāhuljī's birth was commorated with the publication of two volumes of essays containing tributes to the great scholar and man or dealing with the various aspects of his life and activity (Chowdhuri ed. 1994 and Chattopadhaya ed. 1994). His discoveries of Sanskrit manuscripts are presented in K.P. Jayaswal, 'Lost Sanskrit Works Recovered from Tibet'(in Chowdhuri ed. 1994, 16-22; originally published in 1937); Alaka Chattopadhaya, 'Rahula-In Search of Lost Treasures of India'(in Chowdhuri ed. 1994, 40-42); and J. Pandey, 'Discovery of Indian Manuscripts in Tibet by Mahapandit Rahul Sankrityayana' (in Chattopadhaya ed. 1994, 106-113). An assessment of Sāṅkṛtyāyana's role in the larger context of discoveries of Sanskrit manuscripts in Tibet is also found in Steinkellner 2004. Rāhuljī's contribution to Buddhist Studies is discussed by Rajendra Ram ('Contribution of Rahula to the Indian Buddhist Studies', in Chowdhuri ed. 1994, 43-54), S.K. Pathak ('Contributions of Rahula Sankrityayana to Buddhist Studies', in Chattopadhaya ed. 1994, 132-135) and D.K Barua ('Rahula Sankrityayana and His History of Pali Literature: An Evaluation', in Chattopadhaya ed. 1994, 128-131).

We also have a volume of his collected papers in English, which deal mainly with Buddhist and Tibetan studies (Sāṅkṛtyāyana 1984). Some of his writings are also reproduced in Chattopadhaya ed. 1994,1-42. Sāṅkṛtyāyana's autobiography, *Merī Jīvan Yātrā* (5 volumes), as well as his accounts in Hindi of the expeditions to Tibet, *Tibbat men Sava Varsh* (1931) and *Merī Tibbat Yātrā* (1937), must also contain detailed information relevant to his discoveries of Sanskrit manuscripts, but unfortunately none of them has been available to me. (See also note 8 below.)

[2] The monastery, whose name is also spelled 'Zha-lu', was founded in 1040 (see Tucci [1976] 1988; Seyfort Ruegg 1966, p. 10, n. 2) by lCe-bTsun-shes-rab-'byung-gnas, a member of the aristocratic family lCe who had traditionally ruled the area (see *Genealogies of Zha-lu*, in Tucci 1949, vol. 2, p. 656ff). The foundation of the Zhva-lu Monastery in the Iron-Dragon Year (= 1040) is also recorded in the *Sum pa mkhan po* (*Tibetan Chronological Tables*, p. 4), though the founder's name is not mentioned. lCe-bTsun, who had received his full ordination as a monk at the age of 30, appears to gave proposed the building of the monastery in 1039 (Hare Year) (Tucci 1949, vol. 2, 657; see also note p. 700, n. 618).

Zhva-lu was one of the main Buddhist centres throughout the Middle Ages and is particularly known through the activities of Bu-ston Rin-po-che who became one of its abbots (see below). For a description of the temple architecture and painting, see Tucci 1949, vol. 1, p. 178. See also

Jackson 1996b, 76, for a representation of the cross-section of the temple.
[3] Sāṅkṛtyāyana might not be the first modern researcher to have seen the manuscript collection of Zhva-lu. In 1906, the Japanese traveller and scholar Kawaguchi Ekai 河口慧海 together with Sarat Chandra Das visited the Zhva-lu Monastery, where he apparently saw some Sanskrit manuscripts 梵本 (Yamaguchi 1987-1988, vol. 1, p. 107). Kawaguchi Ekai does not report the titles of these manuscripts, and as far as I know, neither does Sarat Chandra Das mention them. It is hard to know whether they had the chance to see the whole collection, but if Sāṅkṛtyāyana's account reflects a situation with long roots in the past, then it is very likely that at least part of it, including the ŚrBh, was already locked under seal in the special storage room.

It is noteworthy that the famous Italian scholar Giuseppe Tucci (1894-1984) photographed some of the same manuscripts as Sāṅkṛtyāyana (see Sferra 2000). For instance, the Tucci collection (now housed at the Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente in Rome) contains negatives of the BoBh manuscript as well as a few other texts found at the Zhva-lu Monastery (ibid., p. 410), but the ŚrBh is not amongst them.
[4] We owe a detailed monograph on dGe-'dun Chos-'phel to Heather Stoddard (1985, 109ff.). dGe-'dun Chos-'phel was one of the most prominent intellectuals striving to bring modern knowledge and scholarship as well as social change to Tibet. His scholarly achievements encompass studies on ancient Tibetan history, Indian palaeography, Tibetan translations from the *Bhagavadgīta*, the *Kāmasūtra*, the *Dhammapada*, etc. (The latter translation is now easily available together with its rendering into English: *Chos kyi tshigs sub cad pa, Dhammapada*, Translated into Tibetan from the Pali by dGe-'dun Chos-'phel, Translated into English from the Tibetan by Dharma Publishing Staff, Berkley: Dharma Publishing, 1985.)

dGe-'dun Chos-'phel's stay and studies in India (1934-1954) were closely linked to his friend and mentor Sāṅkṛtyāyana (Stoddard 1985, 167-214). Saṅkṛtyāyāna's fourth journey to Tibet is elaborately described by Stoddard (1985, 189-197), and the interested reader can find many important details which the official reports do not cover. The life of the Tibetan scholar can also be known from his memoirs, of which we have two editions (dGe-'dun Chos-'phel 1986 and dGe-'dun Chos-'phel 1990; cf. also the 'Introduction cum Review' by Ven. S. Rinpoche to dGe-'dun Chos-'phel 1986 for further details.). (I am grateful to Dr Dorji Wangchuk for having brought to my attention dGe-'dun Chos-'phel's memoirs as well as for having kindly provided me with copies from dGe-'dun Chos-'phel 1990.)
[5] Between June 1963 and July 1964, Moukherji also published a series of 14 articles in Hindi on this expedition (Stoddard 1985, 190).
[6] This is, most probably, a typographical error for 'Ṣha-lu-ri-phug'.
[7] Zhva-lu-ri-phug (also spelled Zhva-lu-ri-spugs—see Tucci 1949, vol. 2, p. 658 and note 630). According to Bu-ston's Biography (Seyfort Ruegg tr. 1966, 97 = original text reproduced in ibid., folio 17b4), even before its foundation, there was a *caitya* in Zhva-lu-ri-phug containing votive tablets of Atīśa 'who had once resided there'. Bu-ston seems to have been particularly fond of this place, which unlike the main monastic establishment of Zhva-lu, was still a modest hermitage dedicated to learning and spiritual cultivation. The qualification 'modest' must, however, be understood in relation to the main Zhva-lu Monastery. The same document tells us that while at Zhva-lu, Bu-ston presided over 3800 monks, Zhva-lu-ri-phug had 500 residents consisting 'only [of] piṭakadharas of Mantra and philosophy and meditating monks' (ibid., p. 120 = folio 22b5). In his late years, though still in good health, the great Rin-po-che expressed his strong wish to relinquish the abbatial seat of Zhva-lu and focus on practicing and teaching spiritual cultivation at Zhva-lu-ri-phug. (ibid., p 146 = folio 32b2 and 4). On Bu-ston and Zhva-lu, see also the *Genealogies of Zhalu* in Tucci 1949, vol. 2, p. 661. A photograph of Zhva-lu-ri-phug (taken by Michal Henss, 1993) is found at Steinkellner 2004, 11.

[8] The 1936 expedition is also described by Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana in a detail report entitled 'On Way to Tibet' initially published in *The Mahā-Bodhi* journal (vol. 44, nos. 10-11, October-November 1936 and vol. 45, no. 1, January 1937) (I had access to the article only in its reprint form in Sāṅkṛtyāyana 1984, 82-113.) Sāṅkṛtyāyana mentions that the palm-leaf manuscripts of the Zhva-lu Monastery were kept at Zhva-lu-ri-phug, which he reached on 28 July 1936. 'Here', he says, 'all the [Sanskrit] books were kept under five seals' (Sāṅkṛtyāyana 1984, 108). These were opened in the presence of all the monastery officials, and Rāhuljī had access to the '39 bundles of palm-leaf manuscripts' stored there (ibid., 109). As he had no photographic plates with him, he had to wait for their arrival. He revisited the temple and took pictures of the manuscripts between 5 and 16 August (ibid., 111-112). Sāṅkṛtyāyana also gives a list of the most important Zhva-lu manuscripts photographed and copied during this stay (ibid., 112). No mention, however, is made in this article of the locked chamber which he would be able to open only in 1938.

[9] The text was first edited by Alex Wayman in 1960. In 1987, J. Pandey published an edition, which according to him (p 228), was based on the text transcribed by Sāṅkṛtyāyana himself (though it seems that he also collated it with the MS negatives since he refers to MS readings, pp. 230-231). Pandey also attached the romanised text of the Tibetan translation as found in the Peking Canon (pp. 235-237). In 1997 (pp. 191-204), Wayman reprinted the text of his earlier edition and added an English translation as well as a study of the concept of *pratyekabuddha* (1974, 126-129) in Buddhist literature. The text has also been translated into English in Kloppenborg's monograph (1974, 126-129) dedicated to the *paccekabuddha*. We owe the best Sanskrit edition and an English translation to Yoshiyasu Yonezawa 1998 (for details, see Bibliography under *Pratyekabuddhabhūmi*). For a brief study on the *Pratyekabuddhabhūmi* and its formation, see Okada 1981.

[10] This was edited and published by Nalinaksha Dutt, who also (partially) collated the Zhva-lu MS with Wogihara's text (for details, see Bibliography under BoBh).

[11] These texts were edited and published by Anantalal Thakur, *Jñānaśrīmitranibandhāvali,* Patna: Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute, 1959 (first edition), 1987 (second edition).

[12] In this context, it is also important to note D. Jackson's contribution (1989) which contains a brief catalogue of the Tibetan texts housed at the Bihar Research Society.

[13] Already in 1991, Heinz Bechert and three other scholars reported on an ancient Sinhalese manuscript preserved in Peking. This is the same MS which had been found and catalogued by Sāṅkṛtyāyana. See Bandurski 1994, p. 27, n. 76.

[14] The MS also contains fragments from other Books (*Bhūmi*) of the YoBh (see Matsunami 1992; Śrāvakabhūmi Study Group, Introduction to the Facsimile Edition of the "Śrāvakabhūmi" Sanskrit Palm-leaf Manuscript, 1994). In the Catalogue of Sanskrit Palm-leaf Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of Nationalities in Peking, apart from MS No 20 = ŚrBh (126 leaves, itself containing other Books), we also see MS No 21 = *Pratyekabuddhabhūmi* (1 leaf), and MS No 22 = Sanskrit Fragments 梵文殘葉 (7 leaves, actually containing fragments from CintBh, ŚrBh, Asamahitābhūmi, and SABh) (see Matsunami 1992, p. 32, n. 2). Most likely, the latter fragments also came from the same Zhva-lu Monastery.

[15] On the recent fate of the Sanskrit manuscripts in Tibet and their 'travels' to and back from Beijing, see Steinkellner 2004, 19-23.

[16] There is no doubt that the MS stored at the Library of Nationalities in Peking is the same one which Sāṅkṛtyāyana discovered and photographed in 1938. Thanks to the kindness of the Göttingen University Library (Georg-August-Universität Niedersächische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek), I obtained copies from Sāṅkṛtyāyana's negatives (now stored at the Bihar Research Society in Patna) and was thus able to compare these with the 1994 facsimile

edition published by China Library of Nationalities and Taishō University. They doubtless represent the same manuscript (cf. also Śrāvakabhūmi Study Group, Introduction to the Facsimile Edition of the "Śrāvakabhūmi" Sanskrit Palm-leaf Manuscript, 1994, pp. 1-2). At the the Göttingen University Library, the copies from Sāṅkṛtyāyana's negatives are catalogued as Xc 14/27 (see Bandurski 1994, 61-64).

[17] On the diplomatic edition, see Editing Conventions in Part Two below.

[18] We owe the most detailed study in a Western language on the life and works of Vibhūticandra to Stearns (1996). A presentation of the main biographical data concerning Vibhūticandra is also found in Sobisch 2002, 21-23. See also Steinkellner 2004, 9-11.

[19] On the history of the monastery, see Dutt 1962, 358-371. The decline of Vikramaśīla has been investigated by Radhakrishna Chaudhary in a very interesting study published in 1978. On its location, see note 47 below. Concerning the precise spelling of the monastery's name, both 'Vikramaśīla' and 'Vikramaśilā' appear to be acceptable (see Hirakawa 1979, vol. 2, p. 23).

[20] I follow the dates proposed by Stearns (1996, 129).

[21] Tāranātha's lineage of the abbots of the Vikramaśilā Monastery ends with 'Mahāpaṇḍita Śākyaśrī[bhadra]'(Tāranātha's *Chos 'byung*, p. 199, l. 3 ; cf. Tāranātha's *Chos 'byung* tr., p. 329).

[22] Although the monastery did not bear the brunt of the military campaign led by Bakhtiyar Khaliji, Turkish invaders were responsible for the pillage and destruction of Vikramaśilā. Chaudhary (1978, 232), on the basis of Tāranathā testimony, identifies them as 'petty Turks of Bhaṅgala (Bhagalpur) and other places' but distinguishes these from Bakhtiyar's army. Actually, the only thing sure about the latter is that he pillaged the Anwad (i.e., Odanatpura) Vihāra. As for Nālandā, which is geographically close to Odantapura, the famous monastic university had much to suffer, but it seems that its destruction was not complete (Chaudhary 1978, 217-219). Chaudhary reasonably argues that the decline of Vikramaśilā had started long before the Turkish invasion and that rivalaries between Tīrthikas and Buddhists as well as corrupt forms of Tantric practices had played an important part in this (ibid., 227-232).

[23] On the history of this monastery, see Dutt 1962, 376-380. Jagaddala appears to have been situated in Varendra (or Varendrī), a region which corresponds to Northern Bengal (Dutt 1962, 376-377; Bhattacharyya 1991, s.v.). Bhattacharyya (ibid.) mentions the city of Rāmāvati as its location but adds that exact site is unknown.

[24] Sāṅkṛtyāyana (1937, 11) states that 'thus they went to Tibet in 1203 A. C.'. It is not clear whether Sāṅkṛtiyāyana meant this is the year when Śākyaśrībhadra and his disciples headed towards Tibet or the year when they actually reached the land. I think that 1204 as the year when they arrived in Tibet, which is the date adopted by Stearns (1996, 127), is more precise.

[25] Naturally, his life and the genealogies which he established received much attention in Tibetan hagiography and historiography. Two of his biographies have been critically edited and studied by Jackson (1990). See also van der Kuijp's contribution (1994) which presents additional biographical sources on Śākyaśrībhadra. In his study entitled 'History of Buddhism in Tibet—II', Sāṅkṛtiyāyana also presents the life and the main achievements of Śākyaśrībhadra (reproduced in Sāṅkṛtiyāyana 1984, 37-38).

[26] Sāṅkṛtiyāyana spells 'Grags-pa-gyal-tshan'.

[27] Sāṅkṛtiyāyana (1937, 13-14) also mentions medical prescriptions on the cover, citations from some texts, pages of each chapter in the *Pramāṇavārttikavṛtti*, and a few sad stanzas 'on a palm-leaf in the library of B. & O. R. Society' written by the same Vibhūticandra. dGe-'dun Chos-'phel speaks of the melancholic verses left by Vibhūticandra as a possible corroboration of an episode depicted by Tāranathā (see Stearns 1996, 133-134, especially note 25). According to Tāranathā, Vibhūticandra refused to prostrate to Rje-btsun Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan although his

master Śākyaśribhadra and the other eight junior Indian *paṇḍits* accompanying him did so. Later on, Sa-skya Paṇḍita requested teachings from all these scholars but Vibhūticandra, who had been disrespectful to his uncle, Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (ibid., 133). Stearns, however, doubts with very good reason the authenticity of this story (ibid., 133-134).

[28] A slightly different scenario is equally possible to imagine. Speaking of Vibhūticandra, one should not forget that he travelled to Tibet three times. After Śākyaśrībhadra's return to Kashmir in 1214, Vibhūticandra went to Nepal where he continued his training (Stearns 1996, 135). Later in his life, he became abbot of the Stham Bihar in Kathmandu (ibid., 137) and went two more times to Tibet in order to transmit the *ṣaḍaṅgayoga* lineage. According to Tāranathā, Vibhūticandra had actually studied 'the *Five Bhūmi Treatise* of Asaṅga', i.e., YoBh, under Śākyaśrībhadra (see Stearns 1996, 130), and it is not excluded that he may have kept his interest in the text even during the latter part of his activity, which was dominated by Tantric teachings and practices. Although there is no hard evidence supporting this scenario, one could imagine that Vibhūticandra may have picked or copied a YoBh manuscript stored in a Nepalese collection and took it to Tibet. The weak point of this scenario is, however, that during his last two trips to Tibet there is no direct link with the Sa-skya monastery. This time, his activity was mainly associated with the temple of 'Bring-mtshams in gTsang (ibid., 138-139), Ding-ri glang-'khor (ibid., 143-144), Srin-po-ri in Central Tibet (ibid., 145-146), and gSer-sdings in gTsang (ibid., 146). One may still think, nevertheless, that the YoBh manuscript brought to Central Tibet later found its way to the Sa-skya collection. For also other possible hypotheses, see note 35 below.

[29] This is also corroborated by the fact the YoBh MS (part of which was later edited and published by Bhattacharya) was found at the Sa-skya Monastery (see Sāṅkṛtyāyana 1937, 24).

[30] The usual meaning in modern Tibetan is 'title' (Goldstein 1994, s.v.). Wangchuk (2002, p. 6, n. 20) renders *kha byang* as 'remark'.

[31] See also Wangchuk 2002, p. 6, n. 20. I should like to express my warm thanks to Dr Dorji Wangchuk for having kindly read with me this passage and provided some clarifications concerning a few lexical items and phrases.

[32] As far as I can see, nothing of the kind is found on the initial and final folios of the Patna MS (checked from the copies kindly provided by the Georg-August-Universität Niedersächische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, registered as Xc 14/29). No reference to such an inscription is made at the beginning or end of Dutt's edition either.

[33] The name of 'Od-zer-seng-ge appears in a few other documents. According to the Fifth Dalai Lama's Chronicles (The Sa-skya-pa), 'Od-zer-seng-ge was invested with the office of *svon jin dben* (Tucci 1949, vol. 2, p. 629), which corresponds to the Chinese 宣正院 'an office overseeing matters connected with Buddhist religion' (ibid., p. 687, n. 105). See also Tucci 1949, vol. 2, p. 635, 647, 652, 660, 671 (a Zhva-lu document issued by 'Od-zer-seng-ge himself in the name of the King), 673 (mentioned in Bu-ston's letter); etc. The problem we have, however, with this identification is that he is referred, quite naturally, either as *dPon chen* or *dPon* and not *slob-dpon* (= *ācārya*).

[34] On Bu-ston and Zhva-lu, see also Hui-min 1994, 3-4. Yamaguchi (1987, 107), speaking of the 'Sanskrit texts' seen by Kawaguchi Ekai (see note 3 above), says 'probably, these can be regarded as [representing the manuscripts] collected by Chos-skyon Bzang-po (1441-1528)'. Yamaguchi gives only the *katakana* transcription for this proper name: チューキョン・サンポ, and the only name I could figure is the one above. If this is true, then he must be the 'Źva-lu lo-tsā chos-skyon bzaṅ-po' born in the Iron-Hen Year (= 1441) (*Tibetan Chronological Tables*, p. 154). Yamaguchi is one of Japan's leading Tibetologists, and his view is certainly important to know, but without any indication of the source upon which he based his inference, its value is

difficult to assess.

[35] Actually, there are some 'threads' connecting Zhva-lu with India even before the advent of Śākyaśrībhadra. lCe-Tsun, the founder of the monastery, had travelled to Bodhgayā in India, where he learnt *Vinaya* and many other doctrines. The Genealogies of Zhva-lu note that he brought from India an image of sPyan-ras-gzigs Ka-sar-pa-ṇi (Tucci 1949, vol. 2, p. 657) (see also note 2 above). The same document also says that Indians and Nepalese made many gifts to the Monastery, but mention is made only of images. Of course, without positive evidence, it is not wise to speculate about Sanskrit manuscripts being brought or donated to Zhva-lu on these occasions, but theoretically, the possibility cannot be completely ruled out.

[36] I adopt the periodisation proposed by Salomon 1998, 39-40.

[37] For this comparison, I have used mainly the scripts contained in Bendall 1883, Bühler 1904, Dani 1963, Renou and Filliozat, 1953, Sander 1968, Śākya 1973, Singh 1990, Matsuda 1996 DaśBh MS, Nolot 1997, and Kouda 2004.

It must be noted here that apart from the MS itself, Kōshin Suzuki's 'Characters in the Śrāvakabhūmi' (1995), which consists in a clear and richly illustrated table of *akṣara*s scanned directly from the MS, greatly facilitates the decipherment and analysis of the script.

[38] One of the good points made by Wayman (1961, pp. 9-10) is the rejection (actually on the basis of Bühler 1904, 50) of the name Kuṭilā (Wayman and Bühler spell: Kuṭila) used for the ŚrBh script. (The term Kuṭilā is employed by, for instance, Sāṅkṛtyāyana.)

[39] In his edition of the SamBh, Delhey (p. 47-48, n. 91) makes very useful remarks concerning the palaeographic features of the ŚrBh as well as Wayman's dating and argumentation. Delhey also thinks that the 12th century may be too late (though not totally excluded) for the ŚrBh MS. It must be noted here that the ŚrBh script is similar with the one used in the SamBh. The palaeographic features of the SamBh MS are discussed at Delhey ed. SamBh, pp. 45-47. (I am indebted to Dr Delhey for having kindly provided me with photocopies of the negatives of the SamBh MS, which has also allowed me to examine the script directly.) According to his analysis, the SamBh MS, which he dates around 1000, appears to show palaeographical features older than the ŚrBh MS (see pp. 47-48, n. 91).

Shukla 1971 (ŚrBh, Sh Introduction, p. LXI) simply calls the script 'the North Indian Nāgarī [...] from which emanated the Devanāgarī, the Bengali and other North Indian Scripts'. Concerning the MS dating, Shukla says that it 'was written in a period not earlier than the eighth century of the Christian era' (p. LIX), and then after mentioning Wayman's categorization of the script as twelfth century Nepalese, the Indian scholar adds that our MS should not be assigned to 'any late time' (p. LX I). It thus appears that Shukla places the date of the MS sometime between the 8th and the 12th centuries.

Suzuki (1995) does not attempt to date the MS but remarks that 'the letters have many similar features to Sittan (悉曇) letters which are now used in Japanese Buddhism, especially in Tendai and Shingon sects'. The characters 悉曇 (Modern Ch. pronunciation: *xitan*; Jp. *shittan*) represent a phonetic transcription of the Skt. *siddham* and refer to an early form of the Siddhamātṛkā script (transmitted in Japan mainly via the so-called Horiuzi, i.e., Hōryū-ji manuscripts) and to the study of it as well as of the Sanskrit language in general. In Japanese Buddhism, the usage of the Siddhamātṛkā and of the calligraphic varieties derived from it has largely been linked to the esoteric interpretation attached to each letter and cluster of letters. It continues to be employed nowadays mainly in the form of *dhāraṇī*s and funerary inscriptions. Suzuki's remark was probably determined by the conservative shape of many of the *akṣara*s (see below), but on the whole, the ŚrBh MS is definitely younger than the early Siddhamātṛkā script of the Hōryū-ji manuscript.

[40] In my attempt, I have greatly benefited from the generous advice received from two of the

world's leading experts in this area: Dr Lore Sander and Prof. Dr Harunaga Isaacson. Dr Sander actually took the time and trouble to discuss with me the draft of this section on palaeography and kindly made a series of very useful remarks. Both scholars agree that the 11th century seems to be the most appropriate date for our MS, but both also warned that this is only a tentative dating. I wish to express again my sincerest gratitude for their kind assistance but at the same time, stress that I assume full responsibility for all the details and (provisional) conclusions put forward here.

[41] Other easily available examples of Vartula are found in Bendall 1883, Plates III.1. (MS Add. 1691.2, dated 1179) and III.2 (MS Add. 1395, dated 1385).

[42] The other manuscript reproduced, the so-called *Daśabhūmikasūtra* MS A, probably dates from the beginning of the 7th century (Matsuda 1996, XVII) and its script (see also 'Akṣara List of Manuscript A', XXVIII–XXIX) is clearly older than the ŚrBh MS (though due to the archaising features of the latter, we also find some similar letters like *ca, cha,* and *tha*).

[43] Vartula Newārī seems to be closely related to Proto-Bengali-cum-Maithili (see below) as well as to the Nepalese Bhujimol (see Śākya 1973, plates 45-48). Like Vartula Newārī, they seem to represent varieties younger than the ŚrBh script. We must note here that *vartula,* literally meaning 'round' or 'rounded', may have been used as a name for a wider group of scripts than Vartula Newārī. This is suggested by several Tibetan sources. For instance, it is said that before his pilgrimage to India in 1234, the Tibetan monk Chag Lo-tsā-ba Chos rje dpal had learnt a script which he called *vartula* or *vaivarta.* According to A. S. Altekar, this was the name by which Proto-Bengali-cum-Maithili was known at that time, and this was also adopted by Roy in his edition of the *Suvarṇavarṇāvadāna* (see Bandurski 1994, 20-21). It is hard to say whether this identification is correct, but palaeographically Vartula Newārī and Proto-Bengali-cum-Maithili, though very closely related (Dani places both Bengal and Nepal in the same sub-regional type of Eastern Indian scripts; see Dani 1963, 110 and 129-140), are different varieties. We do not know the actual name of the ŚrBh script, but if *vartula* in a broad sense was also employed in North India (including Nepal) around the beginning of the later mediaeval period, then it is not impossible that this was the name (or one of the names) by which it was known to its users. However, even if one day this could be proved to be true, palaeographically speaking, I think that a distinction between the proto-Vartula variety of the ŚrBh and the Vartula Newārī proper can and should be made.

[44] A photograph of folio 25a is also reproduced at the beginning of Wogihara's book containing the BoBh edition.

[45] We must, however, note here that even in the ŚrBh MS, we can still see faint traces of such opening of the letter top in some allographs of *pa* or when the *akṣara* is used with vocalic marks such as in the case of *ghe*, but it is not excluded that these represent scribal idiosyncrasies rather than script features.

In this context, it is noteworthy to mention that the *Paryāyasaṁgrahaṇī* fragment edited in Matsuda 1994 is another interesting manuscript for our discussion. The fragment is actually one palm-leaf folio which is now stored at the National Archives in Kathmandu. Matsuda's article also reproduces both its recto and verso (p. 92). The size of the reproduction is very small, but as far as I can judge, its script is quite similar to the ŚrBh. The *Paryāyasaṁgrahaṇī* fragment displays, however, some palaeographical features slightly more modern (e.g., the frequent *i* vocalic marker similar to modern Devanāgarī ि) than the ŚrBh. Matsuda identifies the script of the *Paryāyasaṁgrahaṇī* as Gilgit/Bamyan II and describes the MS as belonging to the 'oldest stratum of Nepalese lineage manuscripts' ネパール系写本の最古層 (p. 91).

[46] Speaking of the same script, Nolot 1997, 268, mentions only the 11th-12th centuries.

[47] The Indian historian Radhakrishna Chaudhary (1978) seems quite confidant about the site

of the Vikramaśīla Monastery. He speaks of the 'interesting discoveries as a result of excavations conducted since 1960 by the University of Patna and consequently taken over by the Vikramaśīla Excavation Project in 1972' (p. 213). He also acknowledges, however, the fact that 'we have not been hitherto able to discover a seal or a monogram attesting to its identification' (ibid.). This site is found in Bhāgalpur District in Bihar. I do not know whether Chaudhary's confidence with regard to this site is shared by all or an important part of the scientific community specialising in Indian archaeology and history, but studies published by scholars like Dutt (1962, 358-359), Hirakawa (1979, vol. 2, p. 23), and Joshi ([1984] 1993, 97) mention Vikramaśilā as a monastic centre whose site had not been precisely identified. They do, however, offer conjectural identifications: Pātharghātā or Colgong (Dutt 1962, p. 359, n. 1); Bhāgalpur (Bihar) (Joshi [1984] 1993, 97); Bhāgalpur in Bihar or Vikramapura in Eastern Bengal (Bhattacharyya 1991, s.v.). No matter where its exact location was, it would seem that, roughly speaking, the monastery was situated in or near the area of the Proto-Bengali-cum-Maithili script.

48 Theoretically speaking, I think that we should also consider the possibility of different degrees of deliberate conservative features depending upon various scribal lineages and/or even the scribe's own idiosyncrasies. In other words, it is possible that certain lineages and/or individuals may have intentionally conserved old peculiarities in spite of the more general trends of their epochs. There is much we (and especially I) have to learn concerning scribal practices in order to be able to assert with more precision whether a script is genuinely old or deliberately archaising, but if the scribe of our ŚrBh MS was particularly fond of ancient features, then placing it in the 12th century is certainly not out of the question.

49 I am indebted to Prof Dr Oskar von Hinüber who kindly confirmed to me that in spite of the humid climate of many places in India and Southeast Asia, a careful and regular treatment of the palm-leaves manuscripts can result in their good preservation even for several centuries (private communication, 7 September 2004). Therefore, provided that it is well taken care of, a life of one or two hundred years for a palm-leaf manuscript on Indian soil would appear to raise no special problems.

50 The *sandhi* is often irregular, but we cannot be certain whether this genuinely represents a characteristic of the original author(s)/compiler(s) which was faithfully preserved throughout the centuries. It may equally reflect corruptions or loose phonetico-graphical practices of later generations of scribes. At least, as much as we can judge from our MS, the scribe (or textual tradition which he conveyed?) does not seem to care too much about the strict rules stipulated by Classical Sanskrit.

51 One interesting syntactic peculiarity often seen in the ŚrBh is the fact that the finite verb is followed by other parts of speech. This frequently happens after *bhavati* (succeded by a second, third, and even more predicate nouns) but is not limited to it (see, for instance, passage 3.28.2.1.9.1. in my Skt. edition). A similar phenomenon is also present in the SamBh, where out of about 170 occurrences of *bhavati*, 50 are built with post-verbal elements (Delhey 2002, 65). This is carefully analysed by Delhey (2002, 65-67) who establishes several basic rules in which such a syntactic construction is likely to be used. The phenomenon, also allowed by classical Sanskrit, is discussed and placed in a wider perspective by Thommen (1903, 52ff.) (most of his examples of the so-called *Schleppen*, i.e., post-verbal elements, are from the Pali *Jātaka* literature). Personally, I hesitate as to whether it should be regarded as being more typical of and frequent in Middle Indic idioms or whether it is a stylistic predilection mainly of the Buddhist authors. If the latter is the case, does it constitute a reflection or imitation of an oral style of preaching where one adds post-verbal elements as an after-thought, clarification, or emphasis?

52 A careful analysis of the Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit features present in the Books of the

YoBh may one day offer some clues as to their formation date, with the older one presumably showing more 'hybrid' characteristics. It must, however, be stressed that such linguistic clues should be judged in relation with other dating criteria (formal, doctrinal, historical, etc.) in order to obtain a balanced view. Cf. also Schmithausen 1987a, p. 268, in note 124.

[53] Moderation in food is one of the requisites (*saṁbhāra*) of the yogic practice (see 3.4.6. in my Synoptic Presentation above). Wayman renders Skt. *bhojane mātrajñatā* as 'knowing the amount in food' ('with wooden literalness', as aptly described by Edgerton (1962, 308) in his review). This chapter is also reprinted under the title of 'Asaṅga on Food' in Wayman 1997, 336-367. (The rendering 'knowing the amount in food' is kept unchanged in the latter contribution, too.)

[54] The latter article contains a presentation of Shukla's edition as well as a discussion of some textual problems concerning the Chinese translation (mainly its *uddāna*s) in the light of the Sanskrit original.

[55] Shukla's remarks about his comparison with the Tibetan translation are rather confusing. In his Foreword, he says that he had the help of Shri L. Jamspal 'in reading the Tibetan version of the text' (p. XVI). In the Preface (p. XXI), Shukla mentions that some of the missing parts in the ŚrBh were reconstructed on the basis of the Tibetan translation (Peking Canon). Finally, he also remarks that only portions from the Tibetan translation were accessible to him 'through secondary sources'. It is hard to find perfect coherence in these statements, but at no point (at least in his first volume; for volume II, see note 56 below) does Shukla appear to make use of the Tibetan readings other than those provided by Wayman's book (1961).

In addition to this, Shukla's understanding of some basic facts connected to the Tibetan translation of the ŚrBh can hardly be called accurate. For instance, he remarks that 'there are three translations [into Tibetan] of the text'—this is completely incorrect since the text has been translated into Tibetan only once. The Indian scholar lists then these translations as 'the Derge edition' and Jinamitra's translation (as if the latter were different from the former!). The third one is not named, but Shukla refers next to Suzuki's (= Otani University) reproduction of the Peking Canon. The whole passage is rather confusing and can be read as actually speaking of four translations (cf. de Jong 1976, 308).

[56] In 1991, Shukla eventually published the second volume of his edition, which he had already announced in 1973 (pp. XXIV–XXV). The book contains a lengthy Introduction, Sanskrit reconstructions of the lost portions (from Tibetan?), Indexes, etc.. All in all, I am sorry to say, but it does not go much beyond the quality of the first volume.

[57] The next two instalments, published in the same Journal in 1992 and 1993 respectively, contain the *Asamahitā bhūmiḥ* and parts of the *Śrūtamayī bhūmiḥ* and the *Cintāmayī bhūmiḥ*, which were (wrongly) interpolated in the extant MS of the ŚrBh (for details, see Bibliography under ŚruBh).

[58] The Preface of this volume gives a detailed account of the project's history.

[59] The latest installement of the ŚrBh-Gr edition and translation has completed the section on the cultivation of the [thirty-seven] factors of awakening (*bodhipakṣyā bhāvanā*) (ŚrBh-Gr (20) 48, 12 = Sh 330, 18).

[60] For example, ŚrBh-Gr (14) 52, 8 (and passim below) reads with the MS and Shukla: *pratyaśubhatā*, without emending to the obviously correct *pūtyaśubhatā* as suggested by Sakuma (1990, vol. 2, p. 94, n. 573). Sakuma's suggestion is actually mentioned in their footnote (ŚrBh- Gr (14), p. 52, n. 3), but the reading is not adopted in the edited text. See also ŚrBh-Gr 58, 8-10, for which I think Sh 32, 5-8, offers a better reading. (This short fragment is cited in passage 2.4. in my Synoptic Presentation, p. 24, above).

[61] The other point, not necessarily erroneous, which I should like to mention here is the

Group's tendency to render many (but not all) technical terms with lexemes borrowed from Xuanzang's vocabulary. The practice is certainly not limited to the Śrāvakabhūmi Study Group and is often found in many other Japanese translations of Buddhist literature. It has its roots in the long and still powerful tradition of *kundoku* 訓讀 translation, which has its merits and demerits. I am personally a great admirer of the *kundoku* style and practice, but when it comes to translations presumably targeting the post-war generations of readers, I should rather argue for the necessity of rendering the technical vocabulary into pure *modern* literary Japanese. Of course, the very nature of the Japanese language, especially when the text is related in a way or another with Classical Chinese, allows for the massive incorporation of Chinese technical terms. This, however, can sometimes be a comfortable way to eschew the translator's duty to make clear the actual meaning of an original word and to render it into a natural idiom intelligible for the modern reader (preferably even for the non-specialist). I must stress, however, that this can hardly be considered a mistake. The above thoughts merely reflect a matter of stylistic preference and are meant in no way to belittle the value of the Śrāvakabhūmi Study Group's laudable efforts and achievements.

[62] Numerous short passages are also edited and/or translated in Schmithausen's contribution on the meditative practice in the ŚrBh (1982; for the Chapter on the Mundane Path, see mainly, pp. 74-76). Similarly, references and/or citation from the ŚrBh, often containing suggestions concerning the correct reading and/or translations, are found in von Rospatt 1995 (see mainly the notes relevant to the Chapter on the Supramundane Path in Yogasthāna IV: p. 37, n. 65; p. 153, n. 341 and n. 342; p. 183, n. 401, p. 220, n. 459; p. 221, n. 260; many of the notes on pp. 224-233; etc.).

[63] The YoBh is included in the *Hankuk bulkyo chonso* 韓國佛教叢書, a series of translations of the Chinese Canon into modern Korean. I am indebted for this information to Mr Lee Sang-bum, a doctoral student at the International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies, who also added that the quality of many translations in this series leaves much to be desired. Unfortunately, I do not read Korean and could not, therefore, personally check the quality of the YoBh translation.

[64] For a brief biography and bibliography of Saeki Jōin, see Mochizuki 1933 (1974), vol. 9, p. 252. Similarly, for Katō Seishin, see ibid., p. 107. The *Kokuyaku daizōkyō* and the *Kokuyaku issaikyō* are towering monuments of the Japanese scholarship in the field of Buddhist studies. They crystalise centuries of traditional learning and exegesis. For short presentations of the two series, see Furuta et al., eds. 1988, 293. For bibliographical details concerning the ŚrBh, see below Editing Conventions, Sigla, under KDK and KIK respectively.

[65] In Ui 1958, the *Śrāvakabhūmi* is discussed mainly at pp. 113-128.

[66] The Sanskrit reconstructions of the lost portions of the ŚrBh are also found in Sh II 3-10.

[67] Both Katsumata and Komine deal with *śamatha* and *vipaśyanā* in the YoBh in general, but there are also many discussions directly related to the ŚrBh.

[68] The article is entitled in Japanese 'On the *pratisaṁlayana* in the Yogācārabhūmi' 瑜伽師地論の宴坐宴黙について, but its English title in the Table of Contents of the *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* is given as 'On *niśadya* and *pratisaṁlayana* in the *Śrāvakabhūmi*'.

[69] For complete bibliogaphical data, see Bibliography under YoBh-I and YoBh-D respectively.

[70] See, e.g., notes 371 and 379 in the Sanskrit critical edition.

[71] Details concerning the computer technology as well as the progress of the database development for the homepage are found in Huimin et al. 2002.

[72] Huimin 1994a represents the revised version of the author's PhD thesis submitted to the University of Tokyo.

CHAPTER THREE

Tibetan Translation

I Translation

The *Yogācārabhūmi* (*rNal 'byor spyod pa'i sa*) was translated into Tibetan at the beginning of the 9th century. Though some matters of detail are not clear, the history of its translation and transmission can be traced on the basis of the traditional catalogues, colophons, and chronicles. The colophon to the *Śrāvakabhūmi* in the sDe-dge and Co-ne Canons[1] states that the text was 'translated, revised and established in its definitive form[2] by the Indian master (**upādhyāya*) Jinamitra and the chief-editor and translator[3] Venerable Ye-shes-sde and others' (| | *Rgya-gar gyi mkhan po Dzi-na-mi-tra dang* |[4] *zhu chen gyi lo tsā ba ban de Ye-shes-sde la sogs pas bsgyur cing zhus te gtan la phab pa* | | D 195a7; C 201a6-7; ZT 485, 9-10; Schmithausen ed. [1982] 1984, p. 475, n. 93).[5] Both translators are famous figures in the history of Buddhism in Tibet, and a full account of their activities is not be possible here. A detailed survey of the relevant historical data has actually been undertaken by Peter Skilling in his seminal study on the *Mahāsūtras* (1997).[6] In what follows, I shall limit myself to a few sketchy details extracted from traditional Tibetan histories.

According to Bu-ston's *Chos 'byung* (Szerb ed., pp. 44-45)[7], King Ral-pa-can[8] decided that the translations of Buddhist texts made before his time 'contained many words unintelligible to the Tibetans. Besides, different translations were made from the Chinese, from the language of Li and Sahor, etc. [...] Seeing this the king issued the following order: The Aparāntaka teachers (*nyi 'og gi mkhan po*) Jinamita, [...], the skilful translators Jñānasena [i.e., Ye-shes-sde] [...] are to translate the Hīnayānistic and Mahāyānistic Scriptures into Tibetan directly from the Sanskrit' (*Chos 'byung* tr., pp. 196-197).[9] In a different context, Bu-ston also mentions that Jinamitra and Śīlendrabodhi, another master who actively participated in the translations done at the beginning of the 9th century in Tibet, appear to have been Pūrṇavardhana's disciples but that this must be examined (*Chos 'byung*, Chandra ed., folio 847 (Chandra's number) = Ya 108a (traditional number), line 3: *de'i* [referring to Pūrṇavardhana] *slob ma Dzi-na-mi-tra dang Shi-le-ndra-bho-dhi la sogs yin gsung ste dpyad par bya'o* | | ; cf. *Chos 'byung* tr. 148-149). According to the *Deb ther sngon po*,[10] both Jinamitra and Ye-shes-sde belonged to Abhidharmasamuccaya lineage.[11] In this genealogy, the Kashmirian Jinamitra (*Kha-che Ji na mi tra*) comes after Sthiramati and Pūrṇavardhana (*Deb ther sngon po*, folio 306 (Chandra's number) = Cha 8b (traditional number), line 5; cf. *Deb ther sngon po* tr., pp. 344-5),[12] which may also suggest that the latter may have been Jinamitra's teacher. Pūrṇavardhana is said by Tāranātha (*Chos 'byung* p. 166, l.18; cf. *Chos 'byung* tr., p. 276)[13] to have lived during the reign of King Dharmapāla. The latter is regarded as being contemporary with Khri-srong-lde-btsan, the great king whose rule in the second half of the 8th century marked the apogee of the Tibetan Empire.[14] Tāranātha also mentions *Kha-cher 'dul 'dzin Dzi-na-mi-tra* (*Chos 'byung*, p. 172, l. 7) 'Jinamitra, the Vinaya master from Kashmir'[15] as living in the same period and also refers to his arrival in Tibet (*bod du'ang byon par mngon no* | | ; ibid. ll. 8-9; cf. Tāranātha's *Chos 'byung* tr., p. 285). Jinamitra is placed during the reign of King

Mahīpāla who ascended to throne 18 years after Dharmapāla. Mahīpāla ruled for 52 years and the time of his death, Tāranātha says, coincides with that of the Tibetan king Khri-ral (Ral-pa-can) (*Chos 'byung*, p. 172, ll. 1-3; cf. *Chos 'byung* tr., p. 284).

Not many details about the life of Ye-shes-sde have survived to this day (see Skilling 1997, 129). We certainly know that he played a crucial role in assisting and editing a large part of the Tibetan translations undertaken at the beginning of the 9th century.[16] Both Jinamitra and Ye-shes-sde were also amongst the compilers of the *Bye brag tu rtogs par byed pa chen po* or *Mahāvyutpatti*,[17] the glossary which fixed the 'new language' (*skad gsar*)[18] devised in order to bring uniformity to the technical vocabulary of the Buddhist translations (see Sakaki's Introduction to MVyut, pp. I – II; Simonsson 1957, 210-237; Skilling 1997, 124 and 129; Scherrer-Schaub 2002).[19] As often pointed out in my annotations, many technical terms in the Tibetan rendering of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* agree with or are similar to those in the *Mahāvyutpatti*. This must be connected to the fact the leading figures of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* translation team also participated in the compilation of the latter work.

A few words about the quality of the Tibetan translation of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*. The text of the *Nyan thos kyi sa* is generally very faithful and, as far as can I judge, intelligible for the learned Tibetan readers to whom it was addressed. Points of divergence from the Sanskrit original do exist. Most of them will be pointed out and/or discussed in my notes to the critical edition of the Tibetan translation. Their cause can, however, seldom be attributed to a misunderstanding of the Sanskrit text. There are instances of lack of intelligibility or apparent misconstruing, but even in such cases, corrupt manuscript readings or early scribal errors in the Tibetan transmission, inherited in all extant witnesses, cannot be ruled out. Much more often, however, divergences appear to have come from a different wording of the Sanskrit manuscript which was in the hands of the Tibetan translators. We should not forget that the Tibetan translation reflects the text of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* as it was at the beginning of the 9th century, while Xuanzang rendered a manuscript from the first half of the 7th century and our extant Sanskrit original dates back to probably the 11th century. We have thus three different stages in the history of the manuscript, each separated by about 150 years. Though differences are present, I think that they are not 'dramatic' enough to enable us to speak of dissimilar recensions.[20] It rather seems that we have to deal with the same text containing variants probably determined by minor editorial changes and scribal peculiarities and errors.

Another cause of divergence from the Sanskrit was, I suppose, a conscious effort on the part of Jinamitra, Ye-shes-sde and their assistants to bring intelligibility to the Tibetan text and effect editorial changes, usually minor, whenever necessary. The faithfulness of many Tibetan translations is 'legendary', and generally speaking, the *Śrāvakabhūmi* is no exception to this rule. This, however, should not be unduly over-emphasised. A turn of phrase less similar to the Sanskrit syntax but more natural to the flow of the Tibetan is not a rarity. There are also instances when the Chinese rendering, admittedly done by Xuanzang, one of the most philologically-minded translators in the history of the Middle Kingdom, seems more mechanical and the Tibetan strikes the right balance between faithfulness and naturalness.

II Catalogue testimony

The title of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* is found amongst the *Vijñāna[vāda] śāstra*s listed in the *lDan-dkar-ma* (or *lHan-dkar-ma*) (Lalou 1953, p. 334, # 617), the famous early catalogue which was compiled in 812 or 824 (Mimaki 1982, p. 9, n. 2).[21] In its entry on the *Nyan thos gyi* [sic] *sa,* the catalogue notes that the text has 5400 *śloka*s[22] and 18 *bam po*s. However, in all xylographic Canons printed in the 18th century (see below), the *Śrāvakabhūmi* is recorded as having six thousand *śloka*s (see colophon: | | *'di la shlo ka drug stong yod do* | |, P 236a8; G 281a4; N 209a5; D 195a7; C 201a7; ZT 485, 11), and its text is divided into 20 *bam po*s. We have no historical document which gives clear evidence concerning this dissimilarity. I surmise that the divergence in the *śloka* number may have come from a different criterion of counting these textual units.[23] The difference in the *bam po* number may also be explained as a new way of dividing the text. Actually, a similar discrepancy can be seen in the case of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi,* for which the *lDan-dkar-ma* Catalogue (Lalou 1953, p. 334, # 618) registers 6300 *śloka*s (6150+150) and 20 *bam po,* while the extant translation has 6750 *śloka*s (see colophon in D Wi 213a7 and ZT vol. 73, p. 1054, l. 19)[24] and 22 *bam po*s.

The same situation seems to have existed at the time when Bu-ston compiled his celebrated *Chos 'byung* in or around 1322.[25] Actually, the last chapter of this work is a catalogue of Buddhist translations.[26] In his entry dedicated to the *Śrāvakabhūmi,* included in the Section on treatises of the Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda School, Bu-ston gives the following information: *Sa'i dngos gzhi'i ya gyal Nyan thos kyi sa* 'The *Śrāvakabhūmi,* independent[27] [Book] of the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ* [of the *Yogācārabhūmi*]' has 18 *bam po*s (Nishioka ed. 1981, p. 56, # 692)[28] and represents *Ye-shes-sde la sogs pa'i 'gyur* (ibid. p. 65, ll. 28-29) 'the translation of Ye-shes-sde and others'.[29] This shows that the text known to Bu-ston was still divided into 18 *bam po*s. The change appears thus to have happened sometime between the first half of the 14th century and the beginning of the 18th century. Theoretically speaking, one could also think of an augmentation, revision, or even a re-translation of the text, but nothing of the kind is attested. Historically, the possibility of a new rendering of the *Yogācārabhūmi,* entire or partial, is extremely low since the translation work in Tibet slows down considerably from the 14th century on.[30] As suggested above, it is more probable that the difference in the *bam po* number resulted from a re-arrangement of the text.[31] Without more evidence it is not easy to ascertain when this happened, but if this was the case, then the advent of the xylograph Canons in the 18th century with their new formats and editorial standards is one plausible explanation. This, however, is not the only possibility, and the picture is further complicated by the information contained in the so-called *Dunhuang Glossary.*

This is a bilingual manuscript which was found at Dunhuang. Its text is available in an excellent edition and facsimile reproduction prepared by Fang-kuei Li (1961-1962). The *Dunhuang Glossary* is a collection of Chinese and Tibetan technical terms from the *Yogācārabhūmi*, sometimes cited in phrases or sentences, sometimes alone.[32] The glossary is written on the verso of what appear to have been monastic accounts. From the name of one monk, also known from other sources, Li infers that the date of the glossary must be the 'beginning of the ninth or the end of the eighth century' (p. 237). The name of its author does not appear in the manuscript of the *Dunhuang*

Glossary, but Ueyama (1990, 238) surmises on the basis of the handwriting that this may have been Wu Facheng 吳法成 (Tibetan name, 'Go-chos-grub). This Chinese master is known to have been proficient in the Tibetan language and also actively engaged in the study of the *Yogācārabhūmi*, upon which he actually commented and gave lectures (see Chapter Four below). There is a large number of discrepancies between the *Dunhunag Glossary* and the versions transmitted by the classical *Tanjur*s. This makes Li conjecture that these discrepancies may be the result of a revision, supposedly into the 'new language' (*skad gsar*). He adds, however, that 'whether the variants given in the manuscript represent something of the original Tibetan version cannot be decided at present' (p. 234). Ueyama (1990, 238) hypothesises that these differences might constitute a different translation of the *Yogācārabhūmi* or may reflect one of the stages of revision probably undergone by the Tibetan text before it attained its present version.

I do not deny these possibilities, especially the latter. It would also fit the larger historical picture: the beginning of the 9th century witnessed the revision of many texts into the 'new language'. In this case, we would have to postulate that the *Yogācārabhūmi* was rendered probably at the end of the 8th century or in the first decade of the 9th century and this version became the source of the *Dunhuang Glossary*. Later, presumably after the *Mahāvyutpatti* compilation in 814, this early version was revised and this represents our extant *Yogācārabhūmi* translation. Again, this is a possibility, but in my opinion, not the only one and not the strongest one. The fact that there is no colophon or other historical document to suggest this scenario is our first problem.[33] This, however, is not a decisive argument. After all, there is no compelling evidence that would exclude the possibility of many such revisions having been undertaken without leaving any tangible historical records behind.

What is more significant is, I think, the nature of the *Dunhuang Glossary* and the extent of the divergence. Regarding the first aspect, we have no accurate information on what Tibetan source the *Dunhuang Glossary* relied and how strict and correct its compiler and/or copyist was. Its source may have been a corrupt manuscript of the *Yogācārabhūmi* translation. Or instead of the original translation, the source may have been a commentarial work or notes taken from it. And more importantly, the *Dunhuang Glossary*, which obviously was not intended to be a public work and represents nothing more than a collection of private notes, does not seem to have intended literal faithfulness to the original text of the translation. Careless mistakes may also have crept into it, but quite a few of the dissimilarities may have been intentional from the very beginning. The compiler of the *Dunhuang Glossary* probably considered it more appropiate to make some simplifications or modifications for his own use or adaptations in view of the level and expectations of his audience. After all, there are also differences between Xuanzang's *Yogācārabhūmi* translation as cited in the *Dunhuang Glossary* and its extant version as known from all its textual witnesses. In this particular instance, neither Li, who notices and discusses them (pp. 237-240), nor Ueyama surmises the existence of a different Chinese rendering or a major revision of it. Actually, Li describes the dissimilarities as follows: 'Some of these differences look like abbreviations of the latter version [i.e., the Taishō edition], others, slight expansions' (p. 238). I believe that the same can be said about many, if not all, Tibetan terms from the *Yogācārabhūmi* found in the *Dunhuang Glossary*.[34]

Part of the *Dunhuang Glossary* (pp. 304, entry # 105 - p. 314, # 124-125) contains glosses on technical terms from our Chapter on the Mundane Path of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*. Their examination could hardly lead to the conclusion that the *Dunhuang Glossary* reflects a different version of the Tibetan translation. Divergences do exist, but they are mainly either spelling peculiarities and errors or abridgements, exegetical expansions, modification of the order, etc.[35] Even if we hypothesise that the *Yogācārabhūmi* was subject to a revision into the 'new language' , I think that only a part of the *Dunhunag Glossary* can be taken as a reflection of this hypothectical early version of the text. More important is to stress that the *Dunhuang Glossary* was a collection of casual notes for private use, with its own peculiarities and mistakes, and its reflection of the *Yogācārabhūmi* text may be blurred or, at times, even distorted.[36]

As intimated above, the *Dunhuang Glossary* also brings some information (or rather further confusion!) concerning the problems of the *bam po* number in the original *Śrāvakabhūmi* translation. An interlinear note written in Tibetan next to a Chinese gloss upon the so-called twelve ideations reads: *'du shes 'du* [sic] *rnams kyi bshad pha bam po bco brgyad pa las 'byung* 'the explanation of the ideations appears in *bam po* 18' (*Dunhuang Glossary*, line 113, in Li 1961-1962, pp. 233-234).[37] As pointed out by Li (p. 234 and note 1), this corresponds to the extant version of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* which treats these twelve ideations in *bam po* 18.[38] But does this mean that the *bam po* structure of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* available to the author of the *Dunhuang Glossary* was identical in *all* other respects to our extant version of the text? Of course, without a surviving copy of the former, it is impossible to give a definite answer. Supposing, however, that they were identical, how are we to explain this? Could it mean that *bam po* 18 in the 9th century version of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* was exceptionally long and it covered the rest of the text?[39] Or did the *Śrāvakabhūmi* circulate in two textual arrangements: one in 18 *bam po*s, and the other in 20 *bam po*s. If this was the case, then the former must have been the version recorded in the *lDan-dkar-ma* and Bu-ston's Catalogue, while the latter was later adopted (for format reasons?) in the 18th century xylograph Canons. I must, however, admit that I am not satisfied with either hypothesis, and at least for the time being, I cannot offer an adequate explanation.

III Manuscripts and Printed Editions

Fragments of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* survive in four Dunhuang manuscripts: Stein Nos. 641, 642, 676, and Pelliot No. 836. Stein No. 642 was identified by de La Vallée Poussin (1962, p. 204) as belonging to the *Śrāvakabhūmi* 'end of the *Gotra-bhūmi* and beginning of the *Praveśa-bhūmi* [sic]' (cf. also Fujita 1978, 65). In the same catalogue, the Belgian scholar (ibid., p. 203) records Stein No 641 only as '*Yoga-caryā*'. This manuscript was identified as belonging to the *Śrāvakabhūmi* by Ishikawa (1993) (see below). Stein No. 676 was first identified by Fujita (1978, 66-65). Pelliot 836 was identified and described by Lalou (1939, p. 183).[40] Except for Stein No. 641, the presence of the three other *Śrāvakabhūmi* manuscripts in the Dunhuang collection is also pointed out by Hakamaya (1985a, 221-222).

All the four available Dunhuang manuscripts have been critically edited by Ishikawa (1993, 1994, and 1995).[41] Though one manuscripts (Stein No. 641) greatly departs from the readings of both the Peking and sDe-dge *Tanjur*s (see Ishikawa 1993,

166), it appears that they basically represent the same translation of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* as we know it from the xylograph Canons. This basic agreement also serves as an important collateral testimony that the *Śrāvakabhūmi* was translated at the beginning of the 9th century in a form more or less similar to our extant text.[42]

It is actually well-known that the *Yogācārabhūmi* was very popular in Dunhuang (see Hakamaya 1985a, 220-224), especially in the first half of the 9th century. The Chinese master Facheng 法成 (see above) dedicated much of his energy to the exegesis of the *Yogācārabhūmi*.[43] More about this will be said in Chapters Four and Six below. Here it will suffice to mention that during his lectures on Xuanzang's translation of the *Yogācārabhūmi*, apparently begun in 855 (Ueyama 1990, 229),[44] Facheng frequently consulted the Tibetan version of the text and the notes left by two of his students also contain Tibetan technical terms attached to their Chinese equivalents (Ueyama 1990, 226, 235-237). The Chinese scholar-monk may also have been the author of the *Dunhuang Glossary* (Ueyama 1990, 238) which we have discussed above.[45]

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The recent decades have witnessed a growing interest in the history of the Buddhist Canon in Tibet. Research has, however, tended to focus more upon the *bKa' 'gyur* (*Kanjur*), the canonical corpus of *sūtra*s, which admittedly has a more complicated genesis and transmission.[46] In spite of some outstanding contributions dedicated to the *bsTan 'gyur* (*Tanjur*),[47] the collection of scholastic commentaries and philosophical treatises, there are still many details in its history which remain unclear.[48] I do not claim that the following pages will bring any novelty in this domain, except perhaps for the philological data resulting from my edition of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*. I hope, however, that they can at least sum up the major findings published so far.

As far as we know, there are five extant traditional editions of the Tibetan *bsTan 'gyur*: Peking,[49] dGa'-ldan (or Golden *Tanjur*),[50] sNar-thang, sDe-dge, and Co-ne. With the exception of the dGa'-ldan, which is a manuscript version, all the other *Tanjur*s are xylographic editions. Before examining the *bsTan 'gyur* history, I shall make a few general remarks concerning the philological findings revealed by my edition of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*. This unmistakably reveals two lineages: the Peking, dGa'-ldan, sNar-thang (P-G-N) stemma, on the one hand, and the sDe-dge, Co-ne (D-C) stemma, on the other.[51] To the latter, we could also add the modern edition of the *Zhonghua dazangjing (Tibetan Texts)* (ZT). Some rare exceptions exist as, for example, in passage 3.28.2.2.2. where G, N and C agree in reading *brjod* against *rjod* in P, D, ZT,[52] or in passage 3.28.5.2.8. where N agrees with the D, C, ZT in reading *gzhag* against *bzhag* in P, G.[53] Their extremely low frequency suggests, however, that they are accidental or, at least, not relevant for the stemmatic relations betweens the Canons.

The existence of these two main stemmata is attested by a large number of historical and philological studies. In a recent review of the present state of the research on the Tibetan Canon, Eimer (2002a, 6) concludes that 'in general the readings of Cone and Derge *Tanjur*s go together as against the Narthang and Beijing blockprints' (see also Sakai 1944, 32; Yamaguchi 1987-1988, vol. 2, p. 316; Schoening 1995, 123; etc.). This basic pattern, Peking and sNar-thang vs sDe-dge and Co-ne, is revealed by the

examination of the *bsTan 'gyur* formation (see below) and is also corroborated by the carefully collated editions of Vogel (1965, especially 25-30), Eimer (especially 1978, 77), Pāsādika (especially 1989b, p. XVIII), Schoening (1995, especially 123-124, 132-134, and 141-143), Mathes (1996, especially 37-40), Erb (1997, 261-268), Dietz (2000, see especially p. 176), Mochizuki (2004), etc. One should mention here that there is one major exception from this correspondence pattern: the texts (or at least, some texts) in the the *bsTod tshogs* (*Hymns*) Section of the Co-ne *Tanjur* do not seem to be based on the sDe-dge Canon. This has been clearly showed by the studies and editions published by Hartmann (1987, 45) and Schneider (1993, 41; 1995, 159).[54] The same conclusion concerning the *bsTod tshogs* Section is also supported by Eimer (2002a, 6).

The close relation of the dGa-'ldan *bsTan 'gyur* to the Peking and sNar-thang *Tanjur*s is corroborated by a number of recent studies and editions. Actually, it was only in 1988 when scholars gained access to this manuscript *Tanjur* thanks to a facsimile reproduction published by the China Library of Nationalities. The number of studies and critical editions using this *bsTan 'gyur* is still limited, but the following ones bring important contributions to the understanding of its history and stemmatic relations. Skilling (1991, 139), who catalogued the dGa-'ldan *Tanjur* and compared some of its readings, concludes that it agrees with the Peking and sNar-thang lineage. Mathes (1996, 39), who collated the dGa'-ldan version for his edition of the *Dharmadharmatā-vibhāga* and the *Dharmadharmatāvibhāgavṛtti*, regards the dGa'-ldan as forming a sub-group parallel with Peking, both being related to sNar-thang. This lineage is considered different from the sDe-dge and Co-ne stemmatic group. Schoening (1995, 123-124, 132-134, and 141-143) holds that the dGa'-ldan is derived from the same 'Phying-ba sTag-rtse Canon (mid-17th century) as the Peking and sNar-thang editions.[55] In her edition, translation, and study of Mātṛceta's *Kaliyugaparikathā*, Dietz (2000, 176) places the dGa'-ldan version in the same stemma with the sNar-thang and Peking against the sDe-dge and Co-ne lineage but seems to consider that the dGa'-ldan sprang from a branch different from the source of the sNar-thang and Peking (which together form a separate sub-group). This is a logical possibility, but in view of the historical background, which will be dealt with below, I believe it is more likely that, as also argued by Schoening, the dGa'-ldan *bsTan 'gyur* derives from the same archetype as the the sNar-thang and Peking *Tanjur*s. It is not clear whether dGa-'ldan should be taken as forming a sub-group with Peking or with sNar-thang. Mathes (1996, 39) seems to favour the former alternative. The dGa-'ldan text of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* does not offer a clear picture in this respect: when the sNar-thang and Peking *Tanjur*s disagree, the dGa-'ldan sometimes agrees with the Peking, sometimes with the sNar-thang. One thing appears, however, certain: the dGa-'ldan is not a perfect replica of either. It is true that in the case of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, readings peculiar only to the dGa'-ldan are very few and almost never offer better solutions than other Canons, but nonetheless, it seems to represent a textual witness in its own right.[56]

It could be argued that in view of the principle of *eliminatio codicum descriptorum*, the dGa'-ldan is not a must for critical editions of Tibetan texts.[57] In the long run, this might be prove to be the case, but I think that we are still at a stage in our historical and philological research of the Tibetan Canon when such a conclusion would be hasty. We need quite a few more critical editions until we reach the philological

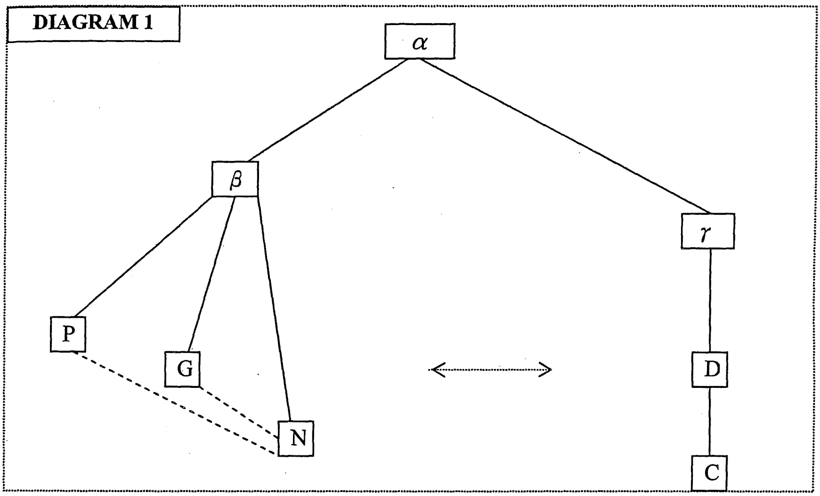
'maturity' required for such an 'aggressive' eliminatory action. The work ahead is bound to be time-consuming (as well as eye-taxing!), but a final decision in this respect should based upon thousands of critically collated pages, probably often revealing nothing more than largely prosaic variant readings.

Actually, if I were to rely only upon conclusions drawn from my edition of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, I should say that even the Co-ne can be eliminated since it seldom differs from the sDe-dge, and when it does, the divergences are not significant. However, the comparison of these two *Tanjur*s undertaken by Vogel (1965, 26-27) in his edition of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā* yields a list of 68 cases of different readings. In his Introduction to the Tibetan translation of the *Sūtrasamuccaya*, Bhikkhu Pāsādika (1989b), argues that as far as his text is concerned, 'Vogel's observation concerning the direct dependence of C on D needs to be modified: In numerous places C either agrees with NP against D or has even better readings to offer than all the other editions' (p. XVIII) (Bhikkhu Pāsādika's abbreviations are identical with mine). This clearly shows a different picture and suggests how important is to continue accumulating and analyising data from all our available sources before drawing definitive or, at least, more certain, conclusions.

Finally, it should be noted that the presence of a number of common errors shared by all traditional witnesses (see, for instance, passage 3.28.2.1.3. in my Critical Edition of the Tibetan Translation) points to the fact that the textual tradition of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* goes back to one archetype, most probably the Old sNar-thang Canon (see below).

The following stemma sums up the philological analysis of the Tibetan translation of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*. This also appears to be similar or identical to the transmission of other (but not all!) *Tanjur* texts. The stemma includes only conjectured textual archetypes (for which I use lower-case Greek letters) and the five surviving traditional *Tanjur* versions (which are abbreviated with Latin capitals). This is, to be sure, a very schematical representation and does not constitute the only possible way of imagining the stemmatic relations between our five textual witnesses. However, other alternatives remain mere logical possibilities with little or no historical plausibility.[58] The latter aspect will be examined below, and after a general survey of the historical background of the *Tanjur* formation, I shall offer a more detailed stemma, also including information on the pre-classical *bsTan 'gyur*s, i.e., prior to the 18th century, which are no longer extant. The unbroken lines in the diagram below show the basic genealogical relations between the archetypes and the extant *Tanjur* versions. The broken lines indicate possible relations of intra-stemmatic collateral influences, and the punctuated arrows suggest possible inter-stemmatic contaminations which may have occurred on a more or less limited scale.

DIAGRAM 1



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Let us now have a look at the historical background which accounts for the stemmatic relations sketched above.[59] The beginnings of the Tibetan Canon go back to the so-called Old sNar-thang Canon compiled in the first decades of the 14th century. The main initiator and patron of this Canon appears to have been 'Jam-pa'i-dbyangs, who was chaplain to the Mongolian Emperor Buyantu (or Renzong 仁宗, according to the Chinese appellation) (r. 1312-1320). The *Deb ther sngon po* (folio 300 (Chandra's number) = Cha 5b (traditional number), line 4ff; cf. *Deb ther sngon po* tr., pp. 337-339; Harrison 1996, 75-76),[60] composed by 'Gos lo-tsā-ba gZhon-nu-dpal between 1476 and 1478, gives a detailed account of the events which led to the compilation of the Canon. The collection and editing of this impressive corpus of holy scriptures and philosophical treatises appears to have originated in ... a prank. When still a student under the famous scholar bCom-ldan Rig-ral, the young 'Jam-pa'i-dbyangs, probably in a fit of childish playfulness, had the infelicitous idea to dress up as a daemon and scare his master in a sacred courtyard.[61] Enraged at this disrespectful joke and probably not endowed with much sense of humour, bCom-ldan Rig-ral expelled the student from the sNar-thang Monastery. Later in life, 'Jam-pa'i-dbyangs had the unexpected fortune (*acintyaṁ karma*!) of becoming chaplain at the Mongol Court and gaining impressive political and economical power. Still feeling bitter remorse for his youthful mistake, 'Jam-pa'i-dbyangs would try all possible means to regain his master's favour. In a supreme gesture to please him, 'Jam-pa'i-dbyangs requested three scholars headed by dBus-pa bLo-gsal to collect, collate and make copies of all original exemplars (*phyi-mo*) available to them at that time (Hatano 1966, 67-83).[62] As aptly expressed by Harrison (1996, 76), 'a brief moment of boyish fun can be seen as the starting point for centuries of sober scholarly activity'.[63]

'Jam-pa'i-dbyangs was the initiator of the first large-scale compilation of a scriptural Canon, but there are indications that a prototype may have already existed before his enterprise. In the same passsage describing the birth of the Canon, the *Deb ther sngon po* tells us that bCom-ldan Rig-ral checked the colophons of Sugata's word (*bka'*) and classified the philosophical treatises (*bstan bcos*). On this basis, he composed the *bsTan pa rgyas pa*, which appears to have been a proto-*Tanjur* catalogue.[64] This shows that the sNar-thang Monastery already had a large collection of texts which were in the process of being codified as a systematic corpus (cf. also Harrison 1996, 77-78). Actually, in an other context, the *Deb ther sngon po* (folio 53 (Chandra's number) = Ka 27a (traditional number), lines 1-2; cf. *Deb ther sngon po* tr., p. 58) records that the sNar-thang *bsTan 'gyur* was compiled under the reign of the Mongol Emperor Ol-ja-du (Öljeitü or Temür in Mongolion; Chengzong 成宗 in Chinese) (1295-1307) (see also Hatano 1966, 71, 75 and 82).[65] This may have been facilitated by the fact that the sNar-thang Monastery enjoyed a special position and great economic prosperity under Khubilai and Temür (Hatano 1966, pp. 81-82). If this is correct, then we might conclude that it was probably bCom-ldan Rig-ral who had already gathered and/or classified a (quasi-)canonical collection at sNar-thang. Later, 'Jam-pa'i-dbyangs, trying to impress his master and continue his work, went a step further and produced a more comprehensive and varied corpus based on exemplars from all parts of Tibet.[66]

Unfortunately, we have no further details concerning this proto-sNar-thang Canon,

but we know with some certainty that the compilation of the old sNar-thang *Tanjur* by 'Jam-pa'i-dbyangs took place sometime between 1312-1320.[67] It seems, however, that the completion of the project had to wait a few more years. The *Tanjur* was actually finished under the abbot mChims-mkhan-po Blo-bzang-grags-pa (Hatano 1966, 76-77; 82-83). His dates as abbot of sNar-thang are not very clear, but it seems that 1327-1366, as recorded by the *bKa' gdams kyi rnam par thar pa*, are the most likely. Hatano (1966, 82) believes that the *Tanjur* must have been brought to completion during his first years of abbotship since Bu-ston compiled his *bsTan 'gyur* in 1334 on the basis of this Old sNar-thang Canon.

According to the *Deb ther sngon po* (folio 301 (Chandra's number) = Cha 6a (traditional number), lines 3-4), copies of the Old sNar-thang Canon were sent to several monastic establishments. One of them reached the hands of Bu-ston Rin-po-che who '[...] excluded from it all duplicate texts [...]. He classified the texts which had remained unclassified, as well as added about a thousand new texts. This (new) copy (of the collection) was deposited at the vihāra of Ža-lu' (*Deb ther sngon po* tr., p. 338). On the basis of this new edition of the Zhva-lu *Tanjur*, a number of copies were prepared and sent to a few other monasteries (*Deb ther sngon po* folio 301 (Chandra's number) = Cha 6a (traditional number), lines 3ff; cf. *Deb ther sngon po* tr., pp. 338-339). Bu-ston put all his scholarly genius into what seems to have been a philologically edited *bsTan 'gyur*. This is how Bu-ston himself describes its compliation:

> To the Śāstras in translation deposited in the great religious institution (*chos gra*) of sNar thaṅ, texts were added (*phyi mo žu ba*); and rare texts not available there and new translations were carefully sought for in the great and small institutions of dBus and gTsaṅ. About one thousand new *dharmaparyāya*s were added and, when all the duplicates (*zlos pa*) contained in the texts were removed, the most excellent Śāstras were 3392 in number. Work was begun on the first day of the eighth month of the Wood-male dog year (1334) and was completed on the fifteenth day of the twelfth month of the same year. (*Yid bzhin nor bu dbang gi rgyal po'i phreng ba*, folio 119b; cited in Seyfort Ruegg tr. 1966, 33).[68]

On the 21st day of the 5th month of the next year, Bu-ston completed the catalogue of this *Tanjur*, entitled *Yid bzhin nor bu dbang gi rgyal po'i phreng ba* (Hatano 1966, 46, 50).[69] The great Tibetan master often refers to and sometimes criticises the so-called 'Old *bsTan 'gyur* Catalogue', which most probably (but not beyond doubt) refers to bCom-ldan Rig-ral's *Bstan pa rgyas pa* (Hatano 1966, 50). Such references are already seen in his famous *Chos 'byung*, which was compiled in ca. 1320-1322 (see above). Chapter IV of the latter work is actually a catalogue which tries to improve on former similar attempts. In this chapter of the *Chos 'byung*, Bu-ston does not yet adopt the division of the Buddhist texts into the *bKa' 'gyur* and *bsTan 'gyur* sections, which would later become the standard structural feature of the Tibetan Canon. The first catalogue to make such a classification and record the texts correspondingly was the *'Phang thang ma*, a work compiled around 800 which is no longer extant (Hatano 1966, 50).[70] In the years after the completion of the *Chos 'byung*, Bu-ston also came to adopt this division in the compilation of his edition of the Canon as well as in his catalogues (Hatano 1966, 49). I shall follow Yamaguchi (1987-1988, vol. 2, p. 312) and call this *Tanjur* compiled by Bu-ston in 1334 the 'Zhva-lu gSer-khang edition'.[71]

In his late years, Bu-ston undertook the compilation of another *bsTan 'gyur* edition at the request of the new powerful ruler Byang-chub rGyal-mtshan (d. 1373).[72] Helped by a few other scholars, Bu-ston, already aged 73, worked on this edition between the 8th day of the 6th month and the 14th day of the 10th month of 1362.[73] For this, the Zhva-lu gSer-khang *bsTan 'gyur* was used as the basic text (which is referred to with such expressions as *phyi mor bzung ste* or *phyi mo zhus shing*). Rare texts (*phyi mo dpe dkon pa*), not included in the previous *Tanjur* collections, and 27 new translations were added to this edition of the *bsTan 'gyur.*[74] Its total number of texts rose to 3429. The catalogue for this *Tanjur* had already been completed on the 8th day of the 3rd month of 1362. According to its colophon, the *Tanjur* was thoroughly revised by expert editors (*zhus dag mkhan po*) (see Hatano 1966, 49-50). The compilation was carried out at the rTsed-thang Monastery (Samten Shastri 1987, 773), but the new edition was stored at the 'Phying-ba sTag-rtse Palace in 'Phyong-rgyas (Yamaguchi 1987-1988, vol. 2, 1988, 312; Hatano 1966, 63). I shall refer to this second edition compiled by Bu-ston as the 'Old 'Phying-ba sTag-rtse *bsTan 'gyur*'.[75]

Apart from these *Tanjurs* compiled in Central Tibet, we also know that a manuscript *bsTan 'gyur* was produced in Mustang in 1447. The financial burden of this *Tanjur*, which appears to have been written in gold, was borne by King A-mgon-bzang-po (fl. around the middle of the 15th century), a devoted supporter of the Buddhist Dharma, and its supervisor was Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po (1368-1456) (Mathes 1997, 127; Eimer 2002c; Almogi, forthcoming).[76] The same editor-in-chief and royal patron also compiled a golden *bKa' 'gyur*, a large part of which survives to this day (Mathes 1997). The Mustang *bsTan 'gyur* is, unfortunately, no longer extant,[77] but its content and structure can be gleaned from the catalogues (*dkar chags*) compiled by Ngor-chen (see Eimer 2002c).[78] The *Yogācārabhūmi* translation appears to have been included in it since the *Sems tsam pa* (= *Cittamātra*) Section of the *bsTan 'gyur dkar chag* contains the title *Sa sde lnga* (Eimer 2002c, p. 79, n. 32).[79]

At the present stage of research, the sources upon which the Mustang *bsTan 'gyur* was based cannot be ascertained. At least, nothing relevant is found in Ngor-chen's introduction to the *bsTan bcos 'gyur ro 'tshal gyi dkar chag thub bstan rgyas pa'i nyi 'od*, the catalogue recording the *Tanjur* commentaries on *sūtras* (Almogi, forthcoming). Eimer (2002c, 75-76) argues that a reference to mNga'-ris in the preface of the Mustang *bKa' 'gyur* might indicate the origin of the manuscript collection on which this *Kanjur* was based. The German scholar also surmises that the manuscripts which served as master copies for the Mustang *bsTan 'gyur* must have had the same provenence as the *bKa' 'gyur* (ibid., 86). mNga'-ris is identified by Eimer with Western Tibet (ibid., 76, 86), which admittedly is the usual denotation of the word. Almogi (forthcoming), on the other hand, doubts that mNga'-ris refers here to Western Tibet. Based upon Jackson 1984 (pages 5 and 10 as well as note 21), she argues that the geographical area which the word 'mNga'-ris' covered could also include Mustang itself and that this must be the sense in which Ngor-chen used 'mNga'-ris' in his catalogue. Almogi further questions whether bringing manuscripts from Western Tibet was actually necessary, especially since the Mustang kings had close relations with the Sa-skya-pas in Central Tibet. I tend to believe that Almogi's arguments are stronger, but no doubt, a definitive solution concerning the origins of this *Tanjur* is quite unlikely to be reached under the present circumstances. One can only hope that new materials or

the Mustang *bsTan 'gyur* itself may some day be found and bring more clarity to this issue.[80]

The next edition of the *Tanjur* compiled in Central Tibet[81] was produced in the second half of the 17th century at the behest of the learned regent (*sde srid*) Sangs-rgyas rGya-mtsho (1653-1705)[82] as an act of *pūjā* dedicated to the memory of the late Dalai Lama V (1617-1682)[83] (Yamaguchi 1987-1988, vol. 2, p. 313, p. 315).[84] Sangs-rgyas rGya-mtsho used for this edition both the Zhva-lu gSer-khang and the Old 'Phying-ba sTag-rtse as basic texts (ibid.; Hatano 1966, 63).[85] These two *Tanjur*s were revised and supplemented with 730 new titles consisting in translations and works by Tibetan authors.[86] This made the number of texts included in this *bsTan 'gyur* rise to 4009.[87] Sangs-rgyas rGya-mtsho also wrote the catalogue for this new *Tanjur* in 1688, at a time when the death of the Fifth Dalai Lama was being kept secret.[88] This doubtless was the main reason which made the regent present the compilation of the *Tanjur* and its catalogue as being the work of the Dalai Lama V himself. The catalogue, whose title is *'Jig rten gsum gyi bde skyid pad tshal bzhad pa'i nyin byed*, survives today as the basis of the *dKar chag* of the Peking *bsTan 'gyur*.[89] According to it, Sangs-rgyas rGya-mtsho was in charge of supervising the compilation of this *Tanjur*, a process which took place between 1687 and 1688 (see Imaeda 1977, 33). In the *Du kū la'i gos bzang*, Sangs-rgyas rGya-mtsho's biography of the Fifth Dalai Lama, the work on this *bsTan 'gyur* is similarly recorded as lasting from the 11th day of the 2nd month of 1687 to the 12th day of the 11th month of 1688 (ibid., pp. 33-34).

Sangs-rgyas rGya-mtsho actually produced two sets or rather versions of this new edition. According to Samten Shastri (1987, 774), the regent completed the first set in 1687. This set included 219 new translations and rare works and consisted of 215 volumes. He also wrote its catalogue, which is entitled *'Jig rten gsum gyi pad tshal rgyas byed*. In 1688, a new enlarged set was produced, this time the number of volumes being 224.[90] Its catalogue is the *'Jig rten gsum gyi bde skyid pad tshal bzhad pa'i nyin byed*, to which I have referred above. Samten Shastri describes this second set made in 1688 as the compilation of another *Tanjur* (ibid.). As neither of the two sets made under Sangs-rgyas rGya-mtsho's supervision is extant, a conclusion based upon actual comparison of its texts is not possible.[91] I would, however, venture to regard them as closely related versions of the same *bsTan 'gyur* edition rather than two different *Tanjur*s.[92] The second set must have been an enlarged version, but this does not necessarily mean that the texts already compiled in 1687 were re-edited when copied again in 1688. Judging from the fact that the *Du kū la'i gos bzang* seems to refer to Sangs-rgyas rGya-mtsho's compilation as an uninterrupted project which took place between the dates mentioned above, it is more likely that we have to deal with copying and an enlargement rather than a new re-editing process. This remains, however, a largely conjectural inference. Since the new *Tanjur* was also kept at the 'Phying-ba sTag-rtse Palace (Yamaguchi 1987-1988, vol. 2, pp. 312-313 and 315),[93] I shall refer to it as the 'New 'Phying-ba sTag-rtse *bsTan 'gyur*'.[94]

The New 'Phying-ba sTag-rtse *Tanjur* became the basis of the first woodblock *bsTan 'gyur* edition, the so-called Peking *Tanjur* printed in 1724 in the Chinese capital during the reign of the Emperor Shizong 世宗 (also known as Yongzheng 雍正)[95] (Hatano 1966, 64; Imaeda 1977, 33; Samten Shastri 1987, 775 and 776; Yamaguchi 1987-1988, vol. 2, pp. 315-316; Imaeda 1989, 334; see also Skilling p. 137 and n. 1;

Schoening 1995, 132-134 and 143). The complete set amounted to 224 volumes of texts plus one extra volume containing the catalogue (*dKar chag*) (Imaeda 1989, 334-335; see also Hatano 1966, 64).[96] In 1738 (or 1737), a new impression of the Canon, including both the *Kanjur* and the *Tanjur*, was issued in Peking under the Emperor Gaozong 高宗 (also known as Qianlong 乾隆) (Hatano 1971, 25).[97]

The same New 'Phying-ba sTag-rtse *bsTan 'gyur* was the basis for the dGa'-ldan manuscript *Tanjur* (Schoening 1995, 132-134 and 141-142) copied in gold letters between 1733 and 1740 under the patronage of the renowned regent Pho-lha-nas bSod-nams sTobs-rgyas (1689-1747; ruled, 1728-1748) (Miyake 1995 and 2000).[98] It seems that this was not a mere copy and other *Tanjur*s were also consulted to establish its readings as well as to add works which were included in the New 'Phying-ba sTag-rtse *bsTan 'gyur* (Schoening 1995, 142). Actually, the dGa'-ldan *Tanjur* contains 24 texts which are not found in the Peking edition and possesses its own catalogue, the *bsTan 'gyur rin po che srid zhi'i rgyan gcig dkar cha grin chen mdzes pa'i phra tshos.*[99] The religious merit believed to have resulted from inscribing the entire *bsTan 'gyur* in gold ink was dedicated to the benefit of Pho-lha-nas's deceased mother as well as to his own and his family's attainment of Buddhahood (Skilling 1991, 138).[100] Like the Peking edition, this *Tanjur* also consists of 225 volumes (Skilling 1991, 138; Miyake 2000, 1).

The first xylograph edition of the *bsTan 'gyur* produced on Tibetan soil was the sNar-thang, also called the 'New sNar-thang Canon' in order to distinguish it from the archetype compiled at the beginning of the 14th century. This sNar-thang Canon was commissioned by the same Pho-la-nas bSod-nams-stobs-rgyas at the behest of the Seventh Dalai Lama, bsKal-bzang rGyal-mtsho (1708-1757) (Mimaki 1987, 284).[101] The sNar-thang *Tanjur* was printed between the 27th day of the 3rd month of 1741 and the 25th day of the 10th month of 1742. This impressive speed is explained by the fact that the enterprise was supported by a staff of about 400 men (Samten Shastri 1987, 778). In its final form, it had 223 volumes with an extra volume containing the catalogue (Imaeda 1989, 334-335).[102] The latter was compiled in 1742 by Phur-bu-lcogs Ngag-dbang byams-pa (Hatano 1966, 64; Samten Shastri 1987, 778; Imaeda 1989, 334). The sNar-thang *Tanjur*, too, seems to have relied on the New 'Phying-ba sTag-rtse *bsTan 'gyur* as its basic source (Samten Shastri 1987, 775, 778; Schoening 1995, 132-134 and 143; cf. Harada 1983, 105).[103] This is also corroborated by the philological data which we have surveyed above.[104] Historically, it is not excluded that the redactors of the sNar-thang *Tanjur* may have had access and collated their edition with the Peking and dGa'-ldan *bsTan 'gyur*s as well as with other collections. Plausible at it may be, this, however, remains only a possibilty based on circumstantial evidence.

The preparations for the sDe-dge *bsTan 'gyur* began in 1737. This xylograph edition was largely finished in 1742 and completed in 1744 (Hatano 1966, 65; Hatano 1971, 25; see also Samten Shastri 1987, 777).[105] The considerable cost of the sDe-dge Canon was supported by the royal house of the sDe-dge kingdom, which was not part of Tibet proper but had the status of a vassal state directly subordinated to the Qing Dynasty. The project commenced under the patronage of King bsTan-pa Tshe-ring (1678-1738) and was completed under his son Phun-tshogs bsTan-pa (Hatano 1971, 23-25; Samten Shastri 1987, 777),[106] being supervised by the great Sa-skya scholar

Zhu-chen Tshul-khrims Rin-chen (1697-1774)[107] (Samten Shastri 1987, 777; Yamaguchi 1987-1988, vol. 2, p. 316; Mimaki 1987, 284).[108] According to Acarya Jampa Samten (1987, 777), the sDe-dge edition is based on the four following *Tanjurs*: (1) one edition compiled by sGa A-gnyen Pakshi (early 14th century), which relied upon the Zhva-lu *bsTan 'gyur* of 1334; (2) one *Tanjur* written out by Si-tu Chos-kyi 'byung-gnas (1700-1784),[109] based on a copy of the Fourth Zha-dmar dPal-ldan chos-grags (1454-1542); (3) a handwritten *bsTan 'gyur* kept in the Kar-ma-pa private library, which was offered to King bsTan-pa Tshe-ring by the Eleventh Kar-ma-pa Ye-she rDo-rje (1676-1702); and (4) a copy written in silver by bsTan-pa Tshe-ring as an object of veneration (see also Schoening 1995, 142-143). Yamaguchi (1987-1988, vol. 2, p. 316) also stresses the multiple sources used for the compilation of this edition and the fact that unlike the Peking *Tanjur* which relied mostly on the New 'Phying-ba sTag-rtse *bsTan 'gyur*, the sDe-dge was mainly based upon the Zhva-lu gSer-khang and the Old 'Phying-ba sTag-rtse Canons.[110] In the initial stages, the sDe-dge edition contained 209 volumes, including the catalogue, but it was later supplemented with five extra volumes (Imaeda 1989, 334-335; Samten Shastri 1987, 777-778). The present sDe-dge *Tanjur* has 214 volumes, containing about 550 texts less than the Peking and sNar-thang editions (Samten Shastri 1987, 777-778).[111] Its catalogue, found now in volume Śrī 1b-503a of the sDe-dge *bsTan 'gyur*, was also written by Zhu-chen Tshul-khrims Rin-chen.

The last traditional xylograph *bsTan 'gyur* to enter the scene is the Co-ne edition which was printed between 1753 and 1772 (Samten Shastri 1987, 776; Schoening 1995, 134).[112] It was initiated by the eldest son of King dMar-zor mNgon-po (1686-?),[113] and its catalogue was compiled by the Second 'Jam-dbyang bzhad-pa 'Jigs-med dbang-po (1728-1791) (Samten Shastri 1987, 776; Imaeda 1989, 334-335). The Co-ne *Tanjur* seems to have been largely based upon the sDe-dge edition, and like the early version of the latter, the complete set contained 208 volumes plus one catalogue volume (Samten Shastri 1987, 776; Imaeda 1989, 334-335). Already some 60 years ago, the Japanese scholar Sakai Shinten (1944, 32) refered to the Co-ne as a 'reprint of the sDe-dge' デルゲの覆刻.[114] More recently, Schoening described it as a 'faithful copy' of the sDe-dge edition (1995, 142; see also p. 134). It is true that with quite a number of texts, the *Śrāvakabhūmi* included, the Co-ne readings are often identical or very similar to the sDe-dge version. This, however, cannot be easily generalised. As we have seen above, the *bsTod tshogs* (*Hymns*) Section in the Co-ne *Tanjur* does not rely upon the sDe-dge, and in the case of a text like the *Sūtrasamuccaya*, the Co-ne frequently agrees with the Peking and the sNar-thang against the sDe-dge.[115] It is actually quite possible that the editors of the Co-ne *Tanjur* had access to all or some of the previous Canons (as well as other collections) and at least in some parts, they were influenced by textual traditions different from the sDe-dge. This, however, remains a mere hypothesis to be proved or disproved by future studies and editions.[116]

Attempts to print the *bsTan 'gyur* continued into the 20th century. In his study on the Urga edition of the Tibetan *Kanjur*,[117] Chandra (1959, 191) reports the following: 'According to Prof. Dr. Rinchen, the *par-yig* [i.e., manuscript form prepared for woodblock printing] of the Urga edition of the Tanjur was complete in 1937. Some volumes were carved and even printed. It is likely that some of them may be found among the arats in remote habitations of the Mongolian People's Republic'. I have no

further information concerning this *Tanjur* project and its partial printing, and as far as I know, the whereabouts of the *par yig* or of the woodblocks and printed volumes, if any of these are extant, have not been reported so far.

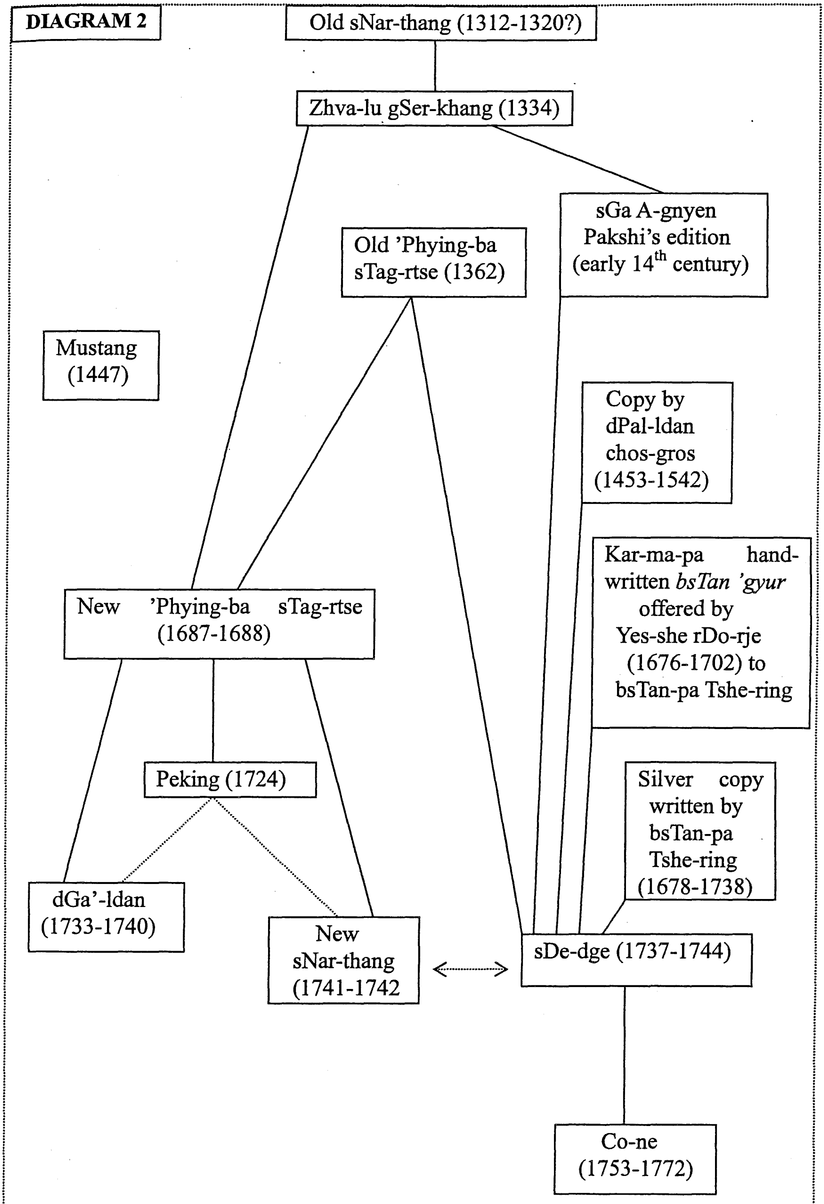
Imaeda (1889, 336) mentions a *Kanjur* and *Tanjur* written in gold ink at the behest of King 'Jigs-med rdo-rje dbang-phyug (1928-1970) of Bhutan in the 1960s. No details are, however, given as to the edition(s) on which this manuscript Canon was based.

The final addition is the modern printing of the *bsTan 'gyur* issued as part of the *Zhonghua dazangjing*. The edition, entitled *The Buddhist Canon of China, Tanjur (Collated Edition) (Tibetan Language)* 中华大藏经 丹珠尔 (对勘本) (藏文), was commenced in 1994 and is still in progress. More about its philological merits and demerits will be said below.

One detail which should not be forgotten is the editing process which affected each of the *bsTan 'gyur* versions to various degrees. Reliance on one or more previous Canons or scriptural collections was a fundamental aspect, but the changes brought about by the teams of learned editors and revisors also played a very important role. This process often implied collation, emending, and standardisation of the texts. Though not directly connected to the *Tanjur* history, information on the way it was carried out is found in Samten Shastri 1987, 768-769 (with reference to the Tshal-pa *Kanjur*) as well as in Jackson ed. 1987, 232-236 (with regard to the sDe-dge edition of the *Sa-skya bka' 'bum*). Future research will, one hopes. cast more light on the manner and degree in which each *bsTan 'gyur* was edited.

In Diagram 2 below, I try to put together the main historical information concerning the birth and evolution of the five classical *bsTan 'gyur*s as well as the philological data yielded by their collation in my edition of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*. I have not included pre-canonical collections, like those found at Dunhunag and Ta-bo. It is also possible that other copies or even editions of the *Tanjur* were produced during the long history of Budhdism on Tibetan soil. Their existence and the way they influenced the formation of the classical xylographic *bsTan 'gyur*s remains, however, a purely conjectural possibility at this stage. I have also left unspecified the genealogical relations of the Mustang *Tanjur*, which cannot be clearly ascertained for the time being. The result of adding historical data to the stemma is a more concrete and complex picture than Diagram 1 above, but even this is far from being able to express graphically all the possibilities and complexity of the relations between the various editions.

The unbroken lines in the diagram show the basic genealogical relations between the Canons. The broken lines indicate possible relations of intra-stemmatic collateral influence, and the punctuated arrows mark inter-stemmatic influence which may have occurred in a certain degree.


DIAGRAM 2
Old sNar-thang (1312-1320?)
Zhva-lu gSer-khang (1334)
sGa A-gnyen Pakshi's edition (early 14th century)
Old 'Phying-ba sTag-rtse (1362)
Mustang (1447)
Copy by dPal-ldan chos-gros (1453-1542)
Kar-ma-pa hand-written bsTan 'gyur offered by Yes-she rDo-rje (1676-1702) to bsTan-pa Tshe-ring
New 'Phying-ba sTag-rtse (1687-1688)
Peking (1724)
Silver copy written by bsTan-pa Tshe-ring (1678-1738)
dGa'-ldan (1733-1740)
New sNar-thang (1741-1742
sDe-dge (1737-1744)
Co-ne (1753-1772)

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Finally, some remarks about the recent *Zhonghua Canon* (*Tibetan Texts*) (=ZT) are necessary not only because I used it as one textual witness in my edition but also because (especially if issued at more affordable prices and/or in digitalised version) this Canon has the chance of becoming the 'Taishō' of the Tibetan studies (at least, until a truly critical edition is published). The ZT, whose publishing is still in progress, has a nice, modern format and is printed in clear, large Tibetan fonts, which will certainly be felt as a blessed gift by anyone whose eyes have been tormented by the often small and hardly legible reproductions of the traditional woodblock prints.[118] The ZT text is a faithful reprint of the sDe-dge Canon.[119] Its endnotes record the variant readings in the Peking, sNar-thang, and Co-ne Canons.

The ZT is not, however, a critical edition which chooses from various readings. It simply follows sDe-dGe in all details, even when the latter hardly makes sense. Its collation notes merely record the *variae lectiones* without assessing them. One would have liked to see a true critical edition, but we must be fair and admit that this was not the editor's acknowledged aim. The ZT is described as *duikanben* 対勘本 'collated edition', and in this sense, I think that it can be considered a new and welcome development in the history of the Tibetan Canon printing.

Sadly, even as a 'collated edition', the ZT has some imperfections, which one would hope to see eliminated in its future volumes (and possibly revised edition?). My remarks below should, however, be taken with a caveat: they are derived chiefly from my edition of the Chapter on the Munadane Path in the *Śrāvakabhūmi*. In working with the ZT, I have felt that it has three main shortcomings:

(1) First, there is a rather large number of variant readings in other Canons which are not recorded in the ZT collation notes. Furthermore, no mention whatsoever is made of the punctuation differences in the traditional Canons. Trifling as it may be, philologists are usually concerned (obssessed?!) with knowing the fate of the modest *shad*, which occasionaly may shed some little light upon the way traditional editors understood a sentence or upon the genealogical links amongst Canons. Unfortunately, the failure to register the *variae lectiones* is not limited to minor details like *pa/ba, kun du/kun tu*, etc. or the absence/presence of the *shad*. In my notes to the critical edition, I point out all instances when the ZT fails to register a variant reading or does so wrongly or in a confusing way. This is not a malicious act aimed at teasing the editors of the ZT. Everyone who has edited a Tibetan work knows how easy it is to overlook variant readings (and, paradoxically, the more you become familiar with the text the higher such chances may become!). In this sense, the ZT staff have all my sympathy. I felt, however, that with all due respect, the limitations of this edition should be made fully known.

(2) Another downside of the ZT is that it does not collate the dGa'-ldan Canon. This is rather surprising since the facsimile edition of the latter was also issued in China, and I assume that the ZT editors must have had easy access to it.

(3) Finally, the ZT has no correspondence table between its pages and the traditional folios of the Canons it collates, sDe-dge included. The only thing it has is one column in an appended chart (*re'u mig*) indicating the traditional volume numbers (i.e., *ka, kha, ga,* etc.) included in the respective volume. This can hardly be helpful for

someone who wishes to double-check readings in the traditional Canons (as any conscientious editor is certainly advised to do). A detailed (preferably, for each page in ZT) correspondence table or the inclusion in the main text of sigla indicating the beginning of the folios in each traditional Canon (or at least of Peking and sDe-dge) is, I think, a strong desideratum.

In spite of these imperfections, the ZT is a great achievement, and its editors and printers should be congratulated for bringing us the Tibetan Canon in a new and certainly much more legible form.

NOTES

[1] On the reliability of the Tibetan colophons, see Skilling 1997, 112-114. A general idea concerning the content of traditional colophons in Tibet can be obtained from Bacot 1954.

[2] The exact process denoted by the Tib. phrase *bsgyur cing zhus te gtan la phab pa* is not easy to ascertain (cf. also Bacot 1954; Simonsson 1957, 210-237; Zimmermann 2002, 213). The verb *bsgyur* usually means 'to translate', but it may also refer to a revision of the text, especially a re-edition into the post-*Mahāvyutpatti* 'new language' (*sgra gsar bcad*) (see Simonsson 1957, 210-213). *Zhus* is the past tense of *zhu ba* 'to ask, to request' (TED, s.v.), and most probably indicates here the 'inquiring' into the exact sense of the original and/or its proper expression in Tibetan (see Simonsson 1957, 224). The basic sense of *gtan la phab pa* is 'to decide a question' (TED, s.v.). Here it designates the process of editing a translation in order to decide its final form. BTsh, s.v. *zhu chen*, illustrates this entry with the same formula: *zhu chen gyi lo tsā ba ban de Ye-shes-sde la sogs pas bsgyur cing zhus te gtan la phab pa* (without indicating any source) and renders it into modern Chinese as: 主校智军译师翻译、校勘并订正 'the chief-reviser Ye-shes-sde, translation-master, translated, collated and corrected'. This is actually a well-known formula seen in other colophons, too. See, for instance, Zimmermann 2002, p. 368 (Tibetan text), where the phrase is rendered as: '[...] Ye-shes-sde executed [this] translation and revised and established [it] definitively' (p. 161). Similarly, Bacot (1954, 329) translates the colophon of the *Lalitavistara*: [...] *zhu chen gyi lo tsā ba ban de Ye-shes-sde la sogs pas bsgyur cing zhus te* [...] *gtan la phab pa* as follows '[Jinamitra, Dānaśīla, Munivarman and] *le grand pandit correcteur Ye šes sde l'ont traduit et corrigé, puis ont établit le texte définitif* [...]'.

[3] On this title, see Skilling 1997, 112. Seyfort Ruegg 1981, 211, translates *zhu chen gyi lo cā ba* as *grand traducteur-rédacteur*.

[4] C has double *shad*.

[5] According to its colophon (D Wi 213a7; ZT vol. 73, p. 1054, ll. 17-18), the BoBh was translated by Prajñāvarman (actually spelled 'Prajñāvarma') and Ye-she-sde[5]. It is not excluded that amongst the 'others' mentioned by the ŚrBh colophon, Prajñāvarman may have been also included, but if this was the case, his role must have been secondary. When Prajñāvarman took part in a translation, his name was usually listed before that of Ye-shes-sde (see Skilling 1997, Tables, p. 148ff.).

[6] For Jinamitra, see pp. 115-125; for Ye-shes-sde, see pp. 129-130.

[7] On Bu-ston's history, see Tucci 1949, vol. 1, p. 142; Martin 1997, 50-51.

[8] The dates of the reign of the famous king Ral-pa-can (whose reigning title was Khri-gtsug-lde-brtsan) are variously given as 815-838 (Tucci, 1988, 14), 815-841 (Satō 1977, vol. 2, pp. 823-825; Yamaguchi 1987-1988, vol. 2, p. 27), 817-836 (Bogoslovskij 1972, 61), or 816- 836 (Bacot 1962, 31-35). See also Dates for the Dharma Kings, on the basis of different Tibetan sources, in Yeshe De Project 1986, 327-329. For the general historical background of this age, see Beckwith (1987) and Yamaguchi (1987-1988, vol. 2, pp. 17-50.

[9] The exact wording of the last part of the sentence is: *rGya gar skad las | Bos kyi skad du bsgyur* 'render from the language of India into the language of Tibet' (Szerb ed., p. 54, ll. 8-9).
[10] On the *Deb ther sngon po*, see Tucci 1949, vol. 1, p. 142; Roerich's Introduction (*Deb ther sngon po* ed., pp. I – XXI); and Martin 1997, 78.
[11] The so-called *Abhidharmasamuccaya* lineage in early Tibetan Buddhism is discussed in Martin 2002.
[12] Bu-ston states that Pūrṇavardhana was Sthiramati's disciple (*Chos 'byung*, Chandra ed., folio 847 (Chandra's number) = Ya 108a (traditional number), line 3: *de'i* [referring to Sthirmati] *slob ma Gang-ba-spel yin la* |; cf. *Chos 'byung* tr., 148). Some modern scholars, like Saigusa (1987, 230), seem to accept the record as such. This creates, however, a serious chronological problem since Sthiramati appears to have lived between ca. 510-570 (see Frauwallner 1961, 136-137; Hirakawa 1974-1979, vol. 2, p. 229; the same date is given by Saigusa (1987, 139) himself). Pūrṇavardhana, on the other hand, seems to have lived in the second half of the 8th century, a date which is also accepted by Saigusa (1987, 230). This makes a difference of approximately two centuries which cannot be explained even if we suppose that Pūrṇavardhana enjoyed an exceptional longevity. If the data given by Bu-ston is correct, the only rational way to account for it is that Pūrṇavardhana belonged to Sthiramati's doctrinal lineage, but he inherited indirectly it through a series of masters active during these two centuries (whose names had been lost or were not important). Actually, as remarked by Saigusa (1987, 231), although supposedly Sthirmati's disciple, Pūrṇavardhana appears to have differed from his master's stance and, in his sub-commentary on the AKBh, tended to follow the orthodox Kashmiri Sarvāstivāda system. Such doctrinal differences are easier to explain if we suppose that gradual modifications in the interpretative patterns adopted by this lineage had occurred during the 200 hundred years separating the two thinkers.
[13] For Tāranātha's history, see Martin 1997, 100-101.
[14] In this case, too, there are also differences among historians concerning the King's reigning dates: 756-797 (Tucci 1988, 2), 755-797 (Bacot 1962, 50; Petech, quoted after Chimpa's and Chattopadhyaya's translation of Tāranātha *Chos 'byung*, p. 276, n. 8), 754-797 (Satō 1977 vol. 2, pp. 823-825), 754-796 (Yamaguchi 1987-1988, vol. 2, p. 27, who also gives the dates of the King's life between 742-797). See also Dates for the Dharma Kings, on the basis of different Tibetan sources, in Yeshe De Project 1986, 327-329.
[15] Jinamitra played a major role indeed in the transmission and translation of the Vinaya in Tibet (see Skilling 1997, 116-120).
[16] According to one list, this number amounts to 354 works (see Skilling 1997, p.130, n. 71). Ye-shes-sde is also the author of a philosophical treatise of the *Grub mtha'* genre entitled *lTa ba'i khyad par* (presented and discussed in Seyfort Ruegg 1981).
[17] It must be noted that the Sanskrit title *Mahāvyutpatti* is attested for the first time in the eclesiatical history (*Chos 'byung*) written by Nyal-ral Nyi-ma-'od-zar (1136-1204) (see Scherrer-Schaub 2002, 306, with further details). On a general presentation of the MVyut, with copious bibliographical data, see Seyfort Ruegg 1998, 116-118.
[18] According to Tucci (1950, 40) and Simonsson (1957, 213), the 'great revision' of the texts into the new language began under Khri-lde-srong-btsan and ended under Ral-pa-can. The 'great revision' is discussed by Simmonson (1957, 210-237) and, more recently, by Seyfort Ruegg (1998, p. 121, n. 13) and Scherrer-Schaub (2002). The latter study convincingly shows that the process of codification and revision of the Buddhist translations into Tibetan began by the beginning of the 8th century and continued into the first half of the 9th century. This effort was officially supported by the Tibetan kings and actually institutionlised by three royal decrees culminating in the one issued in 814. The latter fixed the terminology of the lexical repertories for the entries registered so far, but 'the register of terms itself [...] remained open to additions

and modifications' (Scherrer-Schaub 2002, 316). See also note 18 below.
[19] Tucci (1950, 18-19) argues that the compilation of the MVyut began in 814 under Khri-lde-srong-btsan and was completed under Ral-pa-can, 'who was given, later on, by the Tibetan historians the full merit of the work' (see also ibid. p. 40). Tucci expresses the same view in [1956-1958] 1978, p. 356, n. 1, where he states that the MVyut was compiled in 814, adding that the book was wrongly attributed to the times of Ral-pa-can. Seyfort Ruegg 1992, 389, places the composition of the MVyut in the early 9th century. Sakaki (Introduction to MVyut, p. II), probably following the traditional Tibetan account, only mentions that the text was translated at the beginning of the 9th century under the reign of King Khri-srong-lde-btsan Ral-pa-can.

As to the date of the *sGra sbyor bam gnyis* (*Madhyavyutpatti*), a lexical work closely related to the MVyut, Seyfort Ruegg (1974, p. 249, n. 25) points out that 'according to its introduction and colophon, the *sGra sbyor* was composed in a horse-year during the reign of Khri.lde.sroṅ.bstan; this year could correspond to 802 or 814, and G. Tucci argues in favour of the latter date [...]. The *sGra sbyor* has however been placed by Tibetan historians in the reign of King Ral.pa.can (=Khri.gtsug.lde.btsan), owing to the fact that Khri.lde.sroṅ.bstan has been identified with Ral.pa.can [...]'. See also Seyfort Ruegg 1992, 389, which places the compilation of the *sGra sbyor bam gnyis* early in the 9th century under King Khri-lde-srong-btsan. (According to Yamaguchi 1987-1988, vol. 2, p. 27, Khri lde srong btsan started his reign provisionally in 797, assumed full power in 803, and died in 815; Satō 1977, vol. 2, pp. 823-825 gives the dates of 798-815.) On the other hand, Scherrer-Schaub (2002, especially 289-292, 313, 314-315) suggests that the *sGra sbyor bam gnyis* was written down in 783 but it may have been subject to later enlargements. Speaking of both the MVyut and the *sGra sbyor bam gnyis*, Seyfort Ruegg (1998, 120-121) says that these two works 'in their final versions were issued—or rather promulgated—by a decree of (*bkas bcad*) of Khri lDe sroṅ btsan as the co-ordinated normative standard to serve as the official instruction for the new "new language" (*skad gsar bcad*) [...] prescribed for the purpose of the "Great Redaction/Revision (*žu chen*) [...]'. In a footnote to this passage, the year of the promulagation decree is identified on the basis of the Introduction of the *sGra sbyor bam gnyis* as '*rta'i lo*, presumably corresponding to 814' (ibid., p. 120, n. 12). As mentioned in the previous note, Scherrer-Schaub (2002, especially pp. 315-316) also argues that the year 814 marks, more or less, the culmination of the codification process and the implementation of the 'great revision' (*zhu chen*). I surmise that we can take this year as the official birth of [what was later called] the *Mahāvyutpatti* and the *Madhyavyutpatti*, though the formation process of the glossary goes back to the previous century and new additions of lexical entries probably continued after 814 (see also note 17 above).
[20] See the structural differences between the Tibetan and Chinese versions discussed in the Appendix to Chapter One above.
[21] Tucci ([1956-1958] 1978, p. 356, n. 1) thinks that the Catalogue was composed in 812. Yamaguchi (1987-1988, vol. 2, p. 47) gives the compilation date as 824.

On the Tibetan genre of catalogues or tables of contents (*dKar chag*), see Martin 1996.
[22] In this context, *śloka* means a 'pseudo-metric' unit related to the recitation rhythm in Tibetan rather than the precisely defined type of verse which it denotes in Sanskrit (Lalou 1953, 315). For the meaning of *śloka* in the Tibetan codicological context and its relation with the size of a *bam po*, see also Steinkellner 1985, p. 222, n. 8.
[23] Or could it simply come from rounding up the figure 5,400?
[24] No *var. lec.* in other Canons are recorded in the critical apparatus of the ZT.
[25] Usually, 1322 is considered to be the date of Bu-ston's *Chos 'byung* (see Nishioka 1980, p. 63, n. 1 and Seyfort Ruegg 1966, XVII). Hatano (1966, 58-62), however, argues that this is based on a late colophon and its adoption would result in some contradictions. According to

Hatano (1966, 58-62), Bu-ston must have composed his *Chos 'byung* sometime before or after 1322. He seems to favour a period between 1320 and 1322 (ibid. p. 82, p. 83).

[26] I refer to this chapter as 'Bu-ston's Catalogue', but this should not be confused with the *Yid bshin nor bu dbang rgyal po'i phreng ba*, i.e., the *bsTan 'gyur* Catalogue compiled by Bu-ston in 1335 (see Hatano 1966, 46; Eimer, 2002a, 6). On the sources used by Bu-ston in compiling the Catalogue Chapter of his *Chos 'byung*, see Hatano 1966, 51-52; for doctrinal influences, see ibid. 52-54; cf. also ibid. 58-62.

[27] This must refer to the format of the ŚrBh. Like the BoBh (for which the same expression *ya gyal* is used; see Nishioka 1981, p. 56, # 693), the ŚrBh is a text of considerable length and although being a part of the YoBh, it has been treated in the Tibetan tradition as a separate volume.

[28] Nishioka uses a different system of transliteration for the Tibetan language. In this case and other similar ones below, I have changed the transliteration adopted by the authors into Wylie's system for uniformity's sake.

[29] Although not an expert on the *Yogācārabhūmi*, Bu-ston seems to have studied the text in his youth (see Seyfort Ruegg tr. 1966, 73 = original text reproduced in ibid., folio 8a5, referring to the YoBh as *Sa sde*; on the latter title, see below). According to the *Bu ston rNam thar*, the master's main area of specialisation in Yogācāra literature was the *Abhidharmasamuccaya* (see Seyfort Ruegg tr. 1966, 73, etc.).

[30] The Old 'Phying-ba sTag-rtse Canon, compiled in 1362, includes 27 (or according to the sDe-dge reading, 38) new translations which were not included in the Zhva-lu gSer-khang Canon completed in 1334 (Hatano 1966, 49). This is a small figure especially when compared to the fervent translation activity at the end of the 8th century and the beginning of the 9th century. Besides, we do not know whether these translations were actually done between 1334 and 1362. The New 'Phying-ba sTag-rtse Canon compiled in 1687-1688 also appears to have added to its corpus translations previously not included (Hatano 1966, 63), but I have no information concerning the date when these translations had actually been undertaken.

[31] Traditionally, one *bam po* contains 300 *śloka*s. In terms of folios, Frauwallner suggests in his article 'Zu den buddhistischen Texten in der Zeit Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan' (1957) that one *bam po* is roughly to be reckoned as equal to about 12 folios in the sDe-dge Canon (see Steinkellner 1985, p. 222, n. 8). However, as convincingly showed by Steinkellner (1989; 1985), the problem of the *bam po* and *śloka* measurement is much more complicated and at times even confusing. It seems that the actual length of a *bam po* may have fluctuated. Steinkellner (1989, p. 240, n. 37; see also Steinkellner 1985, p. 222, n. 8) points out that the number of folios per *bam po* may considerably vary even within the same work. For example, the third *bam po* of Wen-tshig's commentary on the SaṁNirm (P #5517) has ca. 10.5 folios, while the tenth *bam po* of the same work has 19 folios. Some slighter differences regarding the *bam po* size also exist between and within the premodern xylograph Canons, such as the Peking and sDe-dge editions (see Steinkellner 1989, p. 240, n. 38).

It is quite possible that the manuscripts known to the compilers of the early catalogues may have been divided into *bam po*s having different lenghths. Although the premodern Canons are not exactly models of consitency and variation does exist, the need for a more uniform division of the *bam po*s may have determined the re-arrangemnts of many texts, and this may explain the discrepancies with the earlier catalogues. The same thing may have also happened with the ŚrBh, but as we shall see below, the situation seems to have been even more complicated in our case.

In more general terms of codicology, it is not without interest to note the existence of a relatively similar phenomenon in China, where a text could undergo a division and or re-division into different numbers of scrolls (the so-called 'scroll splitting' 分巻 process). This

means that when a scroll was felt too voluminous, it could be cut (physically and editorially!) into two or three sections, each of which would then be reckoned as one *juan* 卷. And the reverse process may have also taken place. This obviously leads to different numbers of scrolls for the same work. For instance, some Dunhuang manuscripts have a different number of *juan*s when compared to the later xylograph editions, though they clearly contain, more or less, the same text whose basic physical length did not change (see Li 2002, 16-17). This phenomenon also calls our attention when working with Chinese traditional catalogues: some differences (though certainly not all!) in the number of *juan*s may not necessarily reflect a loss or augmentation in the actual length of the respective text but only a process of scroll re-arrangement.

[32] The YoBh also served as a source for dPal-brtsegs in the compilation of his lists of technical terms in the *Chos kyi rnam grangs* and *Chos kyi rnam grangs kyi brjed byang* (see Scherrer-Schaub 2002, 306-307, citing the original text in note 128).

[33] Examples of such colophons are numerous. Their structure and meaning is discussed in Simonsson 1957, 210-237.

[34] Wu Facheng also rendered Wŏn-ch'ŭk's 圓測 *Commentary upon the Saṁdhinirmocana-sūtra* 解深密經疏 from the Chinese into Tibetan. Generally speaking, his translation style seems to be rather free (see Inaba 1977, especially pp. 109-110). If this was his style in general and he was indeed the author of the *Dunhuang Glossary*, we could then expect even less faitfulness to the original wording in the latter work which was nothing more than a collection of private notes. On Wŏn-ch'ŭk's *Commentary upon the Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra*, see also Powers 1992 and Steinkellner 1989.

[35] Many of the spelling peculiarities are analysed by Li (pp. 240-244).

[36] Though not directly relevant to the problem discussed above, it is not without interest to remark that at least on two occasions (passages 3.28.2.1.2.5. and 3.28.2.1.2.7.), the *Dunhuang Glossary* readings are similar or closer to D-C-ZT stemma than to the P-G-N.

[37] See also reproduction of the *Dunhuang Glossary* manuscript, Li 1961-1962, plate IX.

[38] See passage 3.28.5.2.1.ff. in my editions and translation of the Chapter on the Mundane Path of the ŚrBh.

[39] As discussed in note 31 above, the length of a *bam po* seems to have varied. I wonder, however, if the margin of variation could be *so* large as the case here would imply. If *bam po* 18 covered the rest of the text in the ŚrBh available to the author of the *Dunhuang Glossary*, then this would mean that it amounted to 3 *bam po*s, i.e., more than 24 folios in the sDe-dge Canon, in our extant version. The existence of a *bam po* containing 19 folios is mentioned by Steinkellner (see above note 31). But could a *bam po* reach the size of 24 folios? Admittedly, my statement is not based upon a systematic survey, but I cannot remember having met with a 24-folio long *bam po*. More extensive research is, however, needed, especially amongst early Tibetan manuscripts, in order to come to any conclusion as to the possibility of such a 'jumbo' *bam po*.

[40] Pelliot No. 836 is also registered and briefly described in Yao 1999, 111.

[41] For details, see Bibliography under ŚrBh. None of these manuscripts belongs to the Chapter on the Mundane Path, and were not, therefore, collated in my edition.

[42] These manuscripts are not dated. Generally speaking, however, the Dunhuang manuscripts in Tibetan are usually not later than the 11th century. According to Lalou's assessment (1939), the manuscripts conserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris have dates between 800 and 1035.

[43] His life and work is examined in detail in Ueyama 1990, 84-246.

[44] This is deduced by Ueyama on the basis of the earliest date appearing in the colophon to the lecture notes of scroll I of the YoBh taken by one of Facheng's students (manuscript kept in

the Copenhagen Collection). The colophon reads: 大中九年三月十五日 'fifteenth day of the third month of year 9 of the Dazhong Era' (Ueyama 1990, p. 112, n. 5 and p. 242, n. 3). This is year 855 of the Common Era. (Ueyama correctly gives it as such at p. 229, but wrongly as 854 at p. 110.)

[45] There appears to be no manuscript of the ŚrBh in the Ta-bo Collection. I am indebted to Prof. Dr. Michael Zimmermann who kindly helped me to search for the ŚrBh in this collection.

[46] The history of the *bKa' 'gyur* is examined in Harrison 1996. A brief but clear description of the two main lineages (Eastern/Tshal pa and Western/Them spangs ma) and the Canons which stemmed from them is found in Harrison 1992, XVI－XIX. Zimmermann 2002, 164-206, contains a very detailed presentation of all the available Tibetan *Kanjur* manuscripts and Canons (with special reference to the text of the *Tathāgatagarbhasūtra*). For a general survey of the *Kanjur* studies, see Eimer 2002a, 1-5. The structure of the *Kanjur* is examined in Eimer 2002b, which also contains a discussion of the Canon lineages (pp. 61-63). See also Schoening 1995, 127-132 (with a tentative *Kanjur* stemma based on the *Śālistambasūtra* findings, p. 131). A list of the Tibetan *Kanjur* and *Tanjur* editions is also found in Grönbold 1984, 27-29.

Among the Japanese contributions, the following studies contain very useful surveys and discussions of the history of the Tibetan Canon, both *Kanjur* and *Tanjur*: Mochizuki ed. 1933, vol. 4, pp. 3618; Sakai 1944; Hatano 1966 and 1971; Harada 1983; Yamaguchi 1987-1988, vol. 2, pp. 310-327 (pp. 321-327 are dedicated to the historical background of the printing of the Canons); Mimaki 1987, 279-292; Imaeda 1989; etc. (Fujita 2004, p. 22, n. 9, mentions the following study on the history on the Tibetan Canon which unfortunately was unavailable to me: Tsultrim Kelsang ツルティム・ケルサン（白館戒雲）, 2002, 'Chibetto daizōkyō to sono eikyō' チベット大蔵経とその影響, *Hōdan* 法談 47: 123-144.)

In Chinese, we have a brief history of the Tibetan Canon in Luo 2001, 85-91.

For more bibliographical information on surveys of the history of the Tibetan Canon, see the very useful contributions by Sueki 1998, 46-47; 1999, 11-12; 2000, 8; and 2001, 7.

[47] As well known, *Kanjur* and *Tanjur* are the Mongolian names for the Tibetan *bKa' 'gyur* and *bsTan 'gyur* respectively. Throughout my study, I use these terms interchangeably, mainly for stylistic reasons, i.e., avoiding repetious usage of the same words.

[48] The same is view also expressed by Eimer (2000a, 6), one of the leading experts in the study of the Tibetan Canon. In his review of Vogel's edition and translation of Vāgbhāṭa's *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṁhitā*, de Jong similarly points out that *l'histoire des editions du* Tanjur *est encore pleine d'obsucurités* (1968, 296). The Dutch scholar stresses the importance of the study of relevant historical sources as well as of detailed philological collations which will eventually lead to *affirmations bien fondées dans ce domaine* (ibid.) Though we have now more studies and information on the *Tanjur* history, it seems that we still have to wait for further work before well founded assertions can be made.

[49] I prefer to call this *bsTan 'gyur* as 'Peking' rather than 'Qianlong' (abbreviated: Q), as suggested by Harrison and Eimer 1997, XIII. The latter may be appropriate for the *Kanjur* (and is adopted as such by, e.g., Zimmermann 2002, especially p. 171; see also Harrison 1992; etc.), but as far the *Tanjur* is concerned, it was printed in 1724 under Emperor Shizong 世宗 (also known as Yongzheng 雍正). It is true that in 1738 it was re-issued together with the *Kanjur* under Emperor Qianlong 乾隆, but this is what we would call today a new impression (at least, as far as the *Tanjur* is concerned). As far as the *bsTan 'gyur* is concerned, there is no risk of confusion (as in the case of the *Kanjur* which was also prepared in Beijing between 1684 and 1692 under Emperor Kangxi 康熙), and hence simply referring to this *Tanjur* as the 'Peking' poses no special problem. The ZT editors also call it the '*Pe-cing* [i.e., Peking] *bsTan 'gyur* (see sigla used in all volumes as well as the explanatory brochure accompanying each volume of ZT).

(For the name of the Canon, I use the old spelling of 'Peking', but in all other situations, I adopt the Pinyin transliteration of 'Beijing'.)

[50] This is the name proposed by Skilling (1991), and it has been adopted by other scholars, too. I prefer, however, to use a uniform criterion of basing the titles of the Canons upon the place of origin rather than on the physical peculiarities of their format. Besides, *Tanjur*s written in gold were also produced in Mustang in 1447 and, more recently, in Bhutan in 1960s (see below). It is true that the former has not survived and the latter does not seem to be available for ready consultation, but the appellation 'Golden *Tanjur*' might prove confusing. (And it will be even more so if new *bsTan 'gyur*s in gold come to light!).

[51] As pointed out in note 46 above, the *Kanjur* has two main lineages, i.e., Eastern/Tshal pa and Western/Them spangs ma. We shall see that in the case of the Chinese Canon, roughly speaking, the traditional witnesses fall into two main stemmatic lines: Northern and Southern (see Chapter Four below for details). One could similarly think of appeallations for the *Tanjur* using geographical terms and thus speak of the Central Lineage, represented by Peking, dGa'-ldan, and sNar-thang, and the North-Eastern Lineage, consisting of sDe-dge and Co-ne. Of course, leniency concerning the usage of 'Central' is badly needed. Peking is indeed too far away from Central Tibet, but if one wishes to stick to such geographical appellations, some justification could be found. The Peking edition of the *Tanjur* was based upon the New 'Phying-ba sTag-rtse *bsTan 'gyur* (see below) which is situated in Central Tibet. I do not know whether these appellations will be deemed worthy of consideration and consequently decided not to use them before their being sanctioned by the academic community.

[52] See note 219 in my Critical Edition of the Tibetan Translation.

[53] See note 775 in my Critical Edition of the Tibetan Translation.

[54] Schneider (1993, 41) helds that in the case of the Tibetan translation of Udbhaṭasiddhisvāmin's *Viśeṣatava* and Prajñāvarman's commentary, the C version appears to have stemmed from N and become contaminated with D. The same pattern is implied by the stemma of the Tibetan textual transmission of Udbhaṭasiddhisvāmin's *Sarvajñamaheśvarastotra* (Schneider 1995, 159).

[55] Schoening collates the dGa' ldan *Tanjur* for his edition of Kamalaśīla's *Śālistambaṭīkā*, but his conclusions, based upon historical research, appear to be more general. See also below.

[56] Erb ed. and tr. 1997 and Mochizuki 2004 also prove that most of the times dGa'-ldan reads together with Peking and sNar-thang. However, both editions also confirm that sometimes G reads with P against N, D, C (e.g., Erb ed. and tr., p. 263, reading 459; Mochizuki 2004, p. 191, n. 7), and sometimes with N against P, D, C (Erb ed. and tr., p. 264, reading 546; Mochizuki 2004, p. 57, n. 5). There are also few cases when G has the same reading as D, C against P, N (e.g., Erb ed. and tr., p. 264, reading 499; Mochizuki 2004, p. 115, n. 20). And we also see a very limited number of occurrences when G reads alone against all the other Canons (Erb ed. and tr., p. 266, reading 800; Mochizuki 2004, p. 253, n. 4).

The fact that dGa'-ldan and Peking belong to the same lineage but are not identical is also remarked by Wangchuk (2002, 97) on the basis of his edition of the *Cittopāda* Chapter of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*.

The collation of the catalogues of the five traditional *Tanjur*s undertaken by Fujita (2004) also supports the existence of two stemmata (or 'groups' 群, as Fujita calls them): sDe-dge and Co-ne ('group A' A群), on one hand, and Peking, dGa'-ldan, and sNar-thang ('group B' B群), on the other. Although Fujita's article does not deal directly with the BoBh, he mentions that the variant readings in the Tibetan translation of this text also indicates the same pattern of similarity (Fujita 2004, 1).

[57] On the application of the principle of *eliminatio codicum descriptorum* in classical philology, see Pasquali [1952] 1988, 25-40.

[58] No matter which path the actual transmission took, one thing is certain: we have to deal with an open recension of the text. For the notions of closed recension and open recension, see West 1973, 31-47.

[59] Unfortunately, lack of time has not allowed me to search for and check all the primary sources related to the *Tanjur* history. In my attempt to reconstruct its transmission, I have mainly relied upon the studies of Hatano 1966 and 1971; Imaeda 1977; Samten Shastri 1987; Mimaki 1987; Yamaguchi 1987-1988, vol. 2, pp. 310-317 (Yamaguchi also discusses the historical background which led to the great upsurge in printing activities in the 18th century at pp. 321-327); Imaeda 1989, 334-336; Skilling 1991, 138-139; Schoening 1995, vol. 1, pp. 123-124, 132-134, and 141-143; Miyake 1995; Mathes 1997; Miyake 2000; Eimer 2002a, 6; Eimer 2002c; and Almogi forthcoming. The list is not meant to be a complete bibliographical survey of *Tanjur* studies in general. The interested reader can find detailed information in Sueki's outstanding contributions to the study of Buddhist bibliography (see Sueki 1998, 46-47; Sueki 1999, 11-12; Sueki 2000, 8; and Sueki 2001, 7).

This is not the place to give a detailed assessment of all these contributions, and I shall limit myself to a few remarks. One general observation is that unfortunately, still few studies dedicated to the *bsTan 'gyur* give detailed (or, sometimes, even satisfactory) data concerning the primary historical sources upon which they rely. Of course, this varies with each individual study, and undoutedly, there are some remarkable exceptions. One must be fair and also add that some of the contributions above are introductory notes or general surveys, which probably did not allow for detailed discussions of the primary sources.

One *Tanjur* study which is still influential to some extant is Vogel 1965, 21-30. There is no doubt that Vogel's edition and translation from Vāgbhāṭa's *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṁhitā* is a major scholarly contribution and his introduction to the history of the Tibetan Canon is not devoid of useful information. One should, however, be aware of the fact that quite a few of his data and conclusions are not reliable and need to be corrected in the light of the more recent research. Some of the problematic points in Vogel's argumentation are pointed out in de Jong 1968.

A few words about some contributions written in Japanese and probably less known outside Japan may be useful. Hatano's articles definitely stand out as models of rigorous research into the primary historical sources on the Tibetan Canon. No doubt, improvements and additions can be brought, but I think they still offer a wealth of detailed information on the formation of both the *Kanjur* and the *Tanjur*. (On the life and activity of the Japanese scholar, see Isoda 1988.) Yamaguchi's chapter on the history of Canon in his monograph dedicated to Tibet is also useful and touches upon some aspects which are not fully covered in other studies. Unfortunately, Yamagchi seldom indicates the primary sources and often writes Tibetan proper names in *katakana* 片仮名 transcription only. Imaeda's 1989 contribution is a very succinct but useful survey of the printing of the classical *Tanjur*s. Unfortunately, he, too, does not specify the primary sources.

The lack of sufficient attention to as well as information concerning the primary historical sources will presumambly be remedied with the publication of the study currently undertaken by Mrs Orna Almogi of the University of Hamburg. (I am most grateful to Mrs Almogi for having kindly sent me the section on the Mustang *bsTan 'gyur* in her study.)

[60] See also Harrison 1996, 74-78.

[61] Roerich (*Deb ther sngon po* tr., p. 337) translates *chos bar sar* as 'at the end of a class (evening)'. I think that Harrison's interpretation (1996, p. 75 and p. 87, n. 9) of *chos bar sar* as 'sacred courtyard' is much more appropriate. The compound or collocation is, as much as I could check, not recorded in any major lexicographical source, but *chos bar sa* is far more likely to refer to 'a space in-between [or: an enclosure] [connected to] the Dharma' than to 'an evening class'.

[62] Unfortunately, we have no precise information about the provenance of these original exemplars (see Hatano 1966, 67-83; Harrison 1996, 77-78). Mimaki (1987, 281) also describes the events leading to the formation of the Old sNar-thang *Tanjur*, but apart from the fact that the original sNar-thang collection was used in the compilation, no further details about the other exemplars are given.
[63] Harada (1983, 105) surmises that 'Jam-pa'i-dbyangs may have also been inspired in his undertaking by the large scale projects of printing the Buddhist Canon in China which had begun more than 300 years ago. (More on the history of the Chinese Canon will be said in Chapter Four below.)
[64] There are several theories concerning the authorship of this Catalogue, but bCom-ldan Rig-ral remains the most likely one (see Hatano 1966, 76-78).
[65] The Tibetan original reads: *Ol-ja-du sa lo bcu gsum | 'di'i ring la sNar-thang gi bsTan-'gyur byung |*. Roerich (*Deb ther sngon po* tr., p. 58) adds in brackets 'by bCom-ldan Rig-ral'. Historically, this is the most likely scenario, but unless clearly stated by the authors of the *Deb ther sngon po* themselves or supported by other documents, the identification should probably discussed in a footnote rather than included in the main text. (I must confess that at least for me, this was misleading: before checking the Tibetan text, I took the name in brackets as being part of the *Deb ther sngon po* original!...)
[66] Samten Shastri (1987, 765) describes the role played by 'Jam-pa'i-dbyangs (whose name is spelled as 'Jamgag Pakshi (Chim-Jam-pal-yang)') as mainly consisting in donating the materials necessary for the compilation of the Canon, a work which was based upon bCom-ldan Rig-ral's catalogue.
[67] According to Eimer 2002b, 66, the date is sometime after 1310.
[68] Seyfort Ruegg (tr. 1966, 30-35) translates substantial parts from the introductory and final parts of the Catalogue which provide important information on the historical background of the project. Some excerpts from the colophon of the Catalogue is also rendered into Japanese in Hatano 1966, 46. In the *Bu-ston rNam thar* itself, there is only one brief mention to the *bKa' 'gyur* and *bsTan 'gyur* edited at the Zhva-lu Monastery (see Seyfort Ruegg tr. 1966, 118 = original text reproduced in ibid., folio 22a3-4).
[69] This is found in volume *La* of his *Collected Works* (part 26 of Chandra's edition; see Bibliography).
[70] On this and other old catalogues which do not survive nowadays but were apparently consulted by Bu-ston, see Hatano 1966, 38. Cf. also Martin 1996, 503. On the first classification of the Buddhist writings into 'scriptures uttered by the Buddha' and 'commentarial texts' which appears in the *'Phang thang Catalogue*, see also Mimaki 1987, 281, and Imaeda 1989, 328.
[71] gSer-khang is the central temple of the Zhva-lu monastery (see Tucci 1949, vol. 2, p. 177-178).
[72] On Byang-chub rGyal-mtshan, see Snellgrove and Richardson 1980, 152-154; Tucci [1976] 1988, 40-41.
[73] According to Samten Shastri 1987, 773, the editor of this *Tanjur* was sGra-tshad-pa Rin-chen rNam-rgyal, one of Bu-ston's foremost disciples. Samten Shastri does not indicate his source here, and this make it quite difficult to pass a judgement on this issue. sGra-tshad-pa Rin-chen rNam-rgyal was Bu-ston's spiritual heir (*thugs sras*), and it was he who wrote the biography of the great master (see Seyfort Ruegg's Introduction to the translation of the *Bu ston rNam thar*, 1966, p. 41). In the *Bu ston rNam thar* itself, there is no mention of this edition of the *bsTan 'gyur*.
[74] According to the sDe-dge Catalogue, 38 new translations were added to this *Tanjur* compiled in 1362 (see Hatano 1966, 49 and 50).

[75] Yamaguchi (1987-1988, vol. 2, pp. 312-313) clearly identifies the place as 'the 'Phing-ba sTag-rtse of 'Phyong-rgyas in Yarlung' but refers to this *Tanjur* as 'the 'Phyong-rgyas edition' チョンゲギエー本. This is certainly possible but I prefer to use Schoening's terminology, especially because 'Phing-ba sTag-rtse is a more precise location. The choice of the sTag-rtse Palace as the place to house the new *Tanjur* was probably linked to the fact that Byang-chub rGyal-mtshan was a member of the Rlangs clan who ruled over Yarlung (see Snellgrove and Richardson 1980, 152). 'Phing-ba sTag-rtse ('The Tiger Peak of 'Phing-ba') is famous for being the first attested castle in Tibetan history. The early kings used it as their residence until Srong-btsan sGam-po moved the capital to lHa-sa (see Beckwith 1987, 12; Samten Shastri 1987, page 781, note g.).

[76] Mathes 1997, 127, refers to the king's name as 'Mustang raja A me dpal'.

[77] The only *bsTan 'gyur* which was found by the team of the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project in Mustang was an ordinary copy of the sNar-thang edition (Mathes 1997, 127-128). Mathes (1997, 128) surmises that 'the Ngor chen edition of the *Tanjur* must have been either lost during one of the regional wars or taken to Tibet for safe keeping'.

I should like to express my gratitude to Dr Mathes who kindly confirmed to me that his continued efforts to find the Mustang *Tanjur* in Nepal had unfortunately been unsuccessful (personal communication, February 2005).

[78] Eimer 2002c, 89ff. also offers a structured diplomatic edition of the West Nepalese manuscript of the *bsTan 'gyur sngags phyogs dkar chags*. Almogi (forthcoming) contains a discussion and additional information concerning Ngor-chen's catalogues.

[79] On this title, which refers to the five main parts which make up the YoBh, see Appendix to Chapter One.

[80] As the laudable efforts of the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project to microfilm the Mustang *Kanjur*, a work which is still in progress, will become available to scholars worldwide, collation with other editions will certainly reveal much about the lineage of this *bKa' 'gyur*. This will not provide *eo ipso* definitive evidence as to the sources of the *Tanjur*, but since both parts of the Canon were compiled and copied at the same time, it will be possible to gain some clues at least.

[81] Samten Shastri (1987, 765-766) says that after Bu-ston's compilation of the Canon in 1334, 'many other editions of the *Kanjur* and *Tanjur* were compiled in different parts of Tibet based on these early editions, that is the Narthang and Sha-lu editions'. The next *Tanjur*s which he describes are (what I call) the Old 'Phying-ba sTag-rtse and the New 'Phying-ba sTag-rtse. However, in his account of the sources of the sDe-dge *Tanjur*, Samten Shastri (1987, 777) refers to four *bsTan 'gyur*s (see below), of which at least two seem to have been early versions. They are the *Tanjur* 'compiled by Ga-A-nyen Pakshi (early 14th c.) based on the Sha-lu Tanjur (1334)' and the *bsTan 'gyur* 'written out by Situ Choukyi Jungnay [Si-tu Chos-kyi-byung-gnas] (1700-1744) [sic] based on a copy by the 4th Zha-mar Palden Choedrag [Zha-mar dpal-ldan chos-grags] (1453-1542)'. This is the only reference which Samten Shastri makes to to these *Tanjur*s, and I could find no further information about them in his or any other study. It is not clear to me whether these collections were different editions of the *bsTan 'gyur* or mere copies. Judging from Samten Shastri's words, the former would seem to have been an edition while the latter appears to have been a copy. No doubt, future research will cast more light on these as well as other *Tanjur*s, whether editions or copies, which may have been produced between the Old 'Phying-ba sTag-rtse and the New 'Phying-ba sTag-rtse.

[82] On Sang-rgyas rGya-mtsho, see Snellgrove and Richardson 1980, 204-208.

[83] On the Fifth Dalai Lama's life and activity, see Snellgrove and Richardson 1980, 193-203. Sang-rgyas rGya-mtsho's biography of the Fifth Dalai Lama is also available in English translation (Ahmad tr. 1999).

[84] Hatano (1966, 63) suggests that the Fifth Dalai Lama himself made efforts for the preparation of this edition. In Sang-rgyas rGya-mtsho's biography of the Fifth Dalai Lama, we find a reference to an almost complete set of the *bsTan 'gyur* (Ahmad tr. 1999, 272). This appears in the description Dalai Lama's turning of the Dharma-wheel. As we shall see below, Sang-rgyas rGya-mtsho kept Dalai Lama's death secret for many years, and it was he who actually compiled the *Tanjur*. However, the biography itself records the exact date of the Dalai Lama's death, i.e., 7th April 1682, and the reference to the *Tanjur* set is found before the description of his demise. If the chronological order was strictly respected in this account of the events, then we may have an indication here that at least copying of the *Tanjur*, if not the new edition itself, had already been started while the Fifth Dalai Lama was still alive.

[85] According to Imaeda 1989, 334, Sang-rgyas rGya-mtsho also collated 'other manuscript *bsTan 'gyurs*' 他の写本テンギュル (or *bsTan 'gyur* in singular?—I think it more likely that a plural sense is meant here). Unfortunately, no further details about these *Tanjurs* are given.

[86] Yamaguchi (1987-1988, vol. 2, p. 313) gives the number of the new additions as 780. See also note 70 below.

[87] It is interesting to note here that translations of Indian works into Tibetan continued even after the decline and disappearance of Buddhism throughout most of the Indian subcontinent. We see, for instance, Si-tu Chos-kyi-'byung-gnas (1700-1784) re-translating the *Amarakośa* and the *Amarakośaṭīkā Kāmadhenu* sometime between 1747 and 1757 (Seyfort Ruegg 1998, 128). Taking into account the fact that translations of Indian texts, Buddhist or not, continued into the 20th century (as, for example, dGe-'dun Chos-'phel's renderings—see note 4 to Chapter Two), one could speak of this as a still ongoing process. Jampel Shastri (1987, 765) says that the translation work in Tibet continued until the 17th century, but he also refers to new translations by Si-tu Chos-kyi-'byung-gnas as well as to the Mongolian translator Gung Mgon-po-skyabs who rendered the *Byang chub snying po'i rgyan 'bum gyi gzungs* in 1744 (ibid., p. 777).

[88] Due to political motives, Sangs-rgyas rGya-mtsho concealed the death of the Fifth Dalai Lama from 1682 to 1695 (see Snellgrove and Richardson 1980, 204-205). (Imaeda 1977, 33, and Samten Shastri 1987, 775, assert that Sangs-rgyas rGya-mtsho kept this secret from 1682 to 1696.)

[89] In the Otani University facsimile edition of the Peking Canon, the catalogue is found in vol. 151, pp. 61ff.

[90] Samten Shastri does not mention the number of new additions in the 1688 version. Judging from the number of new volumes, the total may have reached 730 (or 780) (see note 67 above).

[91] Samten Shastri (1987, page 781, notes p & q) mentions an Indian edition containing both catalogues. (Unfortunately, this edition has not been available to me.)

[92] Yamaguchi (1987-1988, vol. 2, p. 315) refers to them just as 'two sets' 二セット.

[93] Yamaguchi simply mentions that this *Tanjur* was stored at 'Phyong-rgyas (1987-1988, vol. 2, p. 313) or at the Palace of the 'Phyong-rgyas King (1987-1988, vol. 2, p. 315). This must certainly refer to the same 'Phing-ba sTag-rtse Palace (see note 59 above). Samten Shastri 1987, 774, mentions that the second version of this *Tanjur* was actually produced at the sTag-rtse Palace. (No details are given about the place where the 1687 version was made.) The reason for chosing this place to store the new *Tanjur* was probably linked to the fact that the Fifth Dalai Lama was born in 'Phyong-rgyas as a member of the local ruling clan who actively supported the dGe-lugs order (see Samten Shastri 1987, page 781, note g.; cf. also Snellgrove and Richardson 1980, 194). In the *Du kū la'i gos bzang*, Sangs-rgyas rGya-mtsho says that while still in the Tuṣita Heaven, the essence of the future Dalai Lama V chose the 'Phing-ba sTag-rtse Palce as the place for his re-birth since 'it was a both a religious and secular establishment' (Ahmad tr. 1999, 253). The account continues with details about the Fifth Dalai Lama's family and birth (ibid., pp. 253-255).

[94] Schoening says that 'the 'Phying-ba sTag-rtse edition was compiled during the time of the Fifth Dalai Lama (r. 1642-1682) and was based on the Zwa-lu gSer-khang ("Golden Palace") edition' (1995, 142). The author does not indicate his direct source, but the statement is made in the description of the dGa-'dan *Tanjur*, which relies on the advertisement for the facsimile edition published in China. I do not know whether the information on the 'Phying-ba sTag-rtse also comes from the same source, but the studies of Hatano, Samten Shastri, and Yamaguchi seem to me much more reliable in this respect.

[95] The date of the Imperial Preface attached to the *Tanjur* reads 'the 24th day of the second 4th month of year 2 of the Yongzheng Era' 雍正二年閏四月二十四日 (Peking Canon, Otani University reprint, vol. 151: *dKar chag*, p. 303, segment d, line 3) (cf. also Hatano 1966, 63, 64). (Hatano writes 二年 'year 2' at p. 63, but wrongly notes 3年 'year 3' on p. 64. The latter represents 1725 C.E. Hatano himself actually writes 'A.D. 1724' in brackets after 'Yongzheng year 3' 雍正3年, at p. 64).

[96] Hatano speaks of '225 cases 函'. This most probably refers to the cases or wrappings in which Tibetan books are kept. Speaking of the sNar-thang *Tanjur* (see below), Hatano (1966, 64) also employs the term 帙 or 'bundle' to refer to traditional Tibetan volumes. The basic meaning of the Chinese character is that of 'book wrapping', but in Japanese Tibetology, it is also used to denote the traditional format of a bundle of folios which constitutes a volume. Imaeda (1989, 334-336), on the other hand, employs 巻, the well-known term which denotes a 'scroll' when used in the Far-Eastern context. In what follows, I shall adopt a uniform terminology and speak of 'volumes'. The format of a Tibetan 'volume' is admittedly different from its Western counterpart, but like the latter, it represents a certain amount of folios/pages kept together and differentiated from other similiarly organised units.

[97] Hatano (1971, 25) gives the date as year 3 of Emperor Qianlong 乾隆帝三年 (which is 1738 C.E.). Harrison and Eimer (1997, XIII) speak of the 'Peking edition of *Kanjur* and *Tanjur* prepared in 1737 under the Qianlong Emperor; also the modern photographic reprint of the Peking edition, which is based on a combination of the 1717/20 and 1737 issues'. This seems to be the current understanding concerning the Peking or Qianlong Canon in general, especially its *Kanjur* division (see also Zimmermann 2002, 171). The year 1717/1720 appears, however, to have no relevance for the *Tanjur*. The 'modern photographic reprint' mentioned by Harrison and Eimer above refers to the facsimile reproduction released by Otani University (for details, see Bibilography below). This means that what I call in my edition the 'Peking Canon' or the 'Peking edition' reflects the *Tanjur* readings of the 1738 (/1737) impression.

It may be interesting to note here that the original copy of the Peking Canon which belongs now to the Otani University was donated by Teramoto Enga 寺本婉雅 (1872-1940), one of Japan's pioneer Tibetologists, who had purchased it in 1900 from the Cifu Monastery 資福院 (present-day Zhejiang Province) (see Yamaguchi 1987-1988, vol. 1, pp. 66-67). The woodblocks of the Peking Canon were destroyed during the so-called Boxer Rising (1900) (Imaeda 1977, 35, on the basis of Teramoto, *Zōmō tabi nikki* 藏蒙旅日記; see also Luo 2002, 88; Imaeda, ibid., p. 35, n. 38, also mentions that one block has miraculously survived).

[98] On Pho-lha-nas bSod-nams sTobs-rgyas, see Snellgrove and Richardson 1980, 217-219.

[99] Miyake 2000, 63-65, contains a list of these texts contained in the dGa'-ldan *Tanjur* but without parallel in the Peking *bsTan 'gyur*.

[100] The usage of gold ink had an important influence on the spelling conventions adopted in this *bsTan 'gyur*. As observed by Skilling (1991, 139) and Wangchuk (2002, 97) and also apparent from my edition of the ŚrBh, the dGa'-ldan *Tanjur* frequently employs contractions (*bsdus yig*) and abbreviations (*skung yig*). This orthographic practice is very old and can also be seen in Dunhuang manuscripts, but in the case of the dGa'-ldan *bsTan 'gyur*, the usage of gold

must have considerably increased the need for contractions and abbreviations (see Wangchuk 2002, p. 97, n. 15).

[101] The Sixth Dalai Lama also planned to print the Canon, but his wish failed to materialise. Later, with the stabilisation of the political situation, Pho-lha-nas, the de facto ruler of Tibet, was in a much better position and had sufficient funds at his disposal to put the project into practice (Hatano 1971, 12).

[102] Modern studies differ with regard to the number of volumes of this *Tanjur*. Hatano (1966, 64) says that the sNar-thang edition amounted to 225 volumes. Samten Sahstri (1987, 778), on the other hand, states that it contained 217 volumes.

[103] Harada (1983, 105) mentions that the sNar-thang *Tanjur* seems to have been based upon the manuscript Canon produced by the Fifth Dalai Lama. The latter must be what I call here the New 'Phying-ba sTag-rtse *Tanjur*.

[104] According to Mimaki (1987, 284), 'the basis of this edition was the old sNar-thang Canon' この版の基は、旧ナルタン大蔵経である. Mimaki does not give any details, philological or historical, concerning the source of this statement. Of course, it seems quite natural to assume that an edition compiled at the sNar-thang Monastery would have relied on the old sNar-thang *Tanjur*. However, I am not sure whether the latter Canon was still extant in the 18th century. None of the materials which I have consulted would suggest such a thing. Unless it is proved that the old sNar-thang Canon was available at that date, I think it is safer to assume that the basis of the New sNar-thang *Tanjur* was the New 'Phying-ba sTag-rtse *bsTan 'gyur*. No doubt, the origin of the latter goes back to the Old sNar-thang Canon, and hence very roughly speaking, Mimaki's statement is not incorrect. I believe, however, that the views expressed by Samten Shastri (1987) and Schoening (1995) have more historical accuracy.

[105] Yamaguchi (1987-1988, vol. 2, p. 316) and Imaeda (1989, 334) give 1742 as the completion date for the sDe-dge *Tanjur*. Hatano's investigation clearly shows, however, that 1744 is the year of the actual completion of the printing. The year 1744 is also the date adopted by Samten Shastri (1987, 777), Skilling (1991, 138), and Schoening (1995, 133-134) as well as in the Introduction of the brochure appended to the sDe-dge CD-ROM recently released by the Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center (for details, see Bibliography below).

Discussing the sDe-dge xylographic edition of the *Collected Works of the Sa-skya Patriachs* (*Sa-skya bka' 'bum*) (first carved between 1734 and 1736), Jackson points out that it is not correct to speak of *the* sDe-dge edition as one single typographical event. As some blocks became damaged or worn out, they had to be replaced. Therefore, 'it would be more exact to speak of "printings" of Derge blocks' (Jackson ed. 1987, p. 243, n. 6). The same statement can be made about the sDe-dge *Kanjur* and *Tanjur* as well as, most probably, about all the other xylographic Canons. Our ŚrBh chapter is available in three modern reproductions of the sDe-dge *Tanjur* (see Bibliography) and, as recorded in the footnotes to my Critical Edition of the Tibetan Translation (see, e.g., note 232), the collation of these versions shows that occasionally there are some slight differences between them. These probably occurred when a worn-out block had to be replaced. While in the majority of cases, this replacement was faithful to the master copy, it seems that in some instances, a (more often than not slightly) different reading was carved. It is hard to know whether this was a deliberate editorial act or merely resulted from the decisions (or even errors?) of the printer. Speaking of the Tibetan translation of the *Śālistambakārikā*, Schoening (1995, 142) similarly remarks that the 'modern reprint of the Derge blockprint *Tanjur* of 1742 is usually very clear but is not entirely trustworthy because when the reprint was being prepared, faint portions of the text were often, and sometimes incorrectly, retraced'.

[106] Hatano 1971 (especially pp. 12-24) contains a detailed examination of the sDe-dge history and its royal family. King bsTan-pa Tshe-ring was actually exhorted to undertake the printing of

the *Tanjur* by the Sa-skya master bKra-shis lHun-grub Grags-pa'i-rgyal-mtshan dPal-bzang-po who arrived in sDe-dge in 1728 as the King's personal *ācārya* (Hatano 1971, 25). On the Ngor abbot bKra-shis lHun-grub and his role in the edition of the *Collected Works of the Sa-skya Patriachs* (*Sa-skya bka' 'bum*), see Jackson ed. 1987, pp. 76-77 and 232-236.

[107] Zhu-chen (Great-Editor) Tshul-khrims Rin-chen of lDan-ma was also the main redactor of the *Collected Works of the Sa-skya Patriachs* (*Sa-skya bka' 'bum*) (see Jackson ed. 1987, pp. 76-77 and 232-236) as well as a renowned religious painter (see Jackson 1996b, 301-316).

[108] Although not a direct testimony on the *Tanjur*, Jackson's description of the printing of the sDe-dge xylographic edition of the *Sa-skya bka' 'bum* gives a fairly good idea on how the work of editing was carried out as well on the economic aspects underlying the carving (see Jackson ed. 1987, pp. 232-236).

[109] Samten Shastri (1987, 777) and Schoening (1995, 142) give Si-tu Chos-kyi 'byung gnas dates as '1700-1744', but the latter must be a typographical error for 1784.

[110] The Japanese scholar argues that '[the sDe-dge *bsTan 'gyur*] was completed in 1742 on the basis of the Zhva-lu Monastery edition and the 'Phyong-rgyas edition. The secret collection of the Kar-ma-pa lineage, the sDe-dge royal collection, etc. were also used for collating the [Zhva-lu and 'Phyong-rgyas] manuscripts arranged by Si-tu, [the scholar] who had previously supervised the printing of [the sDe-dge edition of] the bKa' 'gyur' (Yamaguchi 1987-1988, vol. 2, p. 316). (This is a slightly edited rendering of the Japanese original which runs as follows: シャル寺本とチョンギェー本をもとにして、さきにカンギュル出版を主宰したスイトウの手で整えられていた写本にカルマ派系の秘蔵本、デルゲ王所蔵本なども校合に用いて一七四二年に実現した.) Let us note that according to Hatano, 1742 is the date when the sDe-dge *Tanjur* was almost (but not entirely) completed (see above; cf. also Samten Shastri 1987, 777). I must also confess that it is not perfectly clear to me what is the precise sense of 整えられていた in this context. The verb can mean in Japanese anything from physically arranging things to putting them in order by making changes in the content (thus, meaning here 'editing' the texts). Yamaguchi does not given further details concerning the Kar-ma-pa Collection and the sDe-dge Royal Collection, but I assume that these must correspond to the *Tanjur*s number (3) and (4) in Samten Shastri's list above.

[111] The Cone *Tanjur* also contains about 550 less works than the Peking and the sNar-thang editions (see Samten Shastri 1987, 775).

[112] The completion of the Co-ne *Tanjur* in 1772 is also supported by Vogel (1965, 26 and 30) and Skilling (1991, 138). On the other hand, Harada (1983, 105), Yamaguchi (1987-1988, vol. 2, p. 316), Mimaki (1987, 284), and Imaeda (1989, 334) record the completion date as 1773.

[113] Dmar-zor mNgon-po was the king of the small autonomous land of Co-ne in the A-mdo Province. Between 1721 and 1731, he sponsored the printing of the Co-ne *bKa' 'gyur* (Samten Shastri 1987, 776).

[114] Harada 1983, 105, also refers to the Co-ne *Tanjur* as a reprint 覆刻 of the sDe-dge.

[115] Speaking of the sNar-thang and Co-ne *Tanjur*s, Yamaguchi (1987-1988, vol. 2, p. 316) says that '[they] both belong to the Peking edition lineage' いずれも北京版系である, but this is not substantiated by any historical or philological proof. Although similarities with the Peking Canon exist, as proved by the *Sūtrasamuccaya*, it would be far-fetched (at least, at this stage of research) to place all or the majority of texts in the Peking and Co-ne Canons in the same lineage.

[116] The woodblocks of the Co-ne were apparently lost an early date (see Luo 2001, 89).

[117] The *Urga Kanjur* was printed between 1908 and 1910. On this edition, see Chandra 1959.

[118] The first volume of this edition was published in June 1994. A a report concerning the progress of the work on this edition and future related plans is found in Tripiṭaka Collation

Bureau of China Tibetology Centre 2000. For bibliographic details, see Editing Conventions and Bibliography.

[119] In the Chapter on the Mundane Path of the ŚrBh, there are extremely few instances in which ZT departs from D, and when it does, the divergence concerns matters of minor detail (see, for example, note 871 to Tib. ed.).

CHAPTER FOUR

Chinese Translation

I Translation

The *Yogācārabhūmi* (*Yuqie shi di lun* 瑜伽師地論)[1] is not just one translation amongst Xuanzang's 玄奘 (602-664)[2] immense output.[3] It is *the* very scripture which triggered the Chinese master's extraordinary activity. A partial translation of the *Yogācārabhūmi*, under the title of **Śaptadaśabhūmiśāstra* (*Shier di lun* 十七地論), had already been produced by Paramārtha (499-569) in year 4 of the Taiqing Era 太清 (550) (see Ui 1960, vol. 6, pp. 54-58; Kamata 1990, 31-32; 45-46).[4] Whether this was identical with our extant *Yogācārabhūmi* is not clear,[5] but the text had already been lost when the young Xuanzang was pursuing his studies in Chang'an 長安.[6] Here is how Xuanzang's biography, the *Cien zhuan* 慈恩傳,[7] describes the beginnings of his spiritual quest:[8]

> The Master had extensively paid visits to many teachers, entirely absorbed their doctrines and examined their principles in detail. Each [of these teachers] mastered [the tenets of his own] school, [but when their doctrines were] compared to the Holy Scriptures, there were divergences [from these], whether covert or overt. [Xuanzang] did not know which [school] should be followed. He then made a vow to travel to the Western Regions in order to inquire about his perplexities and to obtain the **Śaptadaśabhūmiśāstra* so that he could dispel his numerous doubts.[9] [The latter] is the *Yogācārabhūmi* of our day.
> (法師既遍謁衆師，備餐其説，詳考其理[10]。各擅宗途[11]，驗之聖典，亦隱顯有異，莫知適從。乃誓遊西方以問所惑，并取十七地論以釋衆疑。即今之瑜伽師地論也。T50c222c2-6)

After three years of arduous journey through Central Asia and Northern India, Xuanzang finally reached the Nālandā Monastery in 631.[12] At the famous centre of Buddhist learning, Xuanzang studied the *Yogācārabhūmi* under its abbot, the Vijñānavāda patriarch Śīlabhadra (in Chinese translation, 戒賢), apparently aged 106 years at that time.[13] While at Nālandā, the *Cien zhuan* tells us, Xuanzang listened to the exposition of the *Yogācārabhūmi* three times (T50.238c28-29).[14] Later on, during his pilgrimage throughout India, Xuanzang had the chance to meet and study the same treatise under *Prasenajit (or: *Jayasena) 軍勝. This accomplished *Śāstra*-master 論師 was a layman but had a remarkable scholarly background.[15] Prasenajit had learned, amongst other subjects, grammar (*śabdavidyā* 聲明) as well as Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna treatises 大小乘論 from Bodhisattva Sthiramati 安慧菩薩 (T50.244a9-10)[16] and the *Yogācārabhūmi* under Śīlabhadra (T50.244a10-11). Xuanzang spent two years with *Prasenajit studying various treatises, and during this period, he also inquired about many doubtful points concerning the *Yogācārabhūmi* (T50.244a21-24).

By the time he returned to Nālandā, the Chinese master had become proficient enough in the *Yogācārabhūmi* (善瑜伽; T50.444c1) to embarrass a certain Bhadanta

*Siṁhaprabha 大德師子光 with his questions. The latter was actually trying to refute the tenets of the *Yogācārabhūmi* from the standpoint of the Madhyamaka School. Xuanzang's arguments were so strong that eventually *Siṁhaprabha's disciples left their teacher and came to study under him (T50.244b28-244c4). The Chinese master asserted that there is no fundamental contradiction between the Vijñānavāda doctrines and the Madhyamaka philosophy. The latter, Xuanzang held, 'merely refutes the falsely imagined [nature] (*parikalpitasvabhāva*)], and [its criticism] does not refer to the mutually dependent nature (*paratantrasvabhāva*) or to the absolute nature (*niṣpannasvabhāva*)' (唯破遍計所執，不言依他起性及圓成實性。T50.244c5-6). Based on the teachings of the *Yogācārabhūmi*, Xuanzang wrote a *Treatise upon the Agreement of Tenets* 會宗論 in three thousand stanzas 三千頌, which was presented to Śīlabhadra and the congregation of the Nālandā Monastery. The *Cien zhuan* tells us 'there was no one who did not praise it, and they all proclaimed [it as valid]' 無不稱善，並共宣行。(T50.244c10-11).

Xuanzang returned to Chang'an 長安 in the first month of year 19 of the Zhenguan Era (645) (T50.252b14) with more than 600 Sanskrit manuscripts as well as Buddhist relics, images, and so on.[17] He originally asked Emperor Taizong's 太宗 (r. 626-649)[18] permission to retire to the tranquillity of the Shaolin Monastery 少林寺, situated in modern Henan Province 河南省, so that he could concentrate on his translation project. The Emperor did not, however, grant his request and demanded the master to reside in the Hongfu Monastery 弘福寺 in the capital (T50.253c3-5). Though not exactly the 'purity and quietude of the springs and rocks' 泉石清閑 which Xuanzang had dreamed of, the Hongfu-si and later the Cien-si 慈恩寺, a monastery built specially for him, offered some clear benefits which greatly supported Xuanzang's gigantic undertaking. The imperial patronage meant that the master was provided not only with excellent material facilities but also with an impressive team consisting of twelve venerable [monks] 大德 assigned to scrutinise the meaning 證義, nine scholars in charge with editing the literary expression 綴文, one expert in Chinese lexicography 字學, a specialist who examined the Sanskrit language and script 證梵語梵文, scholars who committed the translation to writing 筆受,[19] copyists 書手, as well as an administrative staff 司所 (T50.253c19-254a6).[20]

'On the first day [of the seventh lunar month of 645], the master, taking the palm-leaves in his hand, began to expound the Sanskrit texts' (丁卯法師方操貝葉開演梵文。T50.254a6-7). The *Yogācārabhūmi* was not, however, the first work rendered by Xuanzang and his team. Actually, there is some confusion concerning the actual date when the translation work on the *Yogācārabhūmi* commenced. According to the *Cien zhuan*, this was year 20 of the Zhenguan Era, i.e., 646 C.E. (T50.254a11). The *Da Tang neidian lu* 大唐内典錄 (T55.320b27), a scriptural catalogue compiled by Daoxuan 道宣 compiled in 664, also seems to place the beginning of the *Yogācārabhūmi* translation in year 20 of the Zhenguan Era.[21] Most of the major catalogues of the Tang Dynasty record the same year (see the *Da Zhou ganding zhongjing mulu* 大周刊定衆經目錄, (T55.405b17-18); the *Kaiyuan lu* 開元錄, (T55.556b7-8; 559c13-14); and the *Zhenyuan lu* 貞元錄, (T55.859b11)). However, Xu Jingzong's 許敬宗 'Afterword' 後序,

appended to Scroll I of the *Yogācārabhūmi*, states that the translation was begun on the fifteenth day of the fifth month of year 21 [of the Zhenguan Era] (二十一年五月十五日肇譯瑜伽師地論; T30.283c4-5), i.e., 647.[22] To-ryun's Commentary on the *Yogācārabhūmi* similarly records year 21 of the Zhenguan Era (T42.311b21-22). Finally, the *Yuqie shi di lun lüe zuan* 瑜伽師地論略纂, written by Xuanzang's main disciple Ji 基, says that the translation of the *Yogācārabhūmi* was begun in year 22 of the Zhenguan Era (T43.1c6-7).

As for the completion of the translation, all sources agree on the date: the fifteenth day of the fifth month in year 22 of the Zhenguan Era , i.e., 648 (see T30.284a2; T42.311b22-23; T49.294c7-8; T50.255a4-5; T55.556b7-8[23]). The end of the translation can also be ascertained from a conversation on the topic of the *Yogācārabhūmi* recorded to have taken place between Emperor Taizong and Xuanzang apparently in the same year. Questioned by the Son of Heaven about his recent work, Xuanzang answered: 近翻瑜伽師地論訖 (T50.255a25-26) 'Lately, I have completed the translation of the *Yogācārabhūmi*'.[24]

Modern scholarship tends to adopt 646 as the most likely year for the beginning of the *Yogācārabhūmi* translation. In his Introduction 解題 to the *kundoku* translation of the *Yogācārabhūmi* in KIK (vol. 1, pp. 10-11), Katō Seishin considers that 646 is the correct date since rendering the huge number of 100 scrolls must have required two years. 'Year 21' 二十一 found in Xu Jingzong's 'Afterword', Katō argues, should therefore be regarded as a scribal error, which was adopted as such by To-ryun. Kamata (1999, 288 and 300)[25] also records only the year 646, without mentioning the discrepancy between the traditional sources. Saeki Jōin, the *kundoku* translator of the *Yogācārabhūmi* in the KDK series, says in his Introduction 解題 (vol. 6, p. 9) that since the employment term for civil servants was one year and 648 is certain to be the date of completion of the translation, it is more appropriate to take 647 as its official beginning. Xuanzang may have, however, started the translation one year before. Thus, he concludes, the two dates are not contradictory. The argument from bureaucratic necessity is quite ingenious, and no matter which year we adopt, it explains the perfect agreement of the date, i.e., 'the fifteenth day of the fifth month'. Saeki, however, does not refer to any precise document from the Tang administrative codes which would support his hypothesis. Furthermore, even if one year was a standard clerical term in the epoch, I am not sure whether it would have affected Xuanzang's own team. Some changes in the personnel may have occurred from year to year, but in its broad outlines, it must have remained fairly stable in order to ensure the continuation of the project, which obviously no one expected to end soon. Finally, if Xuanzang 'had already taken up the translation' 翻譯に著手せる in 646, as Saeki says, whether officially or not in the pay statutes of the government, then this is the year which must be regarded as its beginning. Yūki (1985, 153-154) quotes Saeki's view rather approvingly, but since this leaves Ji's date of 648 unexplained, he concludes that a final conclusion 'must await further examination' 後考を待つ.

Ji's date is, however, the less likely since all other sources agree that 648 is the year when the *Yogācārabhūmi* was completed. Though the Taishō Canon registers no variant readings here, my guess is that this is a scribal error. As for Saeki's hypothesis, I think that it does not offer a satisfactory solution as long as positive evidence can be

found in the vast corpus of the Tang legislation and bureaucracy literature.[26] Therefore, 646 seems to be the most sensible and well-documented date for the beginning of the *Yogācārabhūmi* translation. As Katō (and actually Saeki and Yūki, too), I am more inclined to allow two years rather than one year for the completion of this immense opus,[27] which, furthermore, was *the* very text whose translation Xuanzang would presumably have wished to be perfect.[28]

Xu Jingzong's 'Afterword' states that 'Xuanzang respectfully took the Sanskrit text [in his hand] and translated it into the language of the Tang [Dynasty]' 玄奘敬執梵文譯爲唐語 (T30.283c6-7). It then mentions the names, monasteries, and concrete duties performed by the 17 main assistants to this translation (T30.283c7-14). Finally, we are given the names and monasteries of the 8 scholar-monks responsible for 'receiving the purport and scrutinising the literary expression' 受旨證文 for each major part of the *Yogācārabhūmi* (T30.283c15-29).[29] In charge with Yogasthānas III and IV of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* as well as the *Pratyekabuddhabhūmi* (amounting to a total of five scrolls) was Xuanzhong 玄忠 of the Zhendi Monastery 眞諦寺,[30] located in Bian District 汴州, around the Kaifeng 開封 region in modern Henan Province 河南省 (T30.283c21-22).[31]

Finally, a few words about the quality of the translation. Xuanzang is well-known for his faithful rendering of the Sanskrit original, and he doubtless has one of the most philologically meticulous styles in more than 1200 years of Buddhist translations on Chinese soil.[32] This holds true for the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, too, and not few are the places where staying close, occasionally too close, to the original resulted in less fluency in the Chinese expression. Certain divergences from the Sanskrit original do exist, but as already remarked about the Tibetan translation, not all such differences can be attributed to lack of understanding or negligence. The text which Xuanzang had before his eyes must have contained readings which were different, at least in matter of wording and detail, from the extant Sanskrit manuscript. There are also cases when Xuanzang apparently makes editorial additions and modifications, no doubt with the best intentions to bring clarity to the original. This is far from being unusual in the long history of Chinese translations of Buddhist scriptures, and Xuanzang is quite reserved in this respect especially when compared to, say, Kumārajīva.

Xuanzang's wish to see especially the *Yogācārabhūmi* accuarately translated must have been quite strong. Zhisheng 智昇, the Chinese Buddhist historian famed chiefly for his catalogue, the *Kaiyuan lu*, notes that 'the master repeatedly added refinements to this treatise [i.e., the *Yogācārabhūmi*]' 法師於論重加陶練 (T55.559b15).[33] Besides, Xuanzang's own knowledge of the text, which was largely based upon Śīlabhadra's interpretation (gained directly from the old master or through Prasenajit), was certainly detailed and profound. When the original was confusing or appeared to make little sense, giving a 'helping hand' to the reader, by including some clarifications (not marked as commentarial notes), must have been the most natural reaction, especially in the hermeneutic paradigm of his age. I would speculate that if Xuanzang had lived in our age, he would have conscientiously used the full critical apparatus of the modern philologist (in which case, brace yourself for the length of his annotations!).

There is only one aspect which may have hindered Xuanzang's earnest desire to make his translations perfectly convey the Holy Teaching to its followers in the Middle

Kingdom. And this was lack of time. Meticulous as he may have been, the Chinese master must have had very limited time for checking all the details of his translations. Even in the case of the *Yogācārabhūmi*, for which two years were devoted, the sheer speed of the translation schedule, the huge linguistic and doctrinal complexity of the original, and the large number of hands and eyes through which the renderings had to pass, all these make it quite plausible that Xuanzang simply did not have enough time to exercise his full supervisory control over every single sentence.[34] My annotations to the edition of the Chinese translation of the Chapter on the Mundane Path will, in most cases, point out and often discuss in detail the differences between the Sanskrit original and Xuanzang's rendering. We shall thus see *in situ* the master's keen and, more often than not, successful struggle with a scripture which so greatly changed his own life and through his activity, the face of Buddhism in China.[35]

II Catalogue testimony

The first traditional catalogue to record Xuanzang's translation of the *Yogācārabhūmi* was Daoxuan's 道宣 *Da Tang neidian lu* 大唐内典錄 (T55.282c13; 294b22-23; 310b18; 320b26). The catalogue was completed in 664, a year which, incidentally, coincided with Xuanzang's death. In chronological order, the *Yogācārabhūmi* appears in the following major catalogues of the Tang 唐 Dynasty:

Da Tang Dongjing Dajing'ai si yiqiejing mulu 大唐東京大敬愛寺一切經目錄 (T55.185b17), compiled by Jingtai 静泰 in 665

Gu jin yi jing tuji 古今譯經圖紀 (T55.366b25-26), written by Jingyu 靖邁 sometime between 649-683, most probably after Daoxuan compiled his catalogue

Da Zhou ganding zhongjing mulu 大周刊定衆經目錄 (T55.405b16; 465c21-22), authored by Mingquan 明佺 in 695

Kaiyuan shijiao lu 開元釋教錄 (T55.556b7-8; 607c29-608a3; 689c18; 713c3), composed by Zhisheng 智昇 in 730

Zhenyuan xin ding shijiao lu 貞元新定釋經錄 (T55.856a9-10; 941b1-4; 1037b12, compiled by Yuanzhao 圓照 in 800

All these catalogues agree that the *Yogācārabhūmi* had 100 scrolls 百卷. We can thus be quite certain that Xuanzang's translation was not subject to any additions and/or re-arrangements.[36]

III Manuscripts and Printed Editions

Compared to other texts, especially to pre-Tang translations, the *Yogācārabhūmi* is, roughly speaking, well-transmitted, displaying relatively few variant readings and scribal corruptions. One of the main reasons is, no doubt, the lavish imperial patronage and state-sponsored monastic establishments which ensured a systematic process of manuscript copying and preservation. We know that Xuanzang reported the completion of the *Yogācārabhūmi* directly to Emperor Taizong who took a personal interest in this opus reading it in detail 帝自詳覽 (T50.256a5) (in its entirety?—but let us not doubt

the extraordinary abilities of the Son of Heaven!). Thereupon, the Emperor issued a decree to the copyists of the Imperial Secretariat 祕書省 ordering them to produce nine sets of this as well as all the other translations undertaken by the master until that date and distribute them throughout the country for wider circulation (T50.256a11-14). There is no doubt that copies were also made by monastic scribes, and manuscripts spread not only to the main Buddhist centres in China, but also beyond its borders, to Korea, Japan, and Dunhuang.

About 22 out of 60 traditional commentaries known to have been dedicated to the *Yogācārabhūmi* are authored by Korean, especially Silla 新羅, monk-scholars (see Yūki 1985, 250-286).[37] One of the most comprehensive and still influential commentaries, the *Yuga ron gi* 瑜伽論記, is the work of To-ryun 道倫 from Silla.[38] This attests to the wide-spread circulation of the text on the Korean Peninsula, though we must note that some of these monks were actually active in China.

The popularity of the *Yogācārabhūmi* in Japanese Buddhism is witnessed by a long and impressive manuscript tradition. The oldest extant copy goes back to year 2 of the Tenpyō Era 天平 (730), followed by another manuscript of year 7 of the same period (735). Both manuscripts are now stored at the Chion Monastery 知恩院 in Kyoto (Horiike 1954, 97). The *Yogācārabhūmi* is also found in the Imperial Collection of Shōsō-in 正倉院.[39] This is a manuscript copied between the 10th month of year 11 (739) and the 29th day of the 2nd month of year 12 (740) of the Tenpyō Era (ibid., pp. 100-101) at the behest of Empress Kōmyō 光明皇后 (701-760). The merits of this pious deed are dedicated to the memory of her parents as well as to the health and prosperity of her husband, Emperor Shōmu 聖武天皇 (701-756; r. 724-749). The manuscript was based on the text included in the canonical collection brought by Genpō 玄昉 directly from China and was also collated with other manuscripts kept at various temples (ibid., p. 97). Genpō (?-746) was a scholar-monk who studied the doctrines of the Faxiang 法相 School for about 19 years in China under master Zhizhou 智周 (see Furuta et al. 1988, s.v.).[40] Chronologically, the Shōsō-in manuscript is the closest textual witnesses to Xuanzang's original.[41] Manuscripts of the *Yogācārabhūmi* are found in many other monastic collections in Japan. The oldest of them include those at Tōshōdai-ji 唐招提寺 in Nara (see Horiike 1954, 97), Ishiyama-dera 石山寺 in Shiga Prefecture (now kept in the Kyoto University Library), Myōren-ji 妙蓮寺 (also known as the 'Matsuo-sha *Tripiṭaka*' 松尾社一切經) in Kyoto, and Kongō-ji 金剛寺 in Osaka Prefecture.[42]

The *Yogācārabhūmi* is also well-represented in the Dunhuang collections. Apart from a large number of manuscripts containing the text proper,[43] we also find about 40 manuscripts of the *Yuqie lun shou ji* 瑜伽論手記 and the *Yuqie lun fen men ji* 瑜伽論分門記 (see Ueyama 1990, 219-246). The latter two represent notes based upon the lectures which the scholar-monk Wu Facheng 呉法成 gave on the *Yogācārabhūmi* starting with the year 855 at the Kaiyuan Monastery 開元寺 in Dunhuang (Ueyama 1990, 229).[44] The notes, which are taken by his disciples Tanxun 談迅, Fuhui 福慧, Fajing 法鏡, Yizhen 一眞, Hongzhen 洪眞, etc., stop with scroll 61. This seems to indicate that the this was the end of the lectures series, probably brought about by the master's death (Ueyama 1990, 229).[45]

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It is clear the *Yogācārabhūmi* was widely spread even before the advent of the traditional woodblock Canons. The latter were not so late in appearing on the scene. The *Kaibao Era Canon* 開寶藏 was printed between 972 and 983 under the imperial patronage of the Song 宋 Dynasty. The relatively short period between the translation and its printed version is another factor which explains why Xuanzang's *Yogācārabhūmi* is a well-transmitted text.

The history of the Chinese Canon, from the early manuscript collections to the digital versions, is a fascinating but hugely complex saga, and the few lines below are nothing but a very sketchy survey of some of the most basic data.[46] My interest in this subject was sparked by the perplexity experienced by any student of Chinese Buddhist philology who steps out of the well-trodden path of the Taishō Canon. Trying to figure out the relations between the discouragingly large number of traditional and modern editions proves to be a truly demanding task (almost a *tapas*!). Fortunately, one is helped in this challenge by a number of valuable studies, which in recent years have increased in scope, depth, and accuracy. Without attempting to be even remotely exhaustive, I should like to list here the following contributions which helped me to resolve (at least part of) my perplexity: Demiéville 1924, 181-218; Demiéville [1953] 1973; Daizō-kai ed. 1964; Furuta et al. eds. 1988; Kajiura 1992; Fang 1991;[47] Dong 1997; Nozawa 1998; Sueki 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001;[48] Zacchetti 1999; Chikusa 1993, 2000a, and 2000b; Li 2002; Li and He 2003; and last but not least, Zacchetti 2005, 74-142.[49]

A presentation of all these works is not possible here, but the contributions brought by Li and He (2003) and Zacchetti (2005) are certainly worth a few remarks. The former is the most extensive and detailed historical study of the Chinese Canon, and it will no doubt remain a classic of this field. The latter is a superb piece of scholarship combing a wealth of historical information, mainly regarding the pre-Ming Canons, and meticulously analysed textual data. This ideal line of research has led to some significant relevations which could not have been otherwise obtained from the mere examination of the extant historical sources. The findings are crystalised into, as far as I know, the first comprehensive stemma of the Chinese Canon (Zacchetti 2005, 133).

In the initial stages of my study, I intended to include more data on the historical background of each edition of the Chinese Canon, much in the same fashion as I have done in my presentation of the Tibetan *bsTan 'gyur*. However, the publication of such remarkable studies as Li and He 2003 as well as Zacchetti 2005, coupled with serious time limitations, made me desist such an attempt. Instead, I have decided to sum the information succinctly in the form of a Chronological Chart. This will be followed by a brief discussion of the basic lineages of transmission as well as of the main findings yielded by my critical edition of the Chapter on the Mundane Path. Finally, I have tried to put together all these data in a stemma of the traditional textual witnesses.

Although the Chronological Chart below suffers from the obvious defect of simplification, it has, I hope, the advantage of providing a ready-reference guide. It basically includes such data as the most frequent titles of each edition, the printing dates, their being extant or lost, and whenever ascertainable, the Canon(s) upon which they are based. Occasionally, other relevant information like circulation, etc. has also been mentioned.[50]

Chronological Chart of the Chinese Canon Editions

Traditional Canons
(Woodblock printing prior to 1881)

(1) *Kaibao Era Canon* 開寶藏, also known as the *Northern Song Canon Printed by Imperial Order* 北宋勅版大藏經 or the *Shu Edition of the Canon* 蜀版大藏經 (972-983).[51] Only few fragments extant.[52] Based on a manuscript Canon circulating in Sichuan 四川 region (traditionally called Shu 蜀).[53]

(2) *First Edition of the Korean Canon* 高麗藏初雕版 (1011-1029).[54] Only few fragments extant.[55] Based on Canon (1) and its sequel additions.[56]

(3) *Liao Canon* 遼藏/ *Khitan Canon* 契丹藏 (1031-ca. 1054).[57] Few fragments extant.[58] Based on manuscripts reflecting an official Canon of the Tang Dynasty.[59]

(4) *Fangshan Stone-Carved Canon* 房山石經 (7^{th-}-17^{th} century). Extant. The largest number of carvings date from the Liao Dynasty (especially from 1027 on) and Jin Dynasty (mainly from 1134 on).[60] The Liao and Jin carvings reflect (3) and a Tang manuscript Canon.[61]

(5) *Chongning Canon* 崇寧藏 (complete title *Chongning wanshou dazang* 崇寧萬壽大藏)/ *Dongchan Dengjue Monastery Edition* 東禪等覺寺本/ *Fuzhou Canon* 福州藏/ *Min Edition* 閩本 (1080-1112).[62] First private edition of the Chinese Canon. Printed in Fuzhou 福州. Extant.[63]

(6) *Pilu Canon* 毘盧藏/ *Kaiyuan Monastery Edition* 開元寺本 (1112-1176).[64] Basically, it is a second carving of (5). Extant.[65]

(7) *Former Sixi Canon* 前思溪藏/ *Yuanjue Canon* 圓覺藏/ *Southern Song Canon* 南宋一切經 (1126-1132).[66] Extant.

(8) *Zifu Canon* 資福藏/ *Latter Sixi Canon* 後思溪藏/ *Southern Song Canon* 南宋版一切經 (ca. 1241-1252).[67] Basically, it is a continuation of (7).[68] Extant.[69]

(9) *Jin Canon* 金藏/ *Zhaocheng Canon* 趙城藏 (ca. 1139-1172).[70] Extant. Based on (1) and probably (partly?) collated with (3).[71]

(10) *Qisha Canon* 磧砂藏 (1216-1322).[72] Extant. Based on (7) and (8). Starting with 1279, it may have relied upon (12) (or was collated with it?).[73]

(11) *Second Edition of the Korean Canon* 高麗藏再雕版 (1236-1251).[74] Extant. Edited by Su-gi 守其 and a team of scholar-monks on the basis of (2) and collated with (1), (3) as well as various manuscripts transmitted in Korea.[75]

(12) *Puning Canon* 普寧藏/ *Hangzhou Canon* 杭州藏/ *Baiyun School Canon* 白雲宗藏 (1277-1290).[76] Extant. Based on (7) and (8) as well as collated with (5), (6), and manuscripts kept at the Xiazhu Monastery 下竺寺.[77] It had a widespread circulation in China and has the largest number of surviving exemplars of all traditional Canons.[78]

(13) *Yanyou Canon* 延祐藏 (1316).[79] Few fragments extant. Probably based on or a continuation of the lineage of (9).[80]

(14) *Yuan Governmental Canon* 元官大藏經 (ca. 1332-1336).[81] Few fragments extant.[82]

(15) *Hongwu Southern Canon* 洪武南藏/ *First Printing of the Southern Canon* 初刻南藏/ *Southern Canon of the Jianwen Era* 建文南藏 (1372-1401).[83] Extant. Based on (10).[84]

(16) *Southern Canon of the Yongle Era* 永樂南藏/ *Southern Canon of the Great Ming Dynasty* 大明南藏/ *Nanjing Dabaoen Monastery Edition* 南京大報恩寺版 (1413-1420).[85] Extant. Based on (15).[86]

(17) *Wulin Canon* 武林藏 (15th century). Lost.[87]

(18) *Northern Canon of the Yongle Era* 永樂北藏/ *Northern Canon of the Great Ming Dynasty* 大明北藏/ *Peking Imperial Edition* 北京勅版 (1419-1440).[88] Extant. Based on (16).[89]

(19) *Wanli Era Canon* 萬曆藏 (1589-1657). Based on (16). Extant.[90]

(20) *Jingshan Canon* 徑山藏/ *Jiaxing Canon* 嘉興藏/ *Wanli Edition* 萬曆版/ *Square-Format Canon* 方冊藏經/ *Lengyan Monastery Edition* 楞嚴寺版 (1589-1712).[91] Extant. Based on (18) and collated with (8), (12), and (16).[92]

(21) *Shūzon Edition* 宗存版/ *Kitano Kyō'ōdō Edition* 北野經王堂版 (1614-1634). The first Canon printed in Japan.[93] Numerous fragments extant. Based on (11).

(22) *Tenkai Edition* 天海版/ *Kan'ei Monastery Edition* 寛永寺版/ *Tōeizan Canon* 東叡山 (1637-1648). Japanese edition. Printed in only few copies which were distributed to the major monastic centres. Based on (8) and supplemented with texts from (12).

(23) *Ōbaku Edition* 黄檗版/ *Tetsugen Canon* 鐵眼藏 (1688-1678). Japanese edition. Extant. Based on (20). This edition widely circulated during the Edo Period.[94]

(24) *Qing Canon* 清藏/ *Imperial Canon* 龍藏/ [*Emperor*] *Qianlong's Canon* 乾隆大藏經 (1735-1738).[95] Extant. Based on (18).[96]

Modern Canons
(Metal movable-type printing since 1881)[97]

(25) *Dai Nihon kōtei shukkoku daizōkyō* 大日本校訂縮刻大藏經/ *Shukusatsu daizōkyō* 縮刷大藏經/ *Shukusatsuzō* 縮刷藏 (1881-1885). Printed in Tokyo. 418 fascicles. Critical edition. Based on (11) and collated with (8), (12), and (23).

(26) *Dai Nihon kōtei kunten daizōkyō* 大日本校訂訓點大藏經/ *Manji zōkyō* 卍字藏經 (1902-1905). Kyoto. 347 fascicles. Based on a variant of (23) kept at the Hōnen-in 法然院 Monastery in Kyoto which collated (11) and (20). Additions to it were latter issued as a sequel series entitled *Dai Nippon zokuzōkyō* 大日本續藏經/ *Manji zokuzō* 卍字續藏 (1905-1912). 751 fascicles. A modern reprint of the latter, in 100 volumes, was published by Kokusho kankōkai 国書刊行会 in 1984. In 1920, a reprint was also issued in Shanghai.

(27) *Pingqie zang* 頻伽藏 (1909-1913). Based on (25). Shanghai. 418 fascicles.

(28) *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經/ *Taishōzō* 大正藏 (1922-1933). Tokyo. 85 volumes.[98] Chinese translations and texts, called 'The Main Canon' 正藏, are found in vols. 1-55. Vols. 56-85, named 'Sequel to the Canon' 續藏, include Japanese texts (vols. 56-84) and recent discoveries, such as Dunhunag manuscripts,

as well as apocrypha (vol. 85). The Taishō Canon is based on (11) and collated with (5), (8), (12), (20) (the latter actually as reproduced by (23)), as well as the Shōsō-in 正倉院 Manuscript Collection, Dunhuang 敦煌 manuscripts, separate manuscripts and woodblock printed texts kept in various monastic and private collections in Japan, etc. Popular reprint issued in 1988.[99]

(29) *Puhui zang* 普慧藏 (1943-?). Shanghai. Incomplete (only 100 fascicles issued). First modern critical edition published in China. Collates several canons.[100]

(30) *Fojiao dazangjing* 佛教大藏經 (112 volumes) and its sequel the *Xu zu* 續藏 (36 volumes) (1978-1984). Taipei. This Canon is partly printed and partly photographically reproduced from traditional Canons. Based on (27) and collated with (10), (20), (26), (28), (29), and (35).

(31) *Foguang dazangjing* 佛光大藏經 (1983-) (still in progress?). Taiwan. Based on (11), and collated with (20), (26), (27), (28), and separately printed texts.

(32) *Zhonghua dazangjing (Hanwen bufen)* 中華大藏經 （漢文部分）(1984-1996). Beijing. 106 volumes. Basically, it reproduces (9). However, when a text is not available in (9), then it reproduces (11). Collates in its endnotes the variant readings in (4), (8), (10), (11), (12), (16), (20), and (24).[101]

(33) *Wenshu dazangjing* 文殊大藏經 (1986-) (still in progress?). Taiwan. Collates various editions.[102]

Facsimile Reproductions of Traditional Canons

(34) *Qishaban dazangzing* 磧砂版大藏經 (1933-1936). Shanghai. Reproduction of (10). Also reprinted in Taipei.

(35) *Songzang yizhen* 宋藏遺珍 (1935). Shanghai. Reproduction of texts previously unknown taken from (9).

(36) *Koryŏ tsejo taejangkyong* 高麗再雕大藏經 (1957-1976). Seoul. Reproduction of (11).

(37) *Xiuding zhonghua dazangjing* 修訂中華大藏經 (1974-1981). Taipei. Facsimile edition of three Canons: Part Ⅰ 第一輯 is a reproduction of (10); Part Ⅱ 第二輯 is a reproduction of (20); and Part Ⅲ 第三輯 is a reproduction of (26) *Manji zokuzō*.

(38) *Dunhuang baozang* 敦煌寶藏 (-1986). Taipei. Reproductions of all available Dunhuang manuscripts containing Chinese Buddhist texts in the Stein, Pelliot, Peking, etc. collections.

(39) *Qianlong dazangjing* 乾隆大藏經 (-1991). Taipei. Reproduction of (24).

(40) *Fangshan shijing* 房山石經 (1988-2000). Peking. Reproduction of (4).

(41) *Hongwu nanzang* 洪武南藏 (1999). Sichuan. Reproduction of (15).

(42) *Yongle beizang* 永樂北藏 (-2000). Peking. Reproduction of (18).

Digital Versions
(CD-ROM and Internet)

(43) *CBETA Dianzi Fodian (Daizhengzang)* CBETA 電子佛典 (大正藏). CD-ROM.

Taipei. It contains vols. 1-55 and 85 of the *Taishō Canon* (see (28) above).[103] These volumes as well as some volumes of the *Manji zokuzō* 卍字續藏 (see (26) above) are also available at the following site:
http://www.cbeta.org/result/taisho.htm .

(44) *Taishō Canon* 大正新修大藏 (see (28) above). This digital version, which contains the entire Canon (vols. 1-85), is provided by the Canon Text Database Research Group 『大正新脩大藏經』テキストデータベース（SAT）at the following site:
http://www.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp/~sat/japan/ .[104]

(45) *Shōsō-in shōgo zōkyōkan* 正倉院聖語藏經巻, CD-ROM (in progress). Tokyo. It offers faithful scannings of the manuscripts in the Shōsō-in Collection (mostly copied during the Nara Period).

(46) *Koryŏ tsejo taejangkyong* 高麗再雕大藏經 (see (11) and (36) above). It can be consulted at the following web-site:
http://www.sutra.re.kr

(47) *Qianlong Canon* 乾隆大藏經 (see (24) and (39) above) can be consulted at the following web-site:
http://www.suttaworld.org/qing/menu/index.htm

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How can we find our way in this 'jungle' of Canons? The basic guidelines for establishing the main lineages have been provided by Chikusa Masa'aki (1993; 2000a; 2000b), one of Japan's most prominent scholar in this field.[105] According to his analysis, three main groups can be identified in the transmission of the traditional Chinese Canon (Chikusa 1993, 10-17):[106]

GROUP I 第一類経蔵:	Kaibao Canon 開寶藏, Second Edition of the Korean Canon 高麗藏再雕版, and Jin Canon 金藏
GROUP II 第二類経蔵:	Liao Canon 遼藏 and the texts of the Fangshan Canon 房山石經 which were carved during the Liao Dynasty 遼朝
GROUP III 第三類経蔵:	The Canons produced in the region south of the Yangtze River 江南諸蔵. They consist of three sub-groups: 1. Fuzhou editions 福州版: Chongning Canon 崇寧藏 and Pilu Canon 毘盧藏 2. Zhexi Editions 浙西版: Former Sixi Canon 前思溪藏, Latter Sixi (or Zifu) Canon 後思溪藏 (資福藏), Qisha Canon 磧砂藏, and Puning Canon 普寧藏 3. Yuan Governmental Canon 元官大藏經

Chikusa's classification is based upon two main formal criteria: 1) printing style and format 版式, i.e., number of characters per column, volume format (scroll-type, etc.);[107] and 2) divergences resulting from (slightly) different ways of applying the traditional numeration of the texts according to the *Qian zi wen* 千字文.[108]

Chikusa helds that Group Ⅱ is based upon manuscripts belonging to 'the most orthodox lineage of the Tang Period' 唐代の一番正統な系統 (1993, 17). Furthermore, he points out that a part of the Dunhuang manuscripts also agrees with this lineage and that the readings of the Dunhuang manuscripts often go together with the Tenpyō Collection of the Shōsō-in 正倉院 copied during the Nara Period (see above). Chikusa mentions that his own comparison of the different versions of the **Prajñā-pāramitopadeśa* 大智度論 reveal that the readings of the Fangshan Canon, which belongs to Group Ⅱ, largely agree with those of Dunhuang manuscripts (especially old ones) as well as with the Shōsō-in manuscripts (ibid., pp. 17-18). Group Ⅰ, on the other hand, is based on a local tradition, which originates in the fact that the woodblocks of the Kaibao Canon were carved in Chengdu 成都, Sichuan 四川 Province, in South-West China.[109] Chikusa does not mention here the lineage upon which Group Ⅲ was based, but this seems to represent a distinct lineage.

The research carried out by the Chinese scholars in recent years supports the same conclusions. Fang Guangchang (1991, 246), one of China's top experts in this area, speaks of three main lineages of the printed Canon:

1) Central lineage 中原系统: Kaibao Canon 開寶藏
2) Northern lineage 北方系统: Liao Canon 遼藏
3) Southern lineage 南方系统: Chongning Canon 崇寧藏, Pilu Canon 毘盧藏, etc.

Li Jining (2002, 53-57), citing the findings of Chikusa and Fang, adopts the same classification in his historical survey of the Chinese Canon.

No doubt, codicological and historical research into the formation of the Chinese Canon is extremely important, but it must be corroborated by philological data. It will probably take many decades (if not centuries!) to gather, analyse and collate a sufficiently large number of texts (ideally the entire corpus), but reliable results are starting to emerge. Zacchetti's contribution (2005) stands out here as a model of combining exhaustive investigation of the historical data with meticulous philological analysis.[110] Certainly, as stressed by Zacchetti himself, his findings apply, first of all, to the transmission of Dharmarakṣa's translation of the Larger *Prajñāpāramitā*, the *Guang zan jing* 光讃經, and hasty generalisations would be unwise. Zacchetti's conclusions may, however, have more far-reaching relevance. Though based on less data and dealing with a better transmitted text, my edition of the Chapter on the Mundane Path in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* supports many of Zacchetti's findings. The few differences which appear in my stemma result not so much from fundamentally new textual data but rather from a partially dissimilar line of interpretation. More on this will be said below.

Zacchetti (2005, 123-133) convincingly argues that the traditional editions of the Chinese Canon which survive today fall into two main categories: a Northern line and a Southern line.[111] The textual correspondence patterns between the Jin and the Fangshan editions as well as the historical data suggest that the Jin Canon became

contaminated with the Liao Canon. This probably happened when the former's woodblocks were moved to the Central Capital of the Jin Dynasty, i.e., modern Beijing, in 1181 and were subjected to correction 校正 (Zacchetti 2005, 124; see also 99-100).

As far as the Second Edition of the Korean Canon is concerned, it is well-known that it represents the result of a scholarly collation of the First Edition of the Korean Canon, the Liao editon, and old manuscripts transmitted in Korea.[112] Furthermore, it appears that a number of *lectiones singulares* shared by the Jin Canon and the Second Edition of the Korean Canon may reflect Kaibao readings (Zacchetti 2005, 125-127). These, however, are only few and do not change the basic conclusion that both the Jin Canon and the Korean Canon are contaminated editions and that no extant version reflects the original *Kaibao zang* in its entirety.[113]

Speaking of my edition of the Chapter on the Mundane Path, the Jin Canon contains a number of single readings which probably reflect the *Kaibao zang*. However, this does not necesarrily mean that the whole *juan* 33 of the *Yogācārabhūmi* in the Jin Canon is a perfect replica of the Kaibao edition. As we shall see below, there are other factors which would hint that this is not the case.

Things seem to be complicated even in the case of the Fangshan Canon whose texts carved during the Liao Period are generally thought to be a replica of the Liao Canon. Zacchetti (2005, 104-109) points out, however, that the Fangshan edition does not reflect only the Liao Canon and also contains a few *lectiones singulares*. These suggest that the Fangshan Canon may have 'conflate[d] readings from other witnesses' (ibid., p. 107).[114] According to Zacchetti (2005, 107-109), the best solution accounting for the discrepancies between the Liao and Fangshan editions was put forward by Li He in an article published in 1996.[115] The Chinese scholar argues that the source of these different readings may be the manuscript collection of Buddhist texts, amounting to more than 4000 rolls, which was donated to the Yunju Monastery, where the Fangshan Canon was carved, by the Grand Princess Jinxian 金仙長公主 in 730. The messenger entrusted with the delivery of the scriptures was actually Zhisheng 智昇, the famous scholar-monk who compiled the *Kaiyuan lu* 開元錄. Li He surmises that these scrolls donated to the Yunju Monastery must have been 'an official copy of the canon structured on the basis of the KYL [=*Kaiyuan lu*]' (Zacchetti 2005, 109). '[I]t was exactly this manuscript canon that remained the basis of the carving at Fangshan. However, after more than three centuries, when the Lz [= Liao Canon] was carved, this new official canon became immediately influential to the carvings carried out at Fangshan [...]' (ibid.).[116]

It would thus appear that the Fangshan Canon was based on two official manuscript collections of the Tang Dynasty: (1) the *Kaiyuan lu*-patterned Canon received in 730; and (2) the official corpus on which the the Liao Canon relied (see above). Though probably belonging to the same stemma, some discrepancies seem to have existed between these two manuscript Canons. The Chinese edition of the Chapter on the Mundane Path also reveals some readings peculiar to the Fangshan Canon which might point in the same direction. More on this will be said below.

The Southern line in Zacchetti's analysis corresponds to Group III in Chikusa's classification, and although sublineages do exist, we see a basic correspondence pattern. For example, Zacchetti (2005, 128) shows that the Chongning Canon and the Zifu

Canon (the latter being referred to as Sixi) share common errors. The situation becomes more confusing in what Zacchetti calls the 'lower reaches' of the Southern line (ibid., p. 129).

I definitely agee with this, though my hypothetical solution is rather different from the stemmic relations conjectured by Zacchetti. I think that as they stand, the latter explain very well the pattern of variant readings in the *Guan zan jing*. More details about my conjecture are given in what follows. One thing, however, must be stressed here. What precludes me from drawing more certain conclusions is that the number of relevant *variae lectiones* in my edition is too limited. Actually, in order to compensate for this, my stemma had to rely partly on general historical information rather than on direct textual evidence. I suppose that we shall have to wait for further research before we can decide which of the models is more appropriate or more generally valid.

Can we ascertain any trace of contamination between the two major lineages? It seems that we have no clear proof of this, but historically speaking, it is not excluded a certain degree of contamination might have taken place. Zacchetti (2005, 99) points out that the the presence of the Kaibao Canon in South-Central China is well documented. The Italian scholar also mentions cases when the Puning and Qisha editions agree with the Jin, Korean, and Fangshan Canons, although he is inclined to infer that the corrections which they share are 'so trivial in nature that none of them, taken alone, would suffice to demonstrate collation'. However, 'taken together they suggest that both Q [= Qisha] and Y [= Puning] were probably able to collate other textual witnesses independent from Sixi' (ibid., p. 128). Zacchetti (ibid.; see also p. 116) mentions here the manuscripts kept at the Xiazhu Monastery 下竺寺 which seem to have been used by the Puning edition. We do not know anything about the provenence of these manuscripts,[117] but they may have reflected readings peculiar to the Northern lineage.[118] This is a largely conjectural inference, but the possibility of (at least some cases of) contamination, direct or indirect, from the Northern lineage to the Southern textual witnesses should not be ruled out. Although the results of my edition are not conclusive, some occurrences may allow for such an interpretation.

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I am rather hesitant whether my edition could serve as the basis of a serious attempt to deduce a stemma of the Chinese Canon. The reasons are clear: it basically covers only one *juan* 卷, the number of its variant readings is relatively low, and in some instances, I have no precise information concerning a few *variae lectiones* recorded in the Taishō and Zhonghua Canons. Given the present state of our research into the Canon stemmata, I think, however, that even such findings could prove helpful.

The list below records all variant readings in my edition. It should be noted that the first *varia lectio* in each occurrence below represents the reading adopted in my edition as the correct or preferable one. For example, in occurrence (3), 止 is the correct reading against 正. (For the abbreviations, see the list before Diagram 3 below as well as Editing Conventions, Part Two.)

Juan 33 卷三十三

Witnesses	Reading
(1) Passage 3.27. (title of the text)	
Jin, Koryŏ, Tenna:	三藏法師
Shōsō-in, Fangshan, Chongning, Zifu, Qisha, Puning, Hongwu:	沙門
Yongle-bei, Jingshan:	唐三藏沙門[119]
Yongle-nan, Qing:	?[120]
(2) Passage 3.27. (title of the text)	
Shōsō-in, Jin, Fangshan, Chongning, Koryŏ, Zifu, Qisha, Puning, Hongwu, Yongle-nan, Tenna:	第十三
Yongle-bei, Jingshan, Qing:	omit
(3) Passage 3.28.1.1.	
Shōsō-in, Jin, Fangshan, Koryŏ, Chongning, Tenna:	止
Zifu, Qisha, Puning, Hongwu, Yongle-nan, Yongle-bei, Jingshan, Qing:	正
(4) Passage 3.28.2.1.1.	
Shōsō-in, Jin, Fangshan, Koryŏ, Chongning, Tenna:	能
Zifu, Qisha, Puning, Hongwu, Yongle-nan, Yongle-bei, Jingshan, Qing:	使
(5) Passage 3.28.2.1.2.4.	
Shōsō-in, Fangshan, Koryŏ, Zifu, Chongning, Qisha, Puning, Hongwu, Yongle-nan, Yongle-bei, Jingshan, Tenna, Qing:	欲依
Jin:	依欲
(6) Passage 3.28.2.1.2.5.	
Jin, Koryŏ, Chongning, Zifu, Qisha, Puning, Hongwu, Yongle-nan, Yongle-bei, Jingshan, Tenna, Qing:	受
Shōsō-in, Fangshan:	執受
(7) Passage 3.28.2.1.2.7.	
Fangshan, Jin, Koryŏ, Chongning, Zifu, Qisha, Puning, Hongwu, Yongle-nan, Yongle-bei, Jingshan, Tenna, Qing:	麁
Shōsō-in:	道
(8) Passage 3.28.2.1.2.8.	
Shōsō-in, Fangshan, Koryŏ, Chongning, Zifu, Qisha, Puning, Hongwu, Yongle-nan, Yongle-bei, Jingshan, Tenna, Qing:	界
Jin:	思
(9) Passage 3.28.2.1.2.8.	
Shōsō-in, Fangshan, Jin, Koryŏ, Tenna:	靜
Chongning, Zifu, Qisha, Puning, Hongwu, Yongle-nan, Yongle-bei, Jingshan, Qing:	浄
(10) Passage 3.28.2.1.3.	
Shōsō-in, Jin, Koryŏ, Chongning, Zifu, Qisha, Puning, Hongwu, Yongle-nan, Yongle-bei, Jingshan, Tenna, Qing:	所
Fangshan:	即

(11) Passage 3.28.2.1.6.

Shōsō-in, Fangshan, Jin, Koryŏ, Chongning, Zifu, Tenna: 品
Qisha, Puning, Hongwu, Yongle-nan, Yongle-bei, Jingshan, Qing: 見

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(12) Passage 3.28.2.1.6.

Shōsō-in, Fangshan, Jin, Koryŏ, Tenna: 永
Chongning, Zifu, Qisha, Puning, Hongwu, Yongle-nan,
Yongle-bei, Jingshan, Qing: 求

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(13) Passage 3.28.2.1.6.

Shōsō-in, Fangshan, Jin, Koryŏ, Tenna: 正
Chongning, Zifu, Qisha, Puning, Hongwu, Yongle-nan,
Yongle-bei, Jingshan, Qing: 心

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(14) Passage 3.28.2.1.6.

Shōsō-in, Jin, Fangshan, Koryŏ, Chongning, Qisha, Hongwu: 勤
Zifu, Puning, Jingshan, Tenna: ?勒
Yongle-nan, Qing: ?[121]

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(15) Passage 3.28.2.1.7.

Shōsō-in, Fangshan, Jin, Koryŏ, Tenna: 修
Chongning, Zifu, Qisha, Puning, Hongwu, Yongle-nan,
Yongle-bei, Jingshan, Qing: omit

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(16) Passage 3.28.2.1.9.2.

Fangshan, Jin, Koryŏ, Chongning, Zifu, Qisha, Puning,
Hongwu, Yongle-nan, Yongle-bei, Jingshan, Tenna, Qing: 於
Shōsō-in: 令

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(17) Passage 3.28.2.2.2.

Shōsō-in, Fangshan, Jin, Koryŏ, Chongning, Zifu,
Qisha, Hongwu, Yongle-nan, Yongle-bei, Tenna, Qing: 怱
Puning, Jingshan: 忽

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(18) Passage 3.28.2.2.2.

Fangshan, Jin, Koryŏ, Chongning, Zifu, Qisha, Puning
Hongwu, Yongle-nan, Yongle-bei, Jingshan, Tenna, Qing: omit
Shōsō-in: 尋思

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(19) Passage 3.28.2.2.2.

Fangshan, Koryŏ, Jin, Chongning, Qisha, Hongwu, Yongle-bei: 苦
Shōsō-in, Zifu, Puning, Jingshan, Tenna: ?若
Yongle-nan, Qing: ?[122]

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(20) Passage 3.28.3.1.4.

Shōsō-in, Fangshan, Jin, Koryŏ, Chongning, Zifu,
Qisha, Puning, Hongwu, Yongle-nan, Jingshan, Tenna: 所
Yongle-bei, Qing: 作

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(21) Passage 3.28.3.1.8.

Shōsō-in, Koryŏ, Chongning, Zifu, Qisha, Puning,
Hongwu, Yongle-nan, Yongle-bei, Jingshan, Tenna, Qing: 梗

Fangshan,Jin: 鞭

(22) Passage 3.28.3.2.1.

Shōsō-in, Fangshan, Koryŏ, Tenna: 轉
Chongning, Jin, Zifu, Qisha, Puning, Hongwu,
Yongle-nan, Yongle-bei, Jingshan, Qing: 故

(23) Passage 3.28.3.2.2.

Koryŏ: 中
Shōsō-in, Fangshan, Jin, Chongning, Zifu, Qisha,
Puning, Hongwu, Yongle-nan, Yongle-bei, Jingshan, Tenna, Qing: omit

(24) Passage 3.28.3.3.3.

Shōsō-in, Fangshan, Jin, Koryŏ, Chongning,
Zifu, Yongle-bei, Jingshan, Tenna: 遣
Qisha, Puning, Hongwu: 遺
Yongle-nan, Qing: ?[123]

(25) Passage 3.28.3.5.1.

Shōsō-in, Fangshan, Koryŏ, Chongning, Zifu, Qisha,
Hongwu, Puning, Yongle-nan, Yongle-bei, Jingshan, Tenna, Qing: 想
Jin: 相

(26) Passage 3.28.3.5.4.

Shōsō-in, Fangshan, Jin, Koryŏ, Tenna: 相
Chongning, Zifu, Qisha, Puning, Hongwu, Yongle-nan,
Yongle-bei, Jingshan, Qing: 想

(27) Passage 3.28.3.5.5.

Shōsō-in, Fangshan, Jin, Koryŏ, Chongning, Zifu,
Yongle-bei, Jingshan, Tenna: 未
Puning, Qisha, Hongwu: 天
Yongle-nan, Qing: ?[124]

(28) Passage 3.28.3.5.5.

Shōsō-in, Fangshan, Jin, Koryŏ, Tenna: 地
Chongning, Zifu, Qisha, Puning, Hongwu, Yongle-nan,
Yongle-bei, Jingshan, Qing: 他

(29) Passage 3.28.3.8.2.

Fangshan, Jin, Koryŏ, Chongning, Zifu, Qisha,
Puning, Hongwu, Yongle-nan, Yongle-bei, Jingshan, Tenna, Qing: 相
Shōsō-in: 想

(30) Passage 3.28.3.9.

Shōsō-in, Koryŏ, Chongning, Tenna, 室
Jin, Zifu, Qisha, Puning, Hongwu, Yongle-bei, Jingshan: 空
Yongle-nan, Qing: ?空[125]
Fangshan: 密

(31) Passage 3.28.4.2.

Shōsō-in, Fangshan, Jin, Koryŏ, Tenna: 位

Chongning, Zifu, Qisha, Puning, Hongwu, Yongle-nan,
Yongle-bei, Jingshan, Qing: 住

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(32) Passage 3.28.4.2.

Fangshan, Koryŏ, Zifu, Qisha, Puning, Hongwu,
Yongle-nan, Yongle-bei, Jingshan, Tenna, Qing: 諸心心

Shōsō-in, Jin: 心諸

Chongning: 心心

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(33) Passage 3.28.4.2.

Fangshan, Jin, Koryŏ, Chongning, Zifu, Qisha, Puning,
Hongwu, Yongle-nan, Yongle-bei, Jingshan, Tenna, Qing: 無

Shōsō-in: 是

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(34) Passage 3.28.5.2.6.2.

Fangshan, Chongning, Zifu, Yongle-bei, Jingshan: 跏

Shōsō-in, Jin, Koryŏ, Puning, Qisha, Hongwu, Tenna: 加

Yongle-nan, Qing: ?[126]

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(35) Passage 3.28.5.2.8.

Koryŏ, Chongning, Zifu, Puning, Jingshan, Tenna: 譟

Jin, Fangshan, Qisha, Hongwu, Yongle-bei: 噪

Shōsō-in: 喿

Yongle-nan, Qing: ?[127]

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(36) Passage 3.28.5.2.9.

Shōsō-in, Fangshan, Koryŏ, Chongning, Zifu, Qisha, Puning,
Hongwu, Yongle-nan, Yongle-bei, Jingshan, Tenna, Qing: omit

Jin: 世

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(37) Passage 3.28.5.2.10.

Shōsō-in, Fangshan, Jin, Koryŏ,
Chongning, Zifu, Yongle-nan, Jingshan, Tenna: 根

Qisha, Puning, Hongwu, Yongle-bei, Qing: 相

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(38) Passage 3.28.5.2.10.

Fangshan, Koryŏ, Qisha, Puning, Hongwu,
Yongle-nan, Yongle-bei, Jingshan, Tenna, Qing: 顰

Shōsō-in, Jin, Chongning, Zifu: 頻

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(39) Passage 3.28.5.2.10.

Yongle-bei, Jingshan, Qing: 俚

Shōsō-in, Fangshan, Jin, Koryŏ,
Chongning, Zifu, Qisha, Puning, Hongwu, Yongle-nan, Tenna: 里

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(40) Passage 3.28.5.2.11.

Shōsō-in, Fangshan, Jin, Koryŏ, Chongning, Zifu,
Qisha, Yongle-nan, Yongle-bei, Jingshan, Tenna, Qing: 通

Puning, Hongwu: 遇

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(41) Passage 3.28.6.2.

Shōsō-in, Fangshan, Jin, Chongning, Zifu, Qisha, Puning,

Hongwu, Yongle-nan, Yongle-bei, Jingshan, Tenna, Qing: 二
Koryŏ: 一

(42) Passage 3.28.6.2.

Fangshan, Jin, Koryŏ, Tenna: 極
Shōsō-in, Chongning, Zifu, Qisha, Puning, Hongwu, Yongle-nan, Yongle-bei, Jingshan, Qing: omit

(43) Passage 3.28.6.4.

Shōsō-in, Fangshan, Jin, Koryŏ, Chongning, Zifu, Qisha, Puning, Hongwu, Yongle-nan, Yongle-bei, Jingshan, Qing: 還
Tenna: 遠

(44) Passage 3.28.6.4.

Fangshan, Jin, Koryŏ, Chongning, Zifu, Qisha, Puning, Hongwu, Yongle-nan, Yongle-bei, Jingshan, Tenna, Qing: 此
Shōsō-in: omits

(45) Passage 3.28.6.5.

Fangshan, Jin, Koryŏ, Chongning, Zifu, Qisha, Puning, Hongwu, Yongle-nan, Yongle-bei, Jingshan, Tenna, Qing: 想
Shōsō-in: 相

(46) Passage 3.28.7.

Fangshan, Jin, Koryŏ, Zifu, Qisha, Puning, Hongwu, Yongle-nan, Yongle-bei, Jingshan, Tenna, Qing: 詳
Chongning: 詞
Shōsō-in: 諦

Juan 34 卷三十四

(The Jin edition is not available for this scroll)

(47) Passage 3.28.7. (title of the text)

Shōsō-in, Fangshan, Koryŏ, Chongning, Zifu, Yongle-bei, Jingshan, Tenna, Qing: no interlinear remark
Qisha, Puning, Hongwu, Yongle-nan: interlinear remark: 獨覺地附

(48) Passage 3.28.7. (title of the text)

Koryŏ, Tenna: 三藏法師
Shōsō-in, Fangshan, Chongning, Zifu, Qisha, Puning, Hongwu: 沙門
Yongle-bei, Jingshan: 唐三藏沙門
Yongle-nan, Qing: ?[128]

(49) Passage 3.28.7. (title of the text)

Shōsō-in, Fangshan, Koryŏ, Chongning, Zifu, Qisha, Puning, Hongwu, Yongle-nan, Tenna: 第十三
Yongle-bei, Jingshan, Qing: omit

*

* *

When counting data for all textual witnesses, the last three occurrences, for which there is no Jin version, as well as the eight cases in which there is no complete certainty about some readings (e.g., (1) Passage 3.27.; etc.) must be left out. This gives us a total of 38 occurrences. Let us now see some relevant figures.

We find 7 occurrences in which Jin, Fangshan, Koryŏ, Shōsō-in, and Tenna agree against all the other Canons. In all these instances, the latter witnesses contain the wrong reading. A similar case is seen in passage 3.28.6.2. (i.e., occurrence (40) above): Jin, Fangshan, Koryŏ, and Tenna read together against all other textual witnesses, which this time include Shōsō-in. Again, the latter have the incorrect reading. This seems to show that there is a basic distinction between a Northern lineage, which comprises Jin, Fangshan, Koryŏ, Shōsō-in, and Tenna, on the one hand, and a Southern lineage, consisting of all the other Canons, on the other.

I have no detailed information about the Japanese woodblock print of year 2 of the Tenna Era, but my conjecture is that it must be based on Koryŏ. No other Northern Canon seems to have been known in Japan.[129] However, although it is quite unlikely that the Imperial Collection of Shōsō-in itself could have been consulted by the Tenna editors, other manuscripts based on this tradition may have been available to them. Passage 3.28.6.2., in which Tenna agrees with Northern Canons while Shōsō-in reads together with the other Southern witnesses, would seem, nevertheless, to discourage such a line of inference. I hence regard it more probable that Koryŏ was the basis of Tenna. Actually, prints of Koryŏ appear to have been repeatedly imported to Japan during the Middle Ages (see Daizō-kai ed. 1964, 96). Furthermore, the *Shūzon Edition*, the first Canon produced in Japan, is based upon Koryŏ (ibid., pp. 96-98). Tentatively, I would surmise that Koryŏ can also be taken as the basis of Tenna.[130] A safe conclusion needs, however, more evidence, and in Diagram 3 below, the question mark placed between these two editions indicates the lack of sufficient certainty.

As far as the correspondence of Shōsō-in and the Southern Canons in passage 3.28.6.2. is concerned, I do not think that it is indicative of any genealogical relation between these verions. Rather than an old Tang reading, this occurrence is more likely to represent a coincidence due to a scribal error in Shōsō-in. On the whole, I think that there is little doubt that the Shōsō-in constitutes a sublineage within the Northern line. It doubtless has many single readings: a total of 8 out of the 38 occurrences examined here. With the exception of passage 3.28.5.2.8. (occurrence (35) above), which is not exactly a wrong *varia lectio*, all the other 7 occurrences are incorrect readings, quite a few of them most likely being scribal errors peculiar to the Shōsō-in manuscript. This, of course, does not deny the value of Shōsō-in as a textual witness. The study of other texts may actually reveal a different picture. Furthermore, the codicological research of Shōsō-in has great importance for understanding the formation of other manuscript collections, which for centuries continued to be the main medium of scriptural transmission and conservation in Japan.

What about other Northern textual witnesses? First of all, let us notice that Jin contains 4 examples of single readings, i.e., occurrences (5), (8), (25), and (36) above. All these readings are incorrect, which in principle represent a much more telling criterion in determining genealogical relations between various witnesses. In all

likelihood, these readings reflect the Kaibao Canon. Occurrence (32) may also indicate something similar: Jin reads together with Shōsō-in (again, the wrong reading) against Chongning, on the one hand, and all the rest of the witnesses, on the other. It is difficult to decide what the correspondence with Shōsō-in actually means. If the readings in the latter could be proved to be more than a mere coincidence, then this agreement could be interpreted as an old Tang error which was inherited by the Kaibao and Jin Canons as well as by the Shōsō-in text, while the other editions corrected it.[131]

Does this mean that the entire Jin text under examination here is a replica of the *Kaibao zang*. Probably not! Occurrence (21), which is also a wrong reading, shows that Jin and Fangshan read together against all other witnesses. It is true that we only have one such instance, but if it carries any weight, it would indicate that, as argued by Zacchetti (see above), Jin was probably collated with the Liao Canon.

Rather intriguing are occurrence (22), in which Jin agrees with the Southern Canons against all other Northern witnesses, and occurrence (30), where Jin reads with Zifu, Qisha, Puning, Hongwu, Yongle-bei, and Jingshan (as well as probably with Yongle-nan and Qing?).[132] Both readings are, once again, incorrect *variae lectiones*. In occurrence (30), Fangshan has, however, a wrong reading, too, but uses a different character altogether. Frankly speaking, I do not know how to interpret these two cases. If they are more than mere coincidences, they could suggest that the Kaibao Canon and the Southern lineage partially relied on a common archetype or the latter was contaminated by the former. This, however, is just a tentative line of conjecture, and definitely more textual evidence is required before drawing sound conclusions.

Anyway, roughly (and provisionally!) speaking, I should say that although in my edition, Jin seems to transmit more original Kaibao readings than could be deduced from the *Guan zan jing*, it does not represent a replica of the latter. And though less conspicuous than in the case of the *Guan zang jing*, contamination with the Liao Canon may have also taken place here. One could speculate that the collation of each individual text or group of texts in the Jin Canon with the Liao edition was carried out to various degrees. Again, we shall have to see what future research will have to reveal in this respect, too.

The two singular readings (both wrong lections) shown by Fangshan in occurrences (10) and (30) are also very interesting. They indicate that Fangshan represents a separate sublineage within the Northern stemma. As argued above, both Jin and Koryŏ are contaminated editions, and it is unclear whether in these two occurrences, they read with the Kaibao Canon or with the Liao edition. It is quite possible that Fangshan may reflect here readings peculiar to the Tang manuscript Canon of 730, on which it appears to have also relied (see above). Occurrence (6), where Fangshan reads together with Shōsō-in against all other Canons, is also relevant in this respect. This incorrect lection is quite peculiar: Shōsō-in and Fangshan read here 執受 instead of 受.[133] The character 執 does not occur in the whole Chapter on the Mundane Path, and one cannot account for its presence as an *aberratio oculi* which might have coincidentally happened to the scribes of both Canons. I think that the most likely explanation is that here they both relied on the same Tang manuscript collection which contained the superfluous character 執.

Now, let us take a look at the Southern Canons. The relatively large number of common readings shared by all Southern witnesses makes me postulate the existence of

a common ancestor for the whole line, especially since in most cases of agreement we have to deal with wrong *variae lectiones*. This common archetype must have branched into several sublineages and later into each individual Canon. Difference was probably generated by collation with other manuscripts or, as argued above, with the Kaibao edition or the Northern lineage. Conscious editorial changes as well as typographical errors may have also played a more or less important role.

Chongning reads either with Northern witnesses against the Southern Canons (occurrence (3) and most probably (30), too) or alone (occurrences (32) and (46)). This shows that it represents a sublineage in its own. Since the *Śrāvakabhūmi* has not survived amongst the fragments of the Yuan Governmental Canon, I cannot say anything about its genealogical affinity. I have simply followed Chikusa (1993) and included it in my stemma as a different sublineage. Concerning the rest of the Southern Canons, they appear to form one sublineage, but as hinted above, substantial contamination seems to have occurred within its lower reaches.

My edition has yielded some interesting data which is otherwise not deducible from the available historical data. For example, occurrence (40) shows that the (wrong) reading found in Puning and Hongwu is different from all other versions. I surmise that this is indicative of the fact that the Hongwu editors may have collated their edition with the Puning Canon.

Occurrences (24), (27), (34) and (47) reveal an interesting pattern of agreement bewteen Chongning, Zifu, Yongle-bei, and Jingshan.[134] All these occurrences represent, however, correct readings or editorial choices not necessarily wrong. Besides, with the exception of (47), the other occurrences also read together with Northern witnesses. Nevertherless, I mention this pattern because it may hint at the possibility that Yongle-bei may have been directly collated with Zifu (or Chongning?) without inheriting its readings through Qisha, Hongwu and Yongle-nan. But I must immediately add that since the Yongle-nan reading in the first three occurrences above is not clear, my conjecture might be wrong. If the latter also reads the same, it is then Yongle-nan which was collated with Zifu (or Chongning), and this reading was taken over by Yongle-bei. This doubt was therefore expresed in Diagram 3 by means of a question mark.

For the rest, I think that the correspondence patterns within the lower reaches of the Southern lineage will become apparent in the stemma below. They support or, at least, do not conflict with the general historical information. Once again, it must be stressed that different interpretations in matters of detail are possible and, more importantly, more textual data is necessary in order to reach safer conclusions.

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Some technical clarifications are necessary. Diagram 3 below shows all the textual witnesses which have been consulted directly or indirectly (through the Taishō and the Zhonghua critical apparatuses). It also includes Canons or collections which no longer survive but on which the extant editions are known to have been based.

The Diagram also includes a stage called 'Tang manuscripts'. These do not represent extant witnesses which can be verified today, but there is little doubt that our text was transmitted in manuscript form from its completion in 648 to the age of the first

printed Canons. As brilliantly analysed in the studies of Fang (1991 48-93; 217-273) and Zacchetti (2005, 86-92), the picture showed by the Tang manuscripts is one of two conflicting forces: a tendency towards standardisation in the form of an Imperial Canon 皇家官藏 and local diversification, i.e., the existence of various local lineages of textual transmission. The latter actually seems to have gathered momentum after Emperor Wuzong's 武宗 (r. 841-846) anti-Buddhist persecution which attained its peak in 845. This situation was one of the main reasons which led to the formation of different lineages and sublineages in the history of the Chinese Canon.

This, however, was not the only source of diversity. The importance of conscious editorial emendations as well as scribal and typographical errors should not be overlooked. I could not represent graphically all these factors in the Diagram below, but it should be understood that each new edition must have included different readings, their number being, of course, different in each particular case. Besides, the advent of the printed Canons in the Song Dynasty did not mean that the manuscript tradition came to an abrupt end. It must have continued, and we have seen that the 2nd Koryŏ Edition and the Puning Canon were influenced by it. Its presence, however, has not been marked in the Diagram unless historically attested. Thus, I have included only the manuscript collection(s) transmitted in Korea and the corpus preserved at the Xiazhu Monastery. The Fangshan Canon, too, appears to have relied on a manuscript Canon received in 730 (see above). I have not marked this as a separate item, but I have instead connected Fangshan directly with the 'Tang Manuscripts' by means of an unbroken line.

The numbers in brackets are identical to those in the Chronological Chart above. For convenience's sake, all the abbreviations used in this diagram are listed below. The textual witnesses printed in bold letters (in Diagram 3 as well as Abbreviations) mark the fact that their readings have been consulted, directly or indirectly, in my edition. The titles or words in larger point indicate the main lineages and archetypes. Unbroken lines stand for direct dependence, while dotted lines indicate contamination, usually in the form of collation of previous editions. When the genealogical relation is not clearly attested, a question mark has been inserted between the supposed textual basis and the respective edition.[135] The arrows at the top of the diagram indicate the diversification of the manuscript tradition during the Tang Dynasty.[136] The dotted arrow used at the centre of the diagram suggest the possibility that some Southern Canons may have suffered a certain degree of contamination from the *Kaibao zang* and/or the Northern lineage. This is, however, a conjectural link and has therefore been marked by dotted arrows.

The dates in the Diagram generally follow the Chronological Chart above, but some simplifications were imposed by lack of space. The Fangshan date, for example, shows the probable approximate date when the *Yogācārabhūmi* was carved (see note 60 below). Similarly, the Shōsō-in date indicates the copying of the *Yogācārabhūmi* and not that of the entire collection. The Chronological Chart as well as the notes should be consulted for more precise details concerning the dates.

Graphic constraints made it impossible to keep the size of the lines and arrows in accordance with actual historical duration. Similarly, space limitations obliged me to write the 'Xiazhu MSS' on the left side of the diagram, which is basically reserved for the *Kaibao zang* and Northern lineages. As mentioned above, though it is not excluded that this manuscript collection may have been related in one way or another to the one of

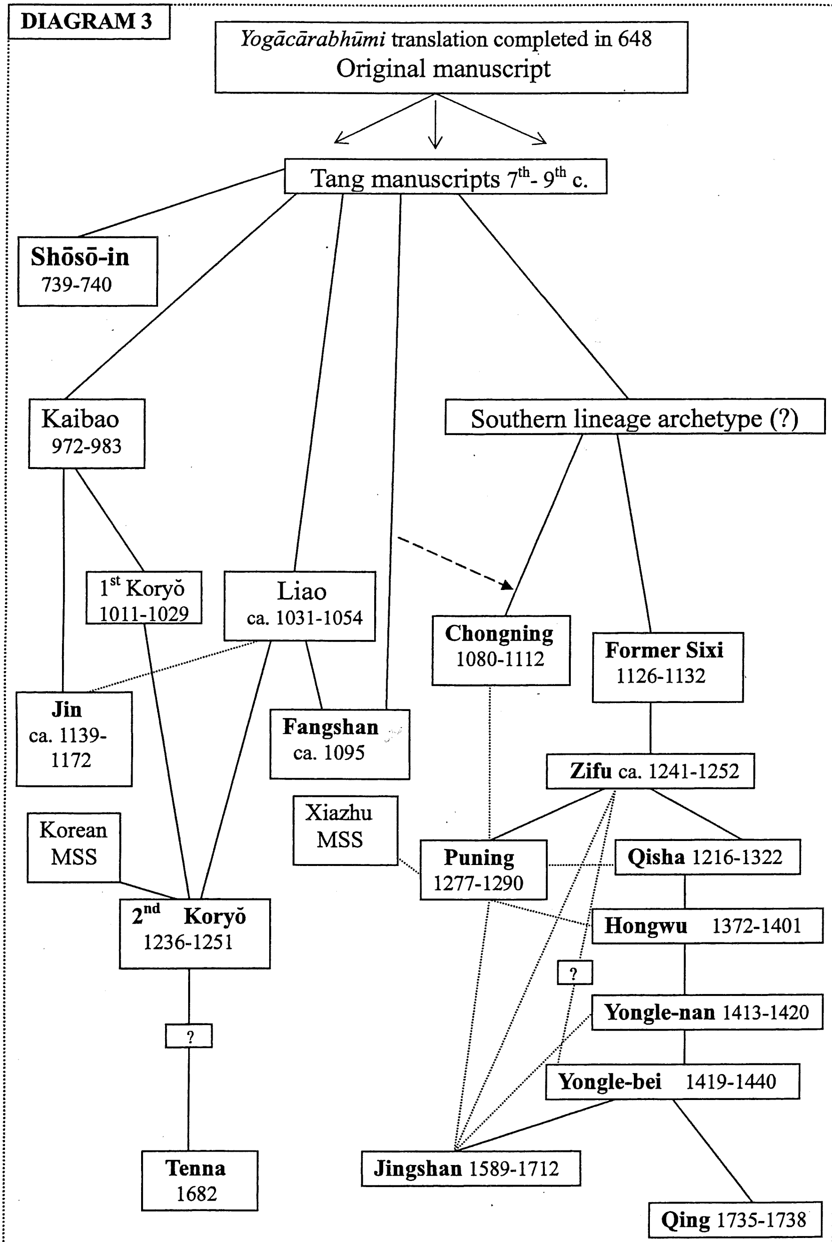
the Northern lines, we have no historical records concerning their provenence. Therefore, their position in the Diagram should not be taken as a commitment concerning their lineage.

Finally, it must be emphasised again that although the Diagram puts together some general historical facts, too, it is mainly based upon the findings yielded by the Chapter on the Mundane Path in the *Śrāvakabhūmi*. It is quite possible that the comparison of other texts may lead to different results. Generalisations will be possible only when a sufficiently large numer of texts are carefully collated. And needless to say, new historical revelations may require the revision of certain genealogical relations.

In spite of its limitations and tentative nature, I hope that the Diagram below will succeed in summing up my conjectures.

ABBREVIATIONS

Chongning: (5) *Chongning Canon* 崇寧藏
Fangshan: (4) *Fangshan Stone-Carved Canon* 房山石經
Former Sixi: (7) *Former Sixi Canon* 前思溪藏
Hongwu: (15) *Hongwu Southern Canon* 洪武南藏
Jin: (9) *Jin Canon* 金藏
Jingshan: (20) *Jingshan Canon* 徑山藏
Kaibao: (1) *Kaibao Canon* 開寶藏
Korean MSS: Manuscript collection(s) transmitted in Korea, collated by Sugi for the *Second Edition of the Korean Canon*
1st Koryŏ: (2) *First Edition of the Korean Canon* 高麗藏初雕版
2nd Koryŏ: (11) *Second Edition of the Korean Canon* 高麗藏再雕版
Liao: (3) *Liao Canon* 遼藏
Puning: (12) *Puning Canon* 普寧藏
Qing: (24) *Qing Canon* 清藏
Qisha: (10) *Qisha Canon* 磧砂藏
Shōsō-in: Imperial Manuscript Collection of Shōsō-in 正倉院
Tenna: Japanese woodblock printed in year 2 of the Tenna Era 天和, i.e., 1682
Xiazhu MSS: Manuscript Collection stored at the Xiazhu Monastery in Hangzhou 杭州下竺寺藏寫本, collated for the *Puning Canon*.
Yongle-bei: (18) *Northern Canon of the Yongle Era* 永樂北藏
Yongle-nan: (16) *Southern Canon of the Yongle Era* 永樂南藏
Zifu: (8) *Zifu Canon* 資福藏


DIAGRAM 3
Yogācārabhūmi translation completed in 648
Original manuscript
Tang manuscripts 7th- 9th c.
Shōsō-in
739-740
Kaibao
972-983
Southern lineage archetype (?)
1st Koryŏ
1011-1029
Liao
ca. 1031-1054
Chongning
1080-1112
Former Sixi
1126-1132
Jin
ca. 1139-1172
Fangshan
ca. 1095
Zifu ca. 1241-1252
Korean MSS
Xiazhu MSS
Puning
1277-1290
Qisha 1216-1322
2nd Koryŏ
1236-1251
Hongwu 1372-1401
?
Yongle-nan 1413-1420
?
Yongle-bei 1419-1440
Tenna
1682
Jingshan 1589-1712
Qing 1735-1738

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Finally, I should like to make a few remarks about two of the basic modern editions of the Chinese Canon. No doubt, the Taishō Canon has been *the* standard edition upon which most Buddhist scholars have relied for more than eight decades now. The collation of many textual witnesses and the critical choice of the readings (though not always the best), the limited number of typographical and collation errors, its punctuation (certainly not infallible but not without value), its easy availability, and recently, its digital version (see (43) in the Chronological Chart) with its excellent search programme—all these factors have ensured the wide-spread circulation of the Taishō Canon. The publication in recent years of the Zhonghua Canon has brought a strong contender on the scene. The Zhonghua Canon reproduces the text of the Jin Canon, and when the latter is not extant, that of the 2nd Korean edition. Its notes at the end of each *juan* collate eight textual witnesses.

The Table below shows the editions which have been collated for these two Canons. Editions available only in one of the Canons are printed in bold type. The numbers in brackets are those used in the Chronological Chart above. The enclosed Chinese characters represent the abbreviations employed in each Canon for the respective edition.

TAISHŌ CANON	ZHONGHUA CANON
	(4) Fangshan Stone-Carved Canon 房山石經 [石]
(5) Chongning Canon 崇寧藏 [宮]	
(8) Zifu Canon 資福藏 [宋]	(8) Zifu Canon 資福藏 [資]
	(9) Jin Canon 金藏
	(10) Qisha Canon 磧砂藏 [磧]
(11) 2nd Edition of the Korean Canon 高麗藏再雕版 [麗]	(11) 2nd Edition of the Korean Canon 高麗藏再雕版 [麗]
(12) Puning Canon 普寧藏 [元]	(12) Puning Canon 普寧藏 [普]
	(16) Southern Canon of the Yongle Era 永樂南藏 [南]
(20) Jingshan Canon 徑山藏 [明] (as reproduced in (23) Ōbaku Edition 黄檗版)	(20) Jingshan Canon 徑山藏 [徑]
	(24) Qing Canon 清藏 [清]
Shōsō-in 正倉院 Manuscript Collection [聖]	
Various individual witnesses in private and monastic collections (some Dunhuang manuscripts included)	

(NB: The Taishō Canon often refers to Zifu, Puning and Jingshan as the 'Three Editions of the Sung, Yuan, and Ming Dynasties' 宋，元，明，三本, and abbreviates these as [三].)

The conclusion is easy to see. Especially when preparing a critical edition, one must collate (at least!) both the Taishō and the Zhonghua Canons. Chosing one at the expense of the other may result in a philologically incomplete edition. A 'one-sided' edition, especially if the text has has a large number of corrupt or problematic readings, could have even crippling effects on the restoration of the original. Quite a few Canons have become available in the decades after the publication of the Taishō edition. Their absence in the Taishō critical apparatus does not mean, however, that we can afford to neglect them. Many of these new witnesses have been collated in the Zhonghua Canon, but unfortunately the redactors of the latter do not register the readings of the Chongning Canon, the Shōsō-in manuscripts, and the various collections which have been used by the Taishō editors. These *variae lectiones* must have been available to the Zhonghua editors at least indirectly through the Taishō critical apparatus.[137] A careful editor has, however, no reason to ignore the witnesses recorded in the Taishō Canon.

Furthermore, like its sibling the Zhonghua Canon (Tibetan Language Section) (see Chapter Three above), the collation notes of the Zhonghua Canon (Chinese Language Section) contain quite a few errors and omissions. In the course of my work, I have also become increasingly aware that though less frequently than the Zhonghua Canon, the annotations in the Taishō apparatus also have mistakes and omissions. This makes it necessary to check, whenever possible, all available traditional witnesses.[138] Besides, the discovery of new manuscripts and Canons also requires paying attention to these 'newcomers'. Unfortunately, I have not been able to collate the newly found manuscript witnesses, a deficiency which I hope to remedy in a future contribution. For the time being, the only 'newcomers' examined have been the Hongwu Southern Canon and the Northern Canon of the Yongle Era, which have not been collated by the Zhonghua editors.

As in the case of the Tibetan edition, I have mentioned in my notes to the critical Chinese edition all instances when the Zhonghua and/or the Taishō omit a reading, give it wrongly, or have confusing annotations. This is not meant to deny the obvious value of these two indispensable editions but constitutes an effort to understand their limitations. And since both editions will most probably continue to be our main sources for reading the Chinese Canon for many decades to come, revealing the degree to which they should be trusted is, I believe, a basic professional duty.

NOTES

[1] The title of the Chinese translation suggests **Yogācāryabhūmiśāstra*, i.e., *The Treatise on the Levels of the Meditation Masters*, rather *Yogācārabhūmi*. The characters 瑜伽 represent an phonetical transcription of the Skt. *yoga*. Their pronunciation in Early Mediaeval Chinese (more or less contemporaneous with Xuanzang) is reconstructed by Pulleyblank (1991, s.vv.) as */juă - gɨa/*. The Chinese title as well as its interpretations in the exegetical tradition is discussed by Saeki (Introduction to KDK translation, vol. 1, pp. 22-30) and Katō (Introduction to KIK translation, vol. 1, pp.15-16). The title is also examined by Miyamoto (1932, 777-784) and Ui (1958, 24-35), but we must note that these studies were published at a time when access to the available Sanskrit original texts which make up the YoBh was still very limited.

It is noteworthy that the transliteration of the title in the Tibetan translation is: *yo gā tsā rya bhū mi* (D vol. Tshi, folio 1a1), which similarly seems to presuppose Skt. **Yogācāryabhūmi*.

However, the rendering of the title into Tibetan is *rNal 'byor spyod pa'i sa* (ibid.), which clearly suggests *Yogācārabhūmi* (cf. also transliteration the commentary title as *yo ga ca rya bhū mi byā khya*; see note 4 to Chapter Six). The title in the extant Sanskrit original reads: *Yogācārabhūmi* (YoBh Bhattacharya ed. p. 3, l. 1 and l. 12; see also title at the end of the Books: p. 10, l. 13; p. 72, l. 7; p. 232, l. 16; also SoNirBh Schmithausen ed., p. 702, l. 12; p. 710, l. 10; all containing: *yogācārabhūmau* [...]).

[2] There are three main theories concerning the dates of Xuanzang's life, but the above seems to be the most widely supported by modern scholars (Kamata 1999, 260-261).

[3] According to Kamata 1999, 251 (on the basis of the *Kaiyuan lu* 開元録 Catalogue; see also Kamata 1999, 306-307), Xuanzang translated 76 works in 1347 scrolls 巻. This surpasses the 1222 scrolls which represent the total number produced by the five most celebrated translators (excluding Xuanzang) active on Chinese soil, i.e., Dharmarakṣa 竺法護 (233-ca.310), Kumārajīva (344-409) 鳩摩羅什, Paramārtha (499-569) 眞諦, Yijing (635-713) 義浄, and Amoghavajra 不空 (705-774). According to one calculation, this means that in the 18 years after his return from India, Xuanzang translated at the amazing pace of about one scroll every five days (Kamata 1999, 251, on the base of Matsumoto Bunzaburō's study published in 1925; Mayer 1992, p. 119, also referring to the same study, says: *etwa 4 juan/Monat*).

Very good surveys and discussions of Xuanzang's translations are found in Hakamaya (Kuwayama and Hakamaya) 1981, 243-336, and Kamata 1999, 282-309. Yoshimura 2003b, 216-217, contains a concise but helpful chronological table of Xuanzang's translations. In English, a very useful chronological table of Xuanzang's translations, also containing historical and bibliographical information about most of the texts, is found in Lusthaus 2002, 554-573.

The traditional Buddhist catalogues are not, however, uniform concerning the number of Xuanzang's translations According to Daoxuan's 道宣 catalogue *Da tang neidian lu* 大唐内典録 (compiled in 664), the number of Xuanzang's works, including his *Record of the Western Regions* 西域傳, is 67 (*var. lec.* 65) (T 55.283a27). The *Gu jin yi jing tu ji* 古今譯經圖記 Catalogue (648) gives 75 works (see Kamata 1999, 307). The latter is the number also adopted by Mayer (1992, 119). For the historical background as well as the dates of the catalogues, I rely mainly on Kawaguchi 2000, especially pp. 35-42.

[4] The *Sequel to the Biographies of Eminent Monks* 續高僧傳 (T50.429c23-24) says: 招延英秀沙門寶瓊等二十餘人翻《十七地論》，適得五卷。'[Li Yuanzhe 陸元哲, the Prefect of the Fuyang 富陽 County, who hosted Paramārtha] invited Baoqiong and more than twenty [other] outstanding *śramaṇa*s to translate the **Śaptadaśabhūmiśastra* [under Paramārtha], [but they] could only [render] five scrolls'. This passage is used verbatim in the *Kaiyuan lu* 開元録 (T55.538c7-8) and in the *Zhenyuan lu* 貞元録 (T55.836c12-23). Cf. also T49.99a4; T55.266a25; 364c14; 408a10-12; 608a2; 637b1-3; 941b1-6; 972a5-8.

[5] See Chapter Five, Section III below. As apparent from the biographical account cited below, Xuanzang does not seem to doubt that Paramārtha's text was basically the same YoBh. This is also the view shared by all later catalogues, (see note 4 above; most clearly implied so at T55.608a1-5 and T55.941b1-6), though the translation had already been lost by the time of their compilation.

[6] When exactly the **Śaptadaśabhūmiśāstra* translation was lost is not clear, but after its title appears in the *Li dai san bao ji* 歷代三寶記 (T49.99a4), compiled in 597, the next catalogue to record it is the *Da tang neidian lu* in 664, though a few other important and reliable catalogues were composed in between these dates.

Some sporadic references are made to this translation in Chinese sources. Jizang 吉藏 (549-623) speaks of the 52 stages 五十二位 citing the **Śaptadaśabhūmiśāstra* (see Ui 1965,

vol. 6, p.55; Ui 1958, 37). The titles of all the seventeen *bhūmis* of the **Śaptadaśabhūmiśāstra* are mentioned in the *Dacheng si lun xuan yi* 大乘四論玄義, a treatise written by Junzheng 均正 sometime between the end of the Sui Dynasty and the beginning of the Tang Dynasty (see Chapter Five, Section Ⅲ), but it is not clear whether Junzheng relied on Paramārtha's translation itself or on secondary information. On the other hand, the fact that Xuanzang could not obtain the **Śaptadaśabhūmiśastra* shows that already at the beginning of the Tang Dynasty, the text was no longer available, at least in the areas where the young Chinese master did his studies. (Had it been lost in the turmoil at the end of the Sui and beginning of the Tang periods?). The same seventeen *bhūmis* of the **Śaptadaśabhūmiśāstra* are also cited in the *Daijō hōmon shō* 大乘法門章 (see Ui 1965, vol. 6, p. 55; Ui 1958, 37), a catechism compiled by the Japanese monk Gangyō 願曉 (fl. 864) on the basis of various sources. It is quite unlikely that Gangyō could check the original himself. According to Ui (1958, 37), Gangyō probably relied upon Junzheng's *Dacheng si lun xuan yi*.

Actually, it is not only Xuanzang's biography which records the loss of the text. Ji also says that 'although the name of **Śaptadaśabhūmiśāstra* has been heard of, it is not known what [its] seventeen [*bhūmis*] are' 雖聞十七地論之名，不知十七者何也。(T43.1c3-4) (see also Ui 1965, vol. 6, p. 55) (the sentence is also cited by To-ryun, T42.311b25-26). This also proves that neither Ji nor To-ryun had knowledge of Junzheng's work (or if they did, then they must have regarded it as an unreliable source). The first catalogue to register the loss of the **Śaptadaśa-bhūmiśāstra* is the *Kaiyuan lu* (T55.731b1-3), compiled in 730. A similar record is also seen in the *Zhenyuan lu* (T55.972a5-8), written in 800. Neither gives, however, information about when this happened.

[7] The complex process of formation of the *Cien zhuan* is brilliantly examined in Yoshimura 1995.

[8] The reasons and historical background behind Xuanzang's decision to undertake the journey to India are analysed in Yoshimura 2003a (see also Yoshimura 2003b, 212-215). The Japanese scholar convincingly shows that Xuanzang's doctrinal doubts and the resulting decision to find an answer in the homeland of Buddhism were determined by the conflicting views concerning the interpretation of the Vijñaptimātratā philosophy in his time and the prevailing tendency to interpret it in a Tathāgatagarbha vein. Cf. also Kuwayama 1988, 1-7.

[9] Another possibility to construe 以釋衆疑 is: 'in order to elucidate the doubts of the multitude [of teachers /followers]'. I think, however, that the latter meaning is less likely.

[10] Chongning, Zifu, Puning and Jingshan read: 義.

[11] Chonning reads: 徒. Zifu, Puning, Jingshan, and the Japanese manuscript (copied in 1210) collated in the Taishō edition (see vol. 50, p. 220, n. 1) read: 途.

[12] The date 631 is obtained if we calculate Xuanzang's departure from China in year 3 of the Zhenguan era 貞觀 (629), which is recorded the *Cien zhuan* and several other historical documents. The *Old Tang History* 舊唐書 and other sources suggest, however, year 1 of the Zhenguan era (see Kamata 1999, 262). From the account given in the *Cien zhuan* (T50.237a18), we know that the Chinese master had spent three years on his way to India before arriving at Nālandā. On the date of the beginning of Xuanzang's journey, see also Kuwayama (Kuwayama and Hakamaya) 1981, 58ff.

For a discussion on how Xuanzang learned about the Nālandā Monastery, see Kuwayma 1988. On the Nālandā Monastery, see Dutt 1962, 328-348; Kuwayama 1988, 7-11.

[13] See Kamata 1999, 222; Hirakawa 1974-1979, vol. 2, p. 243. Śīlabhadra, who was Dharmapāla's disciple, seems to have enjoyed an exceptional longevity. He is said to have lived between 529-645 (see Hirakawa 1974-1979, vol. 2, 229 and 243; Saigusa 1987, s.v.).

[14] It is not clear from the *Cien zhuan* whether all these three occasions were lectures actually

delivered by Śīlabhadra himself. The lectures were clearly commenced by the old Dharmācārya at Xuanzang's request and were attended by several thousands people (T50.238c18-19). Few details are, however, given concerning the content and manner of the lectures themselves. The *Cien zhuan* devotes more space to an episode regarding a brahman who had received a prophecy from Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva that he would hear Śīlabhadra preaching the *Yogācārabhūmi* to a Chinese monk. Śīlabhadra allows the Brahman, who had become exhilarated at seeing the truth of the prophecy, to attend the lectures, which were concluded in fifteen months (T50.238c27). Nothing more is said about whether Śīlabhadra himself gave the lectures all throughout this period or whether these lectures concentrated upon the *Yogācārabhūmi* only. The next relevant information noted by the *Cien zhuan* is that Xuanzang listened to expositions on the *Yogācārabhūmi* three times during his stay at the Nālandā Monastery (法師在寺聽瑜伽三遍; T50.528c28-29).

[15] On Prasenajit and the influence he may have had on Xuanzang, see Lusthaus 2002, 408-414.

[16] This means that Prasenajit himself must have been already an old man at the time when he met Xuanzang. Sthiramati, the famous Vijñānavādin philosopher, apparently lived between 510-570 (dates first proposed by Frauwallner 1961, 136-137, and also supported by Hirakawa 1974-1979, vol. 2, 228-232).

[17] A detailed list with the number of scriptures and artefacts brought by Xuanzang from India and Central Asia is found at T50.252b-c. See also Xuanzang's report to Emperor Taizong: 玄奘從西域所得梵本六百餘部。(T50.253c2).

[18] On the relations between Emperor Taizong and Xuanzang, see Weinstein 1987, 24-27.

[19] Literally, 筆受 means 'to receive with the pen' the orally communicated text of a translation. This part of the rendering process often seems to have involved more than 'writing down the dictation', and may have involved the editing of the text into its final form. The scribal work proper was done by the next category of the staff, i.e., 書手 or the 'copyists'.

[20] The *Cien zhuan* mentions the names and temples of residence of all the 23 main assistants. In Xu Jingzong's 'Afterword' 後序 appended to Scroll I of the YoBh, only 21 scholar-monks assisting his work are mentioned (T30.283c3).

Traditionally, although similar in style to a 'preface' 序, the 'afterword' 後序 was placed at the end of the first scroll of a work, being thus closer to a 'colophon' 跋 or a 'postscript' 書後 (for the notion of 後序, see DKWJ, s.v.). On Xu Jingzong, see note 22 below.

For the way in which the translation team supporting Xuanzang functioned, see Hakamaya (Kuwayama and Hakamaya), 1981, 295-300.

[21] Daoxuan's notation merely reads: 唐貞觀二十年玄奘於大慈恩寺譯 (T55.320b27). It is almost sure that 'translate' 譯 refers here to the beginning of the translation process. The problem with this record in Daoxuan's Catalogue is that in a similar notation (T294b24), only the Zifu, Puning, and Jingshan Canons read 'year 20' 二十年, and all other editions (including the main text of Taishō) have 'year 21' 二十一年. I think, however, that the former reading, which agrees with a similar occurrence at T55.320b27 (where there is no *var. lec.*), is more likely to be correct and reflect Daoxuan's intention.

[22] Xu Jingzong was an important political figure at the beginning of the Tang Dynasty. His biography is found in scroll 223 of the *Tang History* 唐書 and in scroll 82 of the *Old Tang History* 舊唐書. At the time when he wrote the 'Afterword', Xu was minister in charge of the Imperial Archives and Decrees 中書令臣. On the traditional notion of 'afterword', see note 20 above.

[23] Zifu and Puning (T55.556, note 4) read here: 二十一年 'year 21', which must, however, be an error.

[24] The *Cien zhuan* does not directly mention the year, but from its narration, it is clear that it must be year 22 of the Zhenguan Era. The conversation is also cited in the *Kaiyuan lu* (completed in 730) (T55.559b27-29), the *Zhuanyuan lu* (authored in 800) (T55.859b28-29) and the *Fo zu tong ji* 佛祖統紀 (compiled between 1258-1269) (T49.366b6-7). In all these documents, the date is given as year 22 of the Zhenguan Era.

[25] The information at Kamata 1999, 288, is based on the *Cien zhuan*. The data at Kamata 1999, 300, relies on the *Kaiyuan lu,* which in its turn refers to the *Da tang nei dian lu*.

[26] I must confess that my knowledge in this field is very limited and time has not allowed me to embark upon a serious survey of the pertinent data.

[27] I have to admit that my own struggle with the translation of just one scroll of the YoBh may have made me more prone to secretly hope that even a genius like Xuanzang and his large team of specialists were, after all, not superhumanly fast. I note this not because my own experience is important in any way but because I am persuaded that quite often supposedly 'objective' judgements are threatened by one's personal history.

[28] Xuanzang also made a translation or rather re-issued his translation of *juan* 61 of the YoBh under the title of *Wangfa zheng li lun* 王法正理論 'Treatise upon the Correct Principles of the Kingly Law [/Rule]' (T No. 1615; ZC No. 624). In the YoBh, this is part of the *Viniścayasaṃgrahaṇī* on the *Savitarkādibhūmi* (in Xuanzang's translation, this is 攝決擇分中有尋有伺等三地之四; T30.628a-644b). The text expounds the political principles of governing in accordance with Buddhist, mainly Yogācāra, ethical ideals. According to the *Da Zhou ganding zhongjing mulu* 大周刊定衆經目錄 (T55.407a1), the treatise was translated in year 21 of the Zhenguan 貞觀 Era, i.e., 647 C.E. The *Kaiyuan lu* 開元錄 (T55.556b15-16), on the other hand, records the translation date as the 18th day of the 7th month of year 23 of the same Era, i.e., 649 C.E.

If the first date is correct, then the treatise may represent Xuanzang's answer to Emperor Taizong 太宗. The Chinese master, who had been repeatedly asked by the Son of Heaven to disrobe in order to become his minister, may have felt that such a brief text on political issues would be his best (and only) way as a Buddhist monk to contribute to the state affairs. The treatise was also particularly appropriate for proving that the YoBh was a thesaurus of wisdom, soteriological and pragmatical alike, and its translation, officially supported by the Emperor, was indeed worth all efforts and financial burden (and even sneaking out of the country illegally to fetch the original from India..., though, presumably, by that time the Son of Heaven was no longer upset with Xuanzang's crime!).

If the date given by the *Kaiyuan lu* is the correct one, then the treatise may be regarded as a guide into political principles meant for the new ruler of the Middle Kingdom. Emperor Taizong died on the 27th day of the 5th month of year 23 of the Zhenguan Era (therefore shortly before the translation of the *Wangfa zheng li lun*) and was succeeded by his son, whose reigning name was Gaozong 高宗. Furthermore, the translation may have been also conceived of as an act of *pūjā* for the departed Emperor.

According to Yūki (1985, 256), the content of this text roughly corresponds with the *Fo wei Youtian wang shuo wangfa zheng lun jing* 佛爲優填王說王法政論經 (T No. 524; ZC No. 1488), in one scroll 一巻, translated by Amoghavajra 不空 (705-774). See the *Zhenyuan lu* Catalogue (T55.1035c19-20; etc.). On this translation, see also Ono ed. 1964, vol. 9, p. 256.

[29] Saeki (Introduction to KDK, vol. 6, p. 10-11), Katō (Introduction to KIK, vol. 1, p. 11), and Yūki 1985, 250-252, conveniently put together the data in the form of tables containing all the names and duties of the staff who assisted the YoBh translation.

[30] Other sources give the temple's name as Yanjue-si 演覺寺 (T50.253c24; T55.559c2; etc.).

[31] Not much is known about Xuanzhong. Some of the relevant data has been collected by

Mayer (1992, 128).

[32] This is, as far as I can say, the approximate duration of the gigantic enterprise of rendering Indic originals into Chinese. The first known translator is the Parthian monk An Shigao 安世高, who reached the Chinese capital in 148 C.E. The last translator on Chinese soil known to me is Paṇḍita Sahajaśrī 班的達撒哈自失里, an Indian master, who rendered two works amounting to four scrolls sometime between 1364 and 1381 (see Hasebe 1993, 49-51; Deleanu 1998, 12-13). The translation of the Buddhist corpus of sacred scriptures, commentaries, and treatises is probably the longest intellectual effort of its kind in the history of mankind.

[33] The sentence is repeated verbatim in the *Zhenyuan lu* (T55.859b12-13).

[34] In discussing the debates which arose concerning the interpretation of the *Nyāyapraveśa*, Lusthaus concludes that Xuanzang 'apparently exercised *no censorial control over his disciples' literary output*' (2002, 284; author's italicisation). I am not sure whether we can go as far with our judgement, especially in the case of the *Yogācārabhūmi*, but the pressure of time must have been considerable, and this understandably led to incomplete control over details.

[35] An excellent discussion of the characteristics and terminology of Xuanzang's translations into Chinese is found in Hakamaya (Kuwayama and Hakamaya) 1981, 300-309. Hakamaya (ibid., p. 302) also argues that although Xuanzang is very faithful to the original, he is not mechanical in his translations and that one also finds occasional editorial adaptations in order to make his style intelligible to the Chinese readers.

[36] I limit my list only to the major Tang catalogues. Of course, such works continued to be compiled in later ages in China as well as in Japan, and they usually contain entries concerning the YoBh. However, these catalogues offer no new or additional information regarding our text, and most probably repeat the data of the former works.

Unfortunately, lack of time and space prevents from me giving more historical details on each of the the major catalogues. The Chinese tradition of scriptural catalogues 經錄 is brilliantly surveyed and examined in Kawaguchi Gishō's monograph (2000).

[37] The number could actually be larger as quite a few of the commentaries have unknown authors.

[38] More on this commentary and its author will be said in Chapter Six below.

[39] The Shōsō-in manuscript was collated by the Taishō Canon editors, its readings being marked by the siglum 聖.

[40] Faxiang is the Chinese version of Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda school as established by Ji 基 (632-682), Xuanzang's foremost disciple. See more on this school in Chapter Six below.

[41] This does not mean, however, that it is free from scribal errors. More on this manuscript, mainly in connection with the ŚrBh, is found in the lines below as well as in my notes to my Critical Edition of the Chinese Translation.

[42] Unfortunately, time has not allowed me to deal with the manuscript tradition in detail, but in a forthcoming contribution, I intend to collate and describe all available early Japanese manuscripts (from Nara to Kamakura Periods) as well as the Dunhuang MS, Beijing No. 7198 (see below).

It must, however, be noted that Xuanzang's translations have generally survived in a good state (at least, less corrupt than many of the pre-Tang texts). As a working hypothesis, I do not expect to find any new readings that will dramatically modify the present ŚrBh text. Nonetheless, even if no essentially important new readings are discovered, codicological research has its intrinsic historical value.

[43] An almost complete manuscript of the Chapter on the Mundane Path (Scroll 33 巻三十三) of the ŚrBh is Beijing No. 7198 (*Gang* 岡 55). A facsimile reproduction is found in Huang Yongwu 黃永武, editor-in-chief, *Dunhuang fazang* 敦煌寶藏, Taipei: Xinwenfeng chuban

gonsi, 1986, vol. 104, pp. 473a-478b).

[44] On Wu Facheng, see also Chapters Three and Six.

[45] Quite interesting is the fact that there are many copies of the YoBh text up to scroll 59, but only eight manuscripts with *juans* after this scroll (Ueyama 1990, 229). This may hint at the possibility that most of these manuscripts were used by Facheng for his lectures or by disciples who had attended them.

[46] I use the term 'Chinese Canon' in the sense of the officially recognised collection of holy Buddhist texts translated into or written in Classical Chinese. This does not exclude the fact that quite a few of its editions have been compiled and issued in Korea and Japan as well as the presence in some of its versions of works authored by Korean and Japanese Buddhists.

[47] Fang 1991 is a very detalied and useful study of a less known page in the early history of the Chinese Canon, i.e., the period from the 8th to the 10th centuries.

[48] Sueki's excellent contributions contain many important data concerning the Chinese, Korean, and Japanese editions of the Canon, but the section entitled 'Survey' is the most relevant to its history. See Sueki 1998, 92-95; 1999, 21; 2000, 16; and 2001, 16.

[49] A list of the main editions of the Chinese Canon is also found in Grönbold 1984, 23-26.

[50] Needless to say that the exact dates of many Canons are far from clear and often subject to scholarly debate. The notes below are meant to provide the mimimum historical information, and quite a few relevant data had to be omitted.

It will suffice to note here that many Canon editions were often supplemented with new texts some years or decades after their official publication. I have touched the subject only occasionally, but a more detailed account of the Canon history should certainly include these sequels, too. Furthermore, one should note that quite frequently more than one impression was produced from the same woodblocks, and sometimes these new impressions were accompanied by slight modifications especially due to the re-carving of the woodblocks which had become worn out. These factors may have contributed to some variant readings within the same edition.

[51] The exact dating raises some difficult problems. See Li and He 2003, 73-82; Zacchetti 2005, 96-99.

[52] For the extant fragments, see Li and He 2003, 70-73; Li 2002, 64-69.

[53] See Zacchetti 2005, 98. For this Canon in general, see Daizō-kai ed. 1964, 29-36; Li 2002, 58-69; Li and He 2003, 69-91; Zacchetti 2005, 96-99.

[54] The beginning date of the woodblock carving is well documented (Daizō-kai ed. 1964, 36-37; Li and He 2003, 119). For its completion, see Li and He 2003, 119-120.

[55] Until lately, it was believed that only a small fragment of this Canon had survived. A series of recent discoveries in South Korea has revealed that apart from this fragment preserved at Nanzen-ji 南禪寺 in Japan, another 147 scrolls belonging to 91 works of the *First Edition of the Korean Canon* are extant in their homeland (Fujimoto 1996, 257-265). Nine scrolls from the YoBh are found amongst these surviving fragments (see Fujimoto 1996, 259-260), but not our *juan* 33. Fujimoto (1996) also discusses a few aspects relevant to the history and lineage of this Canon. More on this will be said in note 75 below.

[56] For this Canon in general, see Daizō-kai ed. 1964,36-38; Li and He 2003, 118-122.

[57] These dates are based Daizō-kai ed. 1964, 39. According to Li and He 2003, 138-140, the printing of the Liao Canon began under Emperor Shenzong 聖宗 (r. 982-1031) and ended in 1068. See also Zacchetti 2005, 103.

[58] Part of the texts found in 1974 at the Yingxian Wooden Pagoda 應縣木塔 in 1974 are believed to be fragments from the Liao Canon. A reproduction of these texts was published in 1991 under the title of *Yingxian muta Liaodai mizang* 應縣木塔遼代秘藏 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe). According to Chikusa 1994, only 12 twelve scrolls of this corpus can be regarded as being original exemplars of the Liao Canon (see also Naka 1996, 196-197; Fujimoto 1996,

268-269; Zacchetti 2005, p. 102, n. 126). (The YoBh is not found amongst them.) On the extant fragments of the Liao Canon, see also Li and He 2003, 128-131.

A meticuluous collation of the readings of five of these scrolls with the corresponding lections in the Fangshan Canon, Jin Canon, and the Second Edition of the Korean Canon has been undertaken by Naka 1996 (see especially pp. 224-239). Naka's focus is a comparison of the Fangshan scriptures carved during the Liao and Jin Dynasties and the Liao Canon, which he considers to be the basis of the former. Naka also takes into consideration the Liao readings registerd in Sugi's *Koryŏguk sinjo taejang kyojŏng pyŏllok* (see note 75 below). The Japanese scholar shows that the correspondence pattern varies with each text, scroll 36 of the *Zhong ahan jing* 中阿含經 in the *Yingxian muta* corpus being the closest to the Fangshan Canon. Other texts, however, display some discrepancies between the two editions. Naka concludes that although the *Yingxian muta* corpus belongs to the same lineage as the Fangshan Canon, it does not seem to represent fragments from the original Liao Canon itself but rather a version based on it (see especially pp. 217-219). As we shall see below, however, the problem of the Fangshan Canon is more complicated, and the solution proposed by Zacchetti is more plausible.

[59] See Zacchetti 2005, p. 103, n. 129. For this Canon in general, see Chikusa 2000a, 292-335; Li 2002, 88-103; Li and He 2003, 127-160; Zacchetti 2005, 102-104.

[60] As suggested by its name, this is a *Tripiṭaka* carved on stone slabs stored which are kept in the Yunju Temple 雲居寺 (also known as Xiyu-si 西域寺) located in Fangshan 房山 County, Hebei 河北 Province (about 70 kilometres south-west of Beijing). This impressive project was started by Jingwan 靜琬 (d. 639) who feared that future political persecutions of Buddhism as well as the prophesised decline of the Dharma might endanger the oral and written transmission of the holy scriptures. The carving continued for more than one thousand years, punctuated by periods of stagnation and activity. Financially, the project was supported by lay donations and occasionally by the Imperial House (as for instance, during the Liao Dynasty). The monograph-long study of Tsukamoto (1975, 291-610) is a 'classic' of this field, treating the history of the Fangshan Canon from Jingwan to the Qing Dynasty. More recently, various historical facets of the Fangshan Canon during the Tang Dynasty have been meticulously analysed by Kegasawa (1996). For the historical background of the Fangshan carving project during the Liao Dynasty, see Tanii 1996, 170-179.

There is no doubt that the *Yogācārabhūmi* was carved during the Liao Dynasty, but as far I know, there are no historical records with the precise date of its carving. The *Yogācārabhūmi* entry in the *Catalogue of Liao-Jin Carvings of the Fangshan Canon* (pp. 459-460) does not register any date. Actually, of all the Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda scriptures carved during this period (see ibid., 460-461), the only one which is dated is the *Wangfa zheng li lun*: year 1 of the Shouchang Era 壽昌, i.e., 1095 (ibid., p. 460; on the *Wangfa zheng li lun*, see note 28 above). It is quite possible that the *Yogācārabhūmi* may have also been carved around this date. The *Yogācārabhūmi* obviously involved a considerable number of calligraphers and stone-carvers. Their names have survived and appear listed in the *Fangshan shijing tiji huibian* (pp. 482-491; for *juan* 33, see p. 485). See also notes 1 and 20 to my Chinese edition of the text.

[61] For this Canon in general, see Zacchetti 2005, 104-109. On the Tang manuscript Canon which may have been used for the carving or collation of (at least, some texts), see below.

[62] For the dates, see Li and He 2003, 179-192. The main part of the Canon was printed between 1080 and 1103, but supplementary texts continued to be added until 1112 (see also Zacchetti 2005, 110).

[63] For this Canon in general, see Daizō-kai ed. 1964, 43-47; Li 2002, 70-73; Li and He 2003, 161-197; Zacchetti 2005,110-112.

[64] The completion of the main part took place in 1151, but the edition continued to be

supplemented with new texts until 1176. See Li and He 2003, 197-202; Zacchetti 2005, 110-111.

[65] Actually, all extant Chongning exemplars, including the copy preserved at the Library of the Imperial Household (abbreviated in Taishō as 宮), appear to be mixed editons which put together both texts from (5) and (6) (see Chikusa 2000a, 240; Li and He 2003, 192-197; Zacchetti 2005, 111. Some texts from Pilu were re-carved and reprinted between 1314 and 1320 (see Li and He 2003, 354-356). However, I shall not take this reprinting as a new edition of this Canon. For the Pilu Canon in general, see Daizō-kai ed. 1964, 47-50; Li 2002, 74-77; Li and He 2003, 197-222.

[66] For these dates, see Daizō-kai ed. 1964, 50-51; Zacchetti 2005, 113. Cf. also Li and He 2003, 227-231; 249-251.

[67] These represent the dates of the Chunyou 淳祐 Era when the new sponsor of the Yuanjue chanyuan Monastery is said to have undertaken the printing of the Canon (see Daizō-kai ed. 1964, 52; Li 2002, 80; Zacchetti 113). (Daizō-kai ed. mentions the same era but gives 1240-1252 as its dates; this must be a (typographical?) error since the beginning of the era is 1241－see Fujishima and Nogami 1955, 96). I could not find the exact dates when the carving and printing were actually carried out. The colophon to the *Xian yu jing* 賢愚經 printing (cited in Li 2002, 80-81) mentions year 8 of the Chunyou Era, i.e. 1248.

[68] Whether (7) and (8) reperesent two distinct editions or only two printings of the same Canon is a hotly disputed and no definitive conclusion has emerged yet (see Li and He 2003, 234-241; Zacchetti 2005, 113-114, especially note 192). In historical terms, it is true that (8) represents a continuation of (7), but when the printing activities were resumed during the Chunyou Era, it was found that many woodblocks were worn-out and had to be re-carved (see Zacchetti 2005, 113; cf. also the colophon to the *Xian yu jing* 賢愚經 printing quoted in Li 2002, 80-81). Zacchetti treats (7) and (8) as basically one Canon, but he is aware of the problem and rightly remarks that the restoration of the blocks may have invoved editorial changes based upon new different witnesses (2005, p. 114, n. 192). Furthermore, as argued by Chikusa (2000a, 341), we still have no thorough survey of all the copies of (7) and (8) which survive in Japan. Without knowing what such a survey might reveal, I should think that taking (7) and (8) as two editions is still an acceptable choice.

[69] For Canons (7) and (8) in general, see Daizō-kai ed. 1964, 50-54; Li 2002, 78-82; Li and He 2003, 223-251; Zacchetti 2005, 112-115. For the transmission of this and other Song editions of the Canon in Japan, see Daizō-kai ed. 1964, 57-61.

[70] The printing of the Canon took about 30 years and was carried out sometime between these dates (Li and He 2003, 95). It appears that the much of the carving and printing work concentrated mainly in a period between 1151 and 1158 (Li and He 2003, 97).

[71] See Zacchetti 2005, 99-100; 124. More about the lineage of the Jin Canon will be said below. For this Canon in general, see also Li 2002, 104-118; Li and He 2003, 91-118; Chikusa 2000a, 342-344; and Chikusa 2000b, 48-50.

Here mention should be made of the so-called *Hongfa Canon* 弘法藏. It is still not entirely clear whether this is a separate edition or simply a continuation of the *Jin Canon*. The situation is examined in Li and He 2003, 103-110, Chikusa 2000a, 344-346, and Chikusa 2000b, 51-53. The title *Hongfa Canon* appears in various records, but no text which can be actually identified as belonging to such an edition has been discovered so far. This makes it difficult to draw a definitve conclusion. The view of Li and He as well as of Chikusa is that the title *Hongfa Canon* seems to refer to a continuation, with additions and revisions, of the *Jin Canon*. Chikusa (2000a, 246) says: 'In short, the edition of the *Jin Canon* which was printed during the Jin Dynasty as a private undertaking was stored at the Hongfa Monsatery 弘法寺 in Yanjing 燕京 and survived into the Yuan 元 Period. Under the rule of Khubilai (Shizu 世祖 in Chinese) (1259-1249),

large-scale restoration [of the blocks] and editing were carried out, and the [formerly] private edition 私版 became an official edition 官版 under the title of *Hongfa Canon* 弘法藏'.The exact dates of this 'stage' in the printing of the *Jin Canon* are difficult to determine since the printing, (re-)carving, and additions to the Canon continued over a long period of time. The earliest known date is 1256 and latest one is 1331 (see Li and He 2003, p. 104 and p. 107 respectively).

[72] See Li and He 2003, 261-270; Zacchetti 2005, 115. The long time-span of the printing activities was due to the fact that printing depended on private donations and had to proceed at a slow pace (see Li and He 2003, 268-270).

[73] This is the conclusion reached by Li and He 2003, 277-282 (see especially 279). As rightly pointed out by Zacchetti (2005, 115, n. 210), 'their conclusions are, however, based on the analysis of catalogues and of the phonetic glosses attached to the scriptures, not on any detailed textual analysis'. It is indeed very difficult to decide in the absence of such data whether the dependence on Puning was complete or whether it was a partial collation. Provisionally, I shall adopt here the latter alternative. For this Canon in general, see Daizō-kai ed. 1964, 63-66; Li 2002, 119-134; Li and He 2003, 252-315. Zacchetti 2005, 115.

[74] For these dates, see Daizō-kai ed. 1964, 38; Li and He 2003, 123; Zacchetti 2005, 101. The woodblock containing Scroll 33 of the YoBh, i.e., the Chapter on the Mundane Path, was carved in 1245. See note 378 to my edition of the Chinese translation.

[75] The scholarly efforts of Sugi and his team resulted in one of the best traditional editions of the Canon. In many way, it can be qualified as a 'critical edition' in the modern sense of the word. It is little wonder that the redactors of the Taishō Canon choose it as the basis of their edition (see below). Sugi's collation of variant readings and emendations are put together in a catalogue called the *Koryŏguk sinjo taejang kyojŏng pyŏllok* 高麗國新雕大藏校正別錄. This is discussed in Fujimoto 1996, 242-256 (mainly concentrating on the readings of the Liao Canon, but also giving more general information and drawing the attention to some divergences between the Catalogue itself and the emendation lists found at the end of each scroll). Cf. also Zacchetti 2005, 101, n. 121

Based on a careful philological examination, Fujimoto 1996 brings important clarifications on the stemmatic relations of the Korean Canon. His collation of the readings of the recently discovered scrolls of the First Edition of the Korean Canon (see note 55 above) with the corresponding lections in the Second Edition of the Korean Canon, the Liao Canon (*Yingxian muta* corpus; see note 58 above), and the Fangshan Canon leads him to the following conclusions (see Fujimoto 1996, mainly 275-280). In most cases, the readings of the last three Canons agree against the First Edition of the Korean Canon. The reason is that the latter probably relied only on the Kaibao Canon. On the other hand, the Second Edition of the Korean Canon followed the First Edition of the Korean Canon but also collated it with the readings of the Liao Canon and old (manuscript) texts transmitted in Korea (高麗傳來の古經, see p. 279). In the occurrences examined by Fujimoto, it would thus seem that quite often Sugi adopted the readings of the Liao lineage (therefore also agreeing with the Fangshan Canon). Furthemore, Fujimoto argues, the hypothesis that the First Edition of the Korean Canon, too, may have sometimes adopted Liao readings is not supported by philological data.

For the Second Edition of the Korean Canon in general, see Daizō-kai ed. 1964, 38-39; Li and He 2003, 122-126; Zacchetti 2005, 101-102.

[76] For the dates, see Daizō-kai ed. 1964, 61-62; Li and he 2003, 319.

[77] For this Canon in general, see Daizō-kai ed. 1964, 61-63; Li 2002, 135-140; Li and He 2003, 316-354; Zacchetti 2005, 116.

[78] See Li and He 2003, 334-346. On extant copies of this Canon in Japan, see Daizō-kai ed. 1964, 63.

[79] Year 3 of the Yanyou 延祐 Era (1316) is the date when Emperor Renzong 仁宗 issued 30 sets of the Canon (see Chikusa 2000b, 52). See also note 80 below.
[80] Fragments of this Canon were discovered in 1984 at the Zhihua Monastery 智化寺 in Beijing. Its format (14 characters per column) is identical with the *Jin Canon* and may belong to the latter's lineage. As it seems to have been sponsored by the Yuan Imperial Court, it may have been based or related to the so-called *Hongfa Canon*, which is itself a continuation of the *Jin Canon* (see note 71 above). However, the way in which it applies the traditional numeration according to the *Qian zi wen* 千字文 is different from both the *Jin Canon* and the *Zhiyuan Catalogue* 至元録 (see Chikusa 2000b, 52-53). Future research will have to establish whether we have to deal with a separate edition or a continuation of the *Jin Canon*.
[81] For these dates, see Li and He 2003, 364.
[82] For this Canon in general, see Li and He 2003, 356-374; Chikusa 2000a, 346-350; Chikusa 2000b, 53-54. The *Yuan Governmental Canon* appears to represent a sub-group within Group III in Chikusa's classification (see Chikusa 1993, 10-17; cf. also Chikusa 2000a, 350, Chikusa 2000b, 54). More about this will be said below.
[83] For these dates, see Li 2002, 153.
[84] This Canon also contains texts belonging to various Chinese Buddhist schools, amounting to 87 cases 函, which had been first included into the Qisha Canon (Li and He 2003, 388). For this Canon in general, see Li 2002, 153-154; Li and He 2003, 375-406.

Li and He (2003, 375) argue that the *Hongwu Southern Canon* is not the correct name and refer to it as the *First Printing of the Southern Canon* or the *Southern Canon of the Jianwen Era*. In view of the fact that the *Hongwu Southern Canon* is a name frequently used and the recent facsimile reproduction (see (41) below) also bears this title, I shall, however, refer to this edition as 'Hongwu'.
[85] For these dates, see Li and He 2003, 406-408.
[86] For this Canon in general, see Daizō-kai ed. 1964, 68-72; Li 2002, 155-159; Li and He 2003, 406-434.
[87] As convincingly proved by Li Jining (2002, 164-169), Dong Wei's assumption (see Dong 1997, 15) that the 17 traditional volumes discovered in 1982 belong to the Wulin edition appears to have been groundless. The volumes belong in all likelihood to the Qisha Canon. Li and He 2003, 302-304, also agree with Li Jining's opinion. The earliest reference to the Wulin Canon dates back to 1586, and at that time the edition had already been lost (see Li and He 2003, 302-303).
[88] For these dates, see Li and He 2003, 434-443.
[89] On this Canon in general, see Daizō-kai ed. 1964, 72-74; Li 2002, 160-163; Li and He 2003, 434-464.
[90] The only information which I have concerning this Canon comes from Dong 1997, 15-16 and Luo 2001, 100 (the latter probably relying upon Dong 1997). Looking at Dong's description of this Canon, it looks like an independent Canon, different from the Jingshan edition. The latter is treated by Dong separately (1997, 16-17), and the data given about it is dissimilar from the *Wanli Era Canon*. However, the printing of the Jingshan edition (see (20) below) also commenced in the same year, i.e., 1589, and one of the titles by which the latter is known is the *Wanli Era Edition* 萬曆版 (see Daizō-kai ed. 1964, 82). All this makes me rather suspicious as to whether the so-called *Wanli Era Canon* is not the same as the Jingshan edition (or at least part of this long editorial project?). I must, however, admit that I have no positive evidence to back my suspicion, and following Dong's and Luo's information, I list this as an independent and separate edition.
[91] For these dates, see Li and He 2003, 465-497 (especially, p. 465 and p. 484). The printing of

this Canon was a private enterprise, and difficulties with funds and running the cost of the project made it take such a long time to reach completion. Daizō-kai ed. (1964, 82), Dong (1997, 16), Luo (2001, 100) place the completion of this edition in 1676. Li and He (2003, 494) argue, however, that one can speak of the actual completion of the Canon only around 1711. I adopt the dates advocated by Li and He.

92 According to the *Jian jing hui yue* 檢經會約 (quoted in Li and He 2003, 467; see also 479), the basis of this Canon was the so-called Northern edition (which is the Northern Yongle or (18) above), and this was collated with the Southern edition (i.e., the Southern Yongle or (16)) as well as the Song 宋 and Yuan 元 editions (see also Daizō-kai ed. 1964, 82). I assume that it is correct to equate the Song edition with the Zifu Canon (8), and the Yuan edition with the Puning Canon (12). For the Jingshan Canon in general, see Daizō-kai ed. 1964, 78-82; Li 2002, 170-175; Li and He 2003, 465-508.

93 The beginning of printing in Japan is, however, much earlier. Individual printings of Buddhist scriptures date from the beginning of the 14th century (see Daizō-kai ed. 1964, 93).

94 For the Japanese editions of the Canon, including their dates, I rely on Daizō-kai ed. 1964, 93-102.

95 For these dates, see Li and He 2003, 513. The character 龍 in 龍藏 literally means 'Dragon' but in contexts like ours, it refers to things belonging or issued by the Emperor.

96 For the Qing Canon in general, see Daizō-kai ed. 1964, 83-84; Li 2002, 176-179; Li and He 2003, 509-535.

In this context, mention must be made of the possibility that two other traditional Canons may have existed:

(1) Démieville (1924, 212-218) examines in detail the possibility of an Annamese Canon which may have been printed at the beginning of the 14th century under the Tràn 陳. As argued by the eminent French scholar, this, however, is not beyond doubt. The lack of historical certainty as well as the fact that no copy of this Canon is extant makes me hesitant about the advisability of including it in the list above. (I must, nevertheless, admit that my knowledge of Vietnamese history is less than elementary and that the only source of information concerning this Canon is Démieville 1924. New findings during the past eight decades may have changed the picture, but I am aware of no relevant data.)

(2) Another 'mysterious' series of scriptures which are sometimes considered to be another Canon is the so-called *Tianlongshan zangjing* 天龍山藏經 printed in the 14th century. As convincingly showed by Li (2002, 148-152), it is still unclear whether the extant fragments represent a complete Canon or only a collection of major scriptures. Li also discusses (ibid., p. 152) what are the basic conditions which decide whether a certain corpus of texts is a Canon or a mere scriptural collection. See also Li and He 2003, 1-11.

97 For the dates of the modern Canons, facsimile reproductions, and digital versions, apart from directly checking the bibliographical information, I have relied mainly upon the following sources: Daizō-kai ed. 1964; Furuta et al. eds. 1988; Kajiura 1992; Sueki 1998, 1999, 2000, and 2001.

98 The Taishō Canon also contains 15 extra volumes of iconography.

99 More about this Canon will be said below.

100 I could find no information about the editions upon which this Canon is based.

101 More about this Canon will be said below.

102 For this Canon, too, I have no data concerning the editions upon which it relies.

103 CD-ROMs of vols. 9, 25, and 30 of the *Taishō Canon* have also been released in Japan by the Daizō shuppansha 大蔵出版社, the same publishing house which has issued the printed version of the Taishō Canon.

[104] A presentation of the history and activities of the project is found in the official site of the project. The input of the entire canon was completed on 15 July 2005, and this was publicly announced in the official site news and also at the 56th annual conference of the Japanese Association for Indian and Buddhist Studies (*Nihon Indogaku Bukkyōgaku-kai* 日本印度学佛教学会) held on 28-29 June 2005. The main objective of the project has thus been achieved, but the research group will continue its activities by bringing further corrections to the texts, development of search applications, etc.

[105] This study actually represents the text of a public lecture given by Chikusa (then professor at Kyoto University) in December 1992 and issued as an independent booklet by Ōtani University in the next year. The study is reprinted in Chikusa 2000a, 271-291 (without, however, the materials originally appended to Chikusa 1993). Since this reprint contains no additions and/or revisions, my references below are to Chikusa 1993.

[106] I use the names given by Chikusa to these sub-groups and also provide, when necessary, the more commonly used titles (which are also adopted in my edition).

[107] A survey of the main traditional format styles of the Buddhist texts is found in Li 2002, 34-40.

[108] The *Qian zi wen* 千字文 or *The Writ in One Thousand Characters* by Zhou Xingsi 周興嗣 (ca. 470-521) was a text used for the elementary education of children in traditional China. As intimated by its title, this work, which is written in four-character verses, contains exactly one thousand characters, with no character being used more than once. It is was not only its manageable size but also its content that made it an ideal text for educational purposes. It deals with fundamental notions of ethics, history, etc. The way in which this text came to be used for the numeration of the scriptures of the Buddhist Canon has been brilliantly examined by Fang (1991, 274-355).

[109] Chikusa refers to this as a 'countryside edition' 田舎版 (p. 17) or a 'local edition' 地方版 (see handout materials 配布資料 appended to the main text of the lecture). An excellent discussion of the historical background of the Kaibao Canon is found in Zachetti 2005, 96-99.

[110] Of course, other important studies adopting a more or less similar approach exist. Suffice it to mention here the excellent contributions of Naka (1996) and Fujimoto (1996). However, the tendency of such studies is to treat only a few editions of the Chinese Canon rather than the entire spectrum of textual witnesses. Furthemore, they usually take into consideration all variant readings without distinguishing between correct and wrong lections. For a philologist, the latter are much more important in determining the genealogical relations between various lines of textual transmission. Needless to say that deciding on what lections are correct or incorrect requires a great deal of familiarity with the text, which in the case of a Buddhist translation means the ability to work with the Indian original. Zacchetti (2005) is fully aware and makes excellent use of this basic philological principle. Furthemore, his comparison of the Chinese text with the Sanskrit version(s) give him the advantage of making very competent decisions concerning the *variae lectiones*.

[111] The appellation 'Northern' and 'Southern' lineages is not entirely new. Li 2002, 54-55, mentions that already in 1949, the Chinese scholar Zhao Wanli 趙萬里 used the term 南北系 or the 'Southern and Northern lineages' in a presentation of the Jin Canon. However, as far as I can judge from Li's citation of Zhao's comments, these appear to be some general remarks. Zacchetti's incontestable merit lies in deducing the existence of these two main transmission lines from textual data.

It should be said that the terms 'Northern' and 'Southern' are not used with perfect geographical strictness. Zacchetti (2005, 127) correctly remarks that some exceptions, as for instance, the Northern Canon of Yongle Era which was carved in the North, do exist, but 'all the

earlier and textually important witnesses belonging to this family originated either in the Lower Yangzi basin or in Fujian'. In spite of this geographical imperfection, I shall, however, use this terms for the convenience's sake.

[112] See Chronological Chart above as well as note 75.

[113] Only few fragments of the Kaibao Canon survive today (see note 52 above). The same is true about the First Edition of the Korean Canon, which seems to have relied only on the *Kaibao zang* (see note 55 above). The number of witnesses is, however, too low to allow the reconstruction of the readings for the *entire* Kaibao Canon.

[114] See also Zacchetti 2005, p. 102, n. 126, and p. 103, n. 129.

[115] He Mei 何梅, 1996, 'Fangshan shijing yu *Sui han lu, Qidan zang, Kaiyuan lu* de guanxi zhi tantao' 房山石经与《随函录》·《契丹藏》·《开元录》的关系之探讨, *Foxue yanjiu* 佛学研究 5: 262-272. Unfortunately, I did not have access to Li He's article. Zacchetti's presentation is, however, very detailed, and one can easily follow its argumentation.

[116] The role and historical background of the Grand Princess Jinxian is brilliantly analysed by Kegasawa (1996, 64-76). See also Tsukamoto 1975, 449-452; Zacchetti 2005, p. 109, n. 155. In a lecture given at the International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies on 17 May 2006, Professor Kegasawa Yasunori similarly suggested the possibility that the manuscript Canon donated in 730 may have continued to be the basis of the Fangshan carvings even during the Liao Period.

[117] The information about these manuscripts is based on a colophon which is reproduced in the Taishō Canon (vol. 9, p. 365, n. 16) (see also Li and He 2003, 327-328) and mentions 'the manuscript[s?] stored at [or: in the collection of] the Xiazhu Monastery in Hangzhou' 杭州下竺寺藏寫本. Nothing is said, however, about its/their origin.

[118] We might speculate that these manuscripts may have represented a Tang collection which had quite a few readings in common with the *Kaibao zang* and/or the Northern Lineage. Or they may have been entirely based upon or collated with the Kaibao or the Northern Canon(s).

[119] In Yongle-bei, 三 is not clearly printed.

[120] See note 2 in my critical edition of the Chinese translation.

[121] See note 86 to Ch. ed.

[122] See note 126 to Ch. ed.

[123] See note 182 to Ch. ed.

[124] See note 220 to Ch. ed.

[125] See note 255 to Ch. ed.

[126] See note 304 to Ch. ed.

[127] See note 321 to Ch. ed.

[128] See note 380 to Ch. ed.

[129] My main source for this information is Daizō-kai 1964.

[130] In my edition, Tenna contains only one single reading which is different from all other witnesses (see occurrence (43)). This is probably a typographical mistake. This statement must, however, be taken with a grain of salt. I have entirely relied upon the Taishō annotations (which unfortunately sometimes contain omissions and errors), and without a direct examination of the Tenna version, it is impossible to draw safe conclusions.

[131] Two other occurrences might be of interest. In (1), Jin and Koryŏ (as well as Tenna) agree against the other witnesses, but the reading here, i.e., 三藏法師, could be nothing more than an editorial preference. I do not know how faithful traditional witnesses tend to be in such matters of editorial detail, but provisionally, I should think that a certain amount of freedom may have been allowed. In other words, it is not unconceivable that even when faithfully following the readings of the main text of an archetype, a certain edition, manuscript or printed, may have

adopted slightly different ways of writing the title(s) of the translator. Without more textual evidence for similar cases, I do not know how much weight this agreement carries.

The second occurrence is (34) in which Shōsō-in, Jin, Koryŏ, Puning, Qisha, Hongwu and Tenna read together against Fangshan, Chongning, Zifu, Yongle-bei, and Jingshan (no data available for Yongle-nan and Qing). Here, the reading 跏 adopted by the latter group of witnesses is preferable to the former's 加, which is, however, not wrong. Actually, 結加趺坐 is often used in similar contexts as an alternative spelling for 結跏趺坐 (e.g., T1.78c2, here only Jingshan reading 跏; T1.101c12, with no *var. lec.*; T1.603b15-16, only Jingshan reading 跏; etc.). It therefore becomes difficult to draw a conclusion in matters of such minor graphic divergences. Once again, a certain amount of technical freedom in such details could be imagined (until proved otherwise by relevant textual comparisons).

Of course, I do not rule out that even such minor details may have been followed faithfully, and if this is the case here, too, then the agreement between Jin and Koryŏ could be taken as reflecting readings peculiar to Kaibao. (Would we have to postulate that the correspondence with some Southern witnesses in the second occurrence imply an old Tang reading which survived in the latter, too? Or is it a mere coincidence? Or a contamination of some Southern Canons with the Kaibao lineage?). However, in view of all the doubts expressed above, these two occurrences cannot, I think, be taken as pieces of strong evidence.

Finally, it must be said that the number of columns per segment, characters per column, and the place where new paragraphs are opened are identical in Jin and Koryŏ. This means that all segments in both Canons start and end with the same characters all throughout *juan* 33. However, as easily seen from the table above, different readings between Jin and Koryŏ do exist. Therefore, it is difficult to conclude that their identical layout is a very important clue.

[132] In occurrence (38), Jin reads together with Shōsō-in, Chongning, and Zifu, but here we do not have a wrong reading. 頻 can also be used with the same sense as 顰, and although the latter is, I think, the preferable character here, 頻 may represent a graphic alternative which was decided upon technical grounds rather than upon a genealogical basis.

[133] See note 42 to Ch. ed.

[134] In occurrence (47), Qing also reads together with these Canons.

[135] We should also remember here that the relation between the later parts of Qisha and Puning is not clear. As stated in note 73 above, it may have been one of total dependence or only a collation. My option for the latter is only tentative, but I have not graphically marked this in the Diagram.

[136] The fact that the arrows are three in number does not mean that the Tang manuscripts were transmitted in three lineages. The result was indeed three main lines of xylographic Canons, but during the Tang Period more lineages may have existed.

[137] The list of Abbreviations at the end of each Taishō volume contains the names of quite a few collections. This does not mean that all of them are collated for each text. Usually, the first note at the beginning of each text indicates what particular collection(s) is/are used (if any at all) apart from the regular textual witnesses which I have enumerated above.

[138] I must confess with shame that I have not accomplished my own editorial task satisfactorily. Although I could have obtained copies of more traditional Canons, I have postponed this until the very last moment. I find now that this 'very last moment' is so hugely demanding that I cannot fulfil my complete duties towards the Chinese edition. As apparent from the variant readings listed above, there are some cases in which the ZT and T notes are confusing, and checking the original Canons would have added more accuracy. I sincerely apologise for this imperfection, and I do hope to remedy it in a future study.

CHAPTER FIVE

Historical Background

I The *Śrāvakabhūmi*: Text 'Geology'

Is the *Śrāvakabhūmi* the creation of a single author or group of authors who wrote a text more or less identical with our extant Sanskrit manuscript?[1] Or does it represent the crystalisation of a gradual formation process implying different textual strata and materials? My conjecture is admittedly based on the quicksand of circumstantial evidence, but I venture to advocate the latter view. I think that although one can discern an editorial attempt to confer the text a coherent character, the *Śrāvakabhūmi* contains differences in the treatment (or at least in the emphasis) of certain doctrines, formal irregularities, macro-stylistic dissimilarities, and non-systematic repetitions. A philologically-minded (or, critics might say, 'philologically-biased'...) reader cannot help feeling that some passages seem to be later accretions in a process of expanding one (or several) textual core(s).

Deciding whether the *Śrāvakabhūmi* is a model of textual coherence is definitely not easy. Such a judgement is not a simple fact which can be observed with rigorous objectivity and measured with mathematical precision. It largely depends on the historical paradigm and personal standards of the reader who makes the evaluation.[2] Though not error-proof, one way to reduce (but not to eliminate!) subjectivity is to place our comparisons in the context of traditional Buddhist literature. In my opinion, a comparison of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* with, say, Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* or Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga* seems to show that better achievements in matters of systematic textual structure do exist. Though not in a definitive manner, this, too, may suggest that the *Śrāvakabhūmi* is less likely to be the result of a well-planned and organised text but contains different layers and materials which the final editing effort could not arrange in a perfectly balanced whole.

When speaking of a multiple-strata formation, I do not have in mind a simple, linear growth of a textual nucleus or nuclei to which gradual accretions, mainly of an explanatory nature, were added. I surmise that especially in the case of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, the whole process must have been more complex. The proto-*Śrāvakabhūmi* text (or texts) was (/were) probably expanded not only in order to elucidate and detail its nucleus (/nuclei) but also in order to accommodate and collect related materials and pre-existing textual units available in the yogic circles where our work was formed. Therefore, some of its repetitions and (quasi-)overlapping textemes may also be explained through this encyclopaedic nature which, at some stage, the *Śrāvakabhūmi* must have assumed. It is not easy to distinguish between the explanatory accretions and the encyclopaedic growth. Actually, these two facets may have been closely inter-related. On the one hand, the necessity to elucidate a certain point may have led to incorporating relevant pre-existing materials. On the other hand, all pieces of information collected into the text may have served as explication and further reference for the nucleic topics, even if their inclusion may have not been directly determined by an explanatory need.

Let us see some of the repetitions and overlapping passages in the *Śrāvakabhūmi*. There are two chapters (3.4. and 3.22.) discussing the requisites (*saṁbhāra*) of spiritual practice.[3] And as if these were not enough, subsection 1.2.4.2. also deals with eight of the requisites treated in 3.4. The interest in the person (*pudgala*) typology, admittedly important for determining 'who is fit for what kind of yogic praxis', pops up at virtually every 'corner' of the text. Many of these sections, subsections, and smaller units appear to be later accretions or pre-existing materials gradually incorporated into a complex structure rather than parts of a unitary compositional plan. Conspicuous is chapter 2.4 which looks just like an addendum to the preceding classification of persons. The editors make no secret of this and actually refer the reader to the latter (see citation of 2.4. in the Synoptic Presentation above). In spite of the fact that the whole Yogasthāna IV is dedicated to the mundane and supramundane paths (chapters 3.28. and 3.29. respectively), we also find a discussion of these two paths in relation to the meditative objects for the purification of defilements (section 3.7.4.).

Speaking of larger textual units, there seems to be a difference in interest and emphasis between Yogasthānas I and II, on the one hand, and Yogasthānas III and IV, on the other. Though clearly related to the spiritual path, the first two Yogasthānas represent a lengthy propaedeutic exposition which reflects theoretical interests rather than the actual yogic cultivation and techniques. After this largely Abhidharmic prologue, Yogasthāna III starts on a different note. It is a lively description of a beginner (*ādikarmika*) visiting a master of spiritual cultivation (*yogin*), paying respect to him, and begging for instruction (*viniyoga*). The rest of the text is actually presented as consisting of the direct teachings given by the master to the novice.[4] Discussions and classifications of doctrinal matters are not absent, but they are less numerous and become more intimately connected to the meditative praxis. What is even more significant is the fact that the first half of Yogasthāna III is largely an introduction to the fundamentals of the spiritual path (as if the previous two Yogasthānas were not enough!). All these features lead me to conjecture that the main parts of Yogasthānas III and IV may have been the initial core (or collection of primitive cores) of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*. The first two Yogasthānas, which on the whole seem to be later textual layers, must have grown as a collection of clarifications and thesaurus of yogic lore and doctrines. Furthermore, additions, explanatory and encyclopaedic, were also probably made to the primitive core(s) of Yogasthānas III and IV.[5]

The above hypothesis can also explain the somehow anomalous presence of two chapters (3.4. and 3.22.) dedicated to the requisites (*saṁbhāra*) necessary for spiritual cultivation. It is not implausible, I believe, to suppose that the proto-*Śrāvakabhūmi* text had only one relatively short section on these requisites. Its content was probably more or less similar to the present chapter 3.22. Most likely, instructions on each particular aspect could be given orally to each practioner whenever necessary. At a later stage, however, the need may have been felt to codify this detailed knowledge concerning the requisites. They represent, after all, the fundament of the praxis and had to be made clear for any beginner embarking upon the spiritual path.[6] The original core gradually grew into a detailed exposition on the subject, and as other accretions were also being incorporated into the text, it later came to be moved to its present position in Yogasthāna I. However, the initial discussion of the requisites, i.e., chapter 3.22.,

could not be completely removed from its original position since the main 'character' of this part of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, the master (*yogin*) announces at the beginning of Yogasthāna III that he will instruct the beginner 'on five points' (*pañcasu sthāneṣu*) (chapter 3.21.), i.e., guarding and accumulating the requisites [necessary] for meditation (*samādhisaṁbhārarakṣopacaya)*, solitude (*prāvivekya*), focusing of the mind (*cittaikāgratā*), purification from hindrances (*āvaraṇaviśuddhi*), and cultivation of contemplation (*manaskārabhāvanā*). This must have made the presence of *all* the five items, including a minimum description of the requisites, absolutely necessary in their original place in the text. Whether chapter 3.22. represents the original wording of the proto-*Śrāvakabhūmi* in every detail is hard to know. It is not unlikely that it reflects its basic content, but some later editorial 'make-up' may have also been needed in order to adjust it to the final version of the text.[7]

Another aspect which seems to bear testimony to the composite nature of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* is the dissimilarity in the theoretical framework underlying the meditative practice of tranquillity (*śamatha*) and insight (*vipaśyanā*) in Yogasthānas III and IV, on the one hand, and Yogasthānas I and II, on the other. The doctrinal differences between the two approaches have been pointed out and lucidly analysed by Mōri Toshihide (1989). Yogasthāna II (chapter 3.7.) contains a very detailed treatment of the meditative objects which are classified into four categories, i.e., universal meditative objects (*vyāpy ālambanam*), meditative objects for purifying the conduct (*caritaviśodhanam ālambanam*), meditative objects for proficiency (*kauśalyālambanam*), and meditative objects for purifying [/removing] defilements (*kleśaviśodhanam ālambanam*) (ŚrBh-Gr (14) 28, 8-ŚrBh-Gr (16) 132, 15; Sh 193, 4-Sh 258, 13). In contrast to this, Yogasthāna III only refers to the last three categories (Sh 367, 5-7, 388, 13-19) or briefly speaks of the *kleśaviśodhanam ālambanam* (433, 22), but does not make any mention of the universal meditative objects (see Mōri 1989, 46).[8] Furthermore, according to the Japanese scholar (ibid., 37-45), in Yogasthānas III and IV, the way in which tranquillity and insight are depicted to function at each of the three main levels of spriritual progression, i.e., the preparatory stage of meditating upon one of the five basic meditative objects,[9] the mundane path (*laukikamārga*), and the supramundane path (*lokottaramārga*), is not the same. The category of universal meditative objects (*vyāpy ālambanam*)[10] actually appears to have been formulated in order to confer unity to a spiritual path which comprised dissimilar modes of dealing with the meditative objects (ibid., p. 48).[11]

Mōri does not discuss the possibility of different textual strata, but I think that this is the most likely explanation for the discrepancy in the theoretical treatment of the meditative framework. In the early stages of textual formation, the authors of the primitive Yogasthānas III and IV probably conceived the meditative path mostly in practical terms without being preoccupied with too much theoretical systematisation. It was only at a later stage when this must have been felt necessary, and a more comprehensive framework accommodating all angles to look at a meditative object was devised and incorporated in what is now Yogasthāna II. As also suggested by Mōri (1989, 49-51), although the set of the four universal objects is not found in Yogasthānas III and IV, one does see elements and terms which are clearly related to them and probably represent their origin.[12] This shows the continued efforts of philosophical

reflection and refinement which underlie the formation of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*.

The compilation process did not stop here and must have continued with further accretions creeping into both the core text (Yogasthānas III and IV) and the newly developing parts (Yogasthānas I and II). This can be surmised, for example, from chapter 2.4. which appears to be an addendum to chapter 2.3.[13] This addition probably occurred after the main parts of what constitutes now the *Avatārabhūmi* had already been compiled and incorporated into the *Śrāvakabhūmi*.

An equally late accretion could be subsection 1.2.4.2. The need to explain at the beginning of the text the factors necessary for the attainment of *Parinirvāṇa* probably led to the development of this subsection, even at the risk of overlapping with eight of the requisites appearing in 2.4. The latter chapter, too, must have suffered some modifications. The first three requisites are just briefly mentioned in its extant text, and the *Śrāvakabhūmi* says here that they should be understood as previously explained (ŚrBh-Gr 62, 8-9; Sh 37, 4-6), viz., as in subsection 1.2.4.2. The rest of the requisites are amply treated, though some of them are also described, (admittedly not in detail) in 1.2.4.2. The editorial process must have been complex and not always systematic.

As pointed out above, the proto-*Śrāvakabhūmi* was, most probably, not identical with Yogasthānas III and IV of the extant text. The original version may have been simpler and organised in a different way. It is also possible that there existed several proto-*Śrāvakabhūmi* texts which were later combined together giving birth to an intermediate stage (an early version of Yogasthānas III and IV or parts of it) subject to further accretions and elaborations. For instance, passage 3.28.2.1.9.3. in the Chapter on the Mundane Path appears to be a late addition.[14] The irregularities associated with the *antaroddāna* at the end of chapter 3.25. (see below) also appear to reflect the re-moulding of the earilest materials of the proto-*Śrāvakabhūmi*.

We also see some passages which point at a late editorial hand trying to connect either different sections within the *Śrāvakabhūmi* itself or offer cross-references with other Books in the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ*.[15] Thus, we read in chapter 3.24.: *kauśalyālambane ca kleśaviśodhane ca yā vipaśyanā ṣaḍvastukā{ma}*[16] *tāṁ paścād vakṣyāmi svasthāne* (MS 103a3M-R; Sh 388, 18-20).[17] 'I shall later discuss the insight which consists in the [examination of the] six aspects with reference to[18] the meditative objects for proficiency and [those] for the purification of defilements in its own place [i.e., the passage dedicated to it]'.[19] In a passage 3.28.5.2.11. of the Chapter on the Mundane Path (edited and translated below), we come across a direct reference to the *Samāhitā bhūmiḥ*.[20] Such cross-references appear to belong to the late phases of the *Yogācārabhūmi* formation (see Section II below).

Another indirect glimpse into the early 'geology' of the text may be gained from the so-called summary verses (*uddāna*).[21] In the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, these verses usually a appear at the end of each Yogasthāna and Bhūmi concluding the respective textual unit with a sort of table of contents which lists its main topics.[22] The pattern, however, is not always regular, and some *uddāna*s have a rather intriguing way of summarising the text. Apart from its regular final *uddāna*, Yogasthāna III also contains 'middle summary verses' (Skt. *antaroddāna*; Tib. *bar gyi sdom*; Ch. 中嗢拕南) (MS 106a7R-106b1L; Sh 405,10-18; D 148b7-149a2; T 458b13-22). These verses occur at the end of chapter 3.25., and summarise subjects treated in the latter part of chapter

3.24., i.e., the focusing of the mind (*cittaikāgratā*), and the first part of chapter 3.25., i.e., the purification [of the mind] from hindrances (*āvaraṇaviśuddhi*) (Sh 367, 11-402, 6). The coverage of the subject matter is, however, imperfect since the *antaroddāna* does not touch upon a fairly long portion of the text which immediately precedes it (Sh 402, 7, - 405, 7). Yogasthāna III continues with a long chapter on the cultivation of contemplation (*manaskārabhāvanā*) (3.26.). At its end (MS 113a6M-7L; Sh 434,17-20; D 163b7-164a2; T 448b26-29),[23] we find 'general summary verses' (*piṇḍoddāna; bsdus pa'i sdom;* 總嗢拕南) which list up all the main topics of the entire Yogasthāna.

Why only some topics found in (what finally came to be) the middle part of Yogasthāna III had to be summed up is rather mystifying to me. Tentatively, I would venture to sumise that the fragment which is summarised by the *antaroddāna* reflects one of the primitive materials on which the ur-*Śrāvakabhūmi* was based. Or it could be that the text was initially structured in a different way and the fragment in question was originally given the status of a separate textual unit with its own *uddāna*. Whatever the actual reason may be, the idea of having both middle and general summary verses hardly seems to be part of a carefully designed plan coming from the hands of a systematic author. It would rather appear that redactors of *Śrāvakabhūmi* probably had to deal with two sets of *uddāna*s, neither of which could be deleted, and the first one was renamed *antaroddāna*, while the table of contents of the entire Yogasthāna III was labelled *piṇḍoddāna*.

Actually, summary verses are also find in the middle of Yogasthāna I (ŚrBh-Gr 98; Sh 63, 10-13; D 25b3; T 402a21-13). The Sanskrit and the Chinese versions simply call them *uddāna*, but the Tibetan translation names them *bar gyi sdom* = *antaroddāna*. These verses, too, are rather unusual since they sum up only section 3.4.4. which describes the restraint in morality (*śīlasaṁvara*). However, no other section in the Chapter on Requisites, to which 3.4.4. belongs, contains summary verses at its end. The set of the four *uddāna*s at the end of Yogasthāna I (MS 65b7M-66a2L; ŚrBh-Gr 296; Sh 166, 4-10 and 169, 2-3; D 67a1-3; T 401c16-18; 402a10-12; and 421b25-29) faces us with further complications. In the extant Sanskrit manuscript, the first two stanzas list the thirteen requisites, the next one enumerates the seventeen adornments of the ascetic (*śramaṇālaṁkāra*), detailing thus the last one of the thirteen requisites, and the fourth stanza sums up the main themes discussed up to this point in the *Naiṣkramyabhūmi*.[24] In Sanskrit, all these stanzas are just called *uddāna*. On the other hand, the Tibetan version gives the stanzas in a different order and, more importantly, refers to each of them by dissimilar names. It starts with what in the Sanskrit MS is the third stanza, which enumerates the seventeen adornments of the ascetic, and calls it *bar gyi sdom* = *antaroddāna* (D 67a1). It then has the first two stanzas of the Sanskrit MS, which list the thirteen requisites, and names them *sdom* = *uddāna* (D 67a2). Finally, it gives the fourth stanza of the Sanskrit MS, which sums up the three main themes of the *Naiṣkramyabhūmi*, and labels it *bsdud pa'i sdom* = *piṇḍoddāna* (D 67a3).[25] Xuanzang calls all these stanzas 嗢拕南 = *uddāna* and places them at the beginning of each textual unit which it summarises. This arrangement is peculiar to the Chinese stylistical conventions, and no doubt that in this respect, Xuanzang took the liberty to depart from the structure of the Sanskrit original.

It is hard to know what was the actual order intended by the authors and/or

editors of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*. We can be quite certain that, as reflected by the Sanskrit MS and the Tibetan translation, all the four stanzas must have been placed at the end of Yogastāna I. Both the Sanskrit and the Tibetan manners of ordering them are possible, and it is not excluded that some slight dissimilarities concerning this structural detail had already appeared in the course of the manuscript transmission in India. The Tibetan translators may have relied on a manuscript different from the extant one. Or they may have decided to effect some modifications on the order of the original, an editorial liberty which the Tibetan team sometimes exercised (as, for instance, with the division of the **Vinayasaṁgrahaṇī*). Equally difficult to know is whether the appellations of *antaroddāna*, *uddāna*, and *piṇḍoddāna* in the Tibetan version represent a redactional effort to bring more coherence to the text or reflect readings peculiar to the manuscript which it rendered. If the latter is the case, were these readings, which are not attested in the extant Sanskrit MS and the Chinese translation, those intended by the *Śrāvakabhūmi* authors/editors?

No certain answers are possible, but the most relevant thing for the early history of the text is that some units, like the section on the restraint in morality (*śīlasaṁvara*), and in a diferent form, the section on the adornments of the ascetic (*śramaṇālaṁkāra*), had their own *uddāna*s. Even the first two stanzas which list the thirteen requisites are irregular since in the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, individual chapters are not separately summed up by *uddāna*s. It is no more than a matter of conjecture, but once again, this can be explained if we suppose that gradual and not very systematic accretions of textual units were individually compiled or had been in circulation before the actual formation of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* as an independent text. When these were incorporated into the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, its editors simply did not delete some of these *uddāna*s even if these did not fit the general structure of the text. The only thing they could do was probably to use labels as *antaroddāna* and *piṇḍoddāna* to make some convenient distinctions. Keeping such irregular *uddāna*s in the final text may somehow disturb its stylisic uniformity, but in a traditional milieu, these verses had the extra advantage of serving as mnemonic devices facilitating the memorisation of long doctrinal lists.

This actually brings us to another important aspect in the history of our text: the role of the oral transmission. There is little doubt that oral transmission was a significant factor in the formation and preservation of canonical as well as post-canonical texts, including the *Śrāvakabhūmi*. In the first centuries of Buddhist history, oral transmission was the only way of passing down the holy teachings from one generation to another. With the advent of the manuscript transmission (probably in or around the 1st century B.C.E.),[26] we can surmise that the role of oral tradition suffered some changes. There are no compelling reasons, however, to suppose that it ceased to play any role. The details concerning how oral and written traditions interacted in the formation of different texts, especially of *śāstra* literature, remain largely unknown, but some general principles can be surmised.[27]

I assume that the oral transmission also played a part in the formation of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, especially in its early formative stages. It can plausibly be argued that in the beginning, the yogic doctrines and practices were orally taught to small groups of ascertics and these instructions were gradually committed to writing. The *Śrāvakabhūmi* itself stresses the importance of the master's personal guidance and also hints at the role of oral transmission (see chapter 3.21., etc. in Yogasthāna III). Of course, we

cannot completely exclude the possibility that the *Śrāvakabhūmi* was born as an entirely written text (or texts). However, hypothesising (at least a partial) role for the oral transmission in the formation process is quite reasonable, especially if we take into account the paradigm of the age as well as the direct nature of spiritual instruction in all ages and cultures. Actually, there is no reason to conceive the two traditions, the oral and written one, as being contradictory. It is not difficult to imagine that as more and more oral instructions continued to be collected and transmitted, the need to comit them to writing was felt increasingly stronger. Later oral expositions could then rely and elaborate upon these written notes and materials. And in their turn, these expanded explanations would also be written down. This intricate oral *cum* written transmission process can actually well explain at least part of the overlapping in the discussion of certain topics as well as some of the irregular *uddāna*-patterns.

I must frankly admit, however, that theoretically speaking, the scenario advocated above is not the only possible one. My conjectural remarks are based on a simple presupposition quite often seen in historico-philological studies. It basically represents a belief that an author must usually or always be coherent and systematic. Though this is one fundamental desideratum, to which presumably any author, ancient or modern, aspires, the actual results of this widely espoused ideal may often be disappointing. Texts, even when authored by one single person, may be appalling examples of incoherence and chaos in spite of the creator's best intentions. (I hope that this does not describe my own book....) Repetitions, ambiguities, inconsistencies, etc. do not *necessarily* prove different layers going back to different ages.

Though I continue believe that in the case of texts like the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, the probability of a complex multiple-strata formation remains high, I, nevertheless, cannot apodictically conclude that my argumentation completely rules out another logical possibility—our text may be the product of a single author (or group of authors) either not very concerned with the perfectly systematic character of their discourse or, simply, whose noble intentions were not matched by compositional talent. Such a scenario would not immediately exclude that the author(s) of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* relied upon earlier materials compiled or transmitted in the milieu to which he/they belonged. This provisio is probably acceptable even for the supporters of more traditional views regarding the text formation. And to be sure, this alternative 'plot' of a single author working with early materials can equally account for repetitions. Some of the *antaroddāna*s, for instance, may have belonged to the source materials incorporated into the *Śrāvakabhūmi* and were preserved as such in the new work.

Nevertheless, stubbornly addicted to my views, I find that a stratigraphical approach can better explain the formation of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*. Logical honesty obliges me, however, to note that this is not the only possibility. Without compelling evidence, the historian should, I think, remain content to list all major possibilities of the process which he or she tries to reconstruct, even when they may point in different directions.[28]

II The Formation of the *Yogācārabhūmi*: A Historical Sketch

1. Introductory Remarks

A few words about the formation of the *Yogācārabhūmi* will help us better understand the place occupied by the *Śrāvakabhūmi* in the history of Indian Buddhism. Needless to say that a detailed analysis of this process is too complex to be undertaken here. The following pages are nothing more than a sketch of this hugely intricate saga which is intimately connected with the genesis of the Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda School. The scholarly community is far from having reached consensus concerning this chapter in the evolution of Buddhism on Indian soil, and I have no claim that my brief discussion will settle any of its basic issues. It must be stressed that the largely conjectural picture offered below is only one amongst several historical possibilities and many of my assumptions are bound to be controversial. The story which I piece together on the basis of some of the main findings and arguments which have been put forward so far is, I hope, at least a plausible one. In other words, it is nothing but 'hypothesis-only'....

At the risk of never gaining rebirth in Tuṣita Heaven (as well as losing the chance to set foot in some academic institutions during the present life...), I believe that the *Yogācārabhūmi* is not the work of Maitreya and/or Asaṅga but represents the result of collective creative and editorial efforts stretching over several generations.[29] My only consolation is that I am not alone in advocating such a view. The same stance has been taken by a number of Western and Eastern scholars. Suffice it here to mention Frauwallner (1969, 265), Schmithausen (1969b; 1987a, especially pp. 13-14, 183-185; 2000), May (1971, 281), Potter (1999, 398), and Kritzer 2005 (2005, XVIII) as well as Saeki (1917-1928, KDK *Ron-bu*, vol. 6, pp. 4-5), Nishi (1960, 672-673), Hirakawa (1974-1979, vol. 2, p. 96), Kudō (1975), Takasaki (1982a, 32), Yokoyama (1976, 82-83), Yamabe (1989, p. 46 and n. 8),[30] Aramaki (2000), and Ahn (2003, 1-4).[31] The traditional view assigning the *Yogācārabhūmi* to Maitreya and/or Asaṅga is, however, still accepted (and sometimes vehemently defended) by a considerable number of modern sholars including Ui (1965, vol. 1, pp. 359ff.),[32] Katō (KIK *Yuga-bu*, vol. 1, 4-6; Asaṅga),[33] Takemura (1940),[34] Wayman (1961, 25ff.; 1997, 90; etc.),[35] Shukla (Sh, Introduction, pp. Lff.),[36] Funahashi (1976, 61),[37] Hakamaya 1977,[38] Willis (1979, 3ff.), Warder [1980] 1997, 437, 441-443), Mukai (1976; 1978; 1981),[39] and Suguro (1989).[40]

Schmithausen convincingly argues that the *Yogācārabhūmi* is *ein Konglomerat heterogenen Materials* (1969b, p. 817; cf. also Schmithausen 1987a, 13-14). In a later study, the same author concludes 'that it is possible (perhaps even probable) that Asaṅga compiled Y[ogācārabhūmi] or [...] somehow participated in its compilation. But this possibility still needs verification, and for the time being I for one cannot exclude the opposite possibility' (Schmithausen 1987a, 185; cf. also note 451). In order to support this view, Schmithausen adduces evidence connected to both the content and structure of the *Yogācārabhūmi*. As far as the former is concerned, there are clear examples of contradictory doctrines. For instance, the *Manobhūmi* states that the five

sense perceptions cannot simultaneously arise in two moments (*na cāsti pañcānāṁ vijñānakāyānāṁ saha dvayoḥ kṣaṇayor utpattiḥ*; YoBh 58, 13-14). In the *Viniścaya-saṁgrahaṇī*, on the other hand, we are told that the 'store mind' (*ālayavijñāna*) occurs together with the other seven consciousnesses when the five sense perception arise simulataneously (*res 'ga' ni rnam par shes pa'i tshogs lnga po lhan cig 'byung ba dang bdun car gyi bar dag dang | lhan cig 'byung zhing 'jug go | |* P Zi 6b1-2; 或時乃至與七俱轉，謂五識身和合轉時; T30.580c8-9). Another example is the conspicuous absence of the *ālayavijñāna* concept and the usage of an alternative theory of the mind and the body containing their own seeds (*bīja*) as well as the seeds of each other (see Schmithausen 1969b, 817-818; Schmithausen 1987a, pp. 271-272, n. 131) in passages which should have been aware of the former theory. This will be discussed in detail in Subsection 6 below.[41]

As far as the structural aspect is regarded, the absence of any passage introducing the main parts which make up the *Yogācārabhūmi* seems quite irregular. The *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ* (YoBh, p. 3) as well as many of its constituent Books (e.g., ŚrBh-Gr, p. 2; BoBh Dutt ed., p. 1; etc.) clearly state their contents usually in the form of summary verses (*uddāna*). Nothing of this kind is, however, said about its five (or six) main parts which represent the overall structure of the *Yogācārabhūmi*. This serves as additional evidence that the work was not compiled on the basis of a unitary plan but grew gradually from separate textual units and materials (see Schmithausen 1987a, pp. 267-269, n. 124).[42]

Schematically stated, I think that the formation of the *Yogācārabhūmi*, including the closely related text of the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra*, can be divided into six main phases:[43]

Phase I: the formation of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*

Phase II: the formation of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*

Phase III: the formation of the rest of the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ* and, in parallel with it, the compilation of the *Vastusaṁgrahaṇī*, the *Vyākhyāsaṁgrahaṇī*, and the *Paryāyasaṁgrahaṇī*.
(The formation of the *Vastusaṁgrahaṇī* may have began earlier than any of the other textual units of Phase III.)

Phase IV: the formation of the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* in a milieu closely connected to the *Yogācārabhūmi*.

Phase V: the formation of the early parts of the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī*

Phase VI: the citation of the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* in the *Viniścaya-saṁgrahaṇī*, compilation of the late parts of the *Viniścaya-saṁgrahaṇī*, and final redaction of the entire *Yogācārabhūmi* (cross-references, interpolations, structural modifications, etc.)

This does not mean that there is a perfect chronological succession or linear development from one phase to another. I rather assume that these phases must have partially overlapped and that in terms of doctrinal history, a few presumably late textual units and concepts did not appear to have relied upon previous doctrinal developments. This explains why some of the seemingly younger strata of the *Yogācārabhūmi* also

contain philosophically less evolved ideas. In other words, one may, or rather should, hypothesise a certain degree of independent and parallel compilation of the various parts which make up our work.

In what follows, I shall first try to reconstruct these phases and then tread into the very uncertain ground of dating. Closely connected to the latter aspect, the hopelessly tricky problem of Vasubandhu's dates will also be conjecturally tackled.

2. The *Śrāvakabhūmi*

The *Śrāvakabhūmi* appears to be the oldest textual layer of the *Yogācārabhūmi* (see Schmithausen 1987a, 14; Aramaki 1983, p. 120, n. 22; Aramaki 2000, p. 39, n. 2). Much of the material which it contains is even older, and not few of its doctrines and spiritual practices go back to very early strata of Buddhist literature. The *Śrāvakabhūmi* quotes, refers to, or presupposes many canonical texts,[44] but this should hardly come as a surprise. The very raison d'être of the *śāstra* literature, to which the *Śrāvakabhūmi* belongs, is to comment upon and clarify the sacred intertextuality.[45] This, however, cannot qualify *eo ipso* as evidence supporting the conjecture that the *Śrāvakabhūmi* seems to be the earliest layer of the *Yogācārabhūmi*. There are three important aspects which point in this direction:

(1) The *Śrāvakabhūmi* does not appear to presuppose or rely upon passages or doctrines peculiar to other parts of the *Yogācārabhūmi*. The two references in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* (Sh 281, 6, and 467, 7) to the *Samāhitabhūmi* do not affect, I believe, the validity of my hypothesis.[46] As argued below, the present *Yogācārabhūmi* reflects the final stage of a long compilation process and naturally contains a large number of cross-references. It is very difficult to distinguish with precision between an original and late cross-reference, but one possible criterion is the degree of dependence of the citing passage upon the cited passage. This is a general principle, and its application in practice is far from easy. Admittedly, there are quite a few cases in which a cross-reference can interpreted in both ways. Speaking of the occurrence found at ŚrBh Sh 467, 7 (or passage 3.28.5.2.11. in my edition), it seems to me, however, that the reference to the eight liberations (*aṣṭau vimokṣāḥ*), eight bases of mastery (*aṣṭāv abhibhvāyatanāni*), and ten totalities (*daśa kṛtsnāyatanāni*) does not necessarily presuppose the knowledge of the *Samāhitābhūmi*. These are well-known sets of practices, and the passage makes perfect sense even if the reference is omitted. Moreover, from a structural viewpoint, the phrase *pūrvavad veditavyā, tadyathā Samāhitāyāṁ Bhūmau* appears unusual when compared to the syntax of most of the other passages in this subsection of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*.[47] It thus seems that this reference was inserted as a late editorial addition simply or mainly because the *Samāhitābhūmi* happened to contain detailed explanations of these spiritual exercises and their presence was deemed worth mentioning.

(2) We see other parts of the *Yogācārabhūmi*, such as the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, or the closely related text of the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra*, which rely upon the teachings of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*. More about this will be said below. Here it suffices to mention that there are clear cases in which the *Śrāvakabhūmi* seems to put forward new theories or interpretations and consequently, defines them in detail. The *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra*, etc., on the other hand, only refer to these and appear to

presuppose their being already known to their audience and/or readers.[48]

(3) Many of the doctrines expounded in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* are clearly at an earlier stage of their philosophical development, especially when compared to their counterparts in the younger parts of the *Yogācārabhūmi*. For instance, the passage on the attainment of cessation (*nirodhasamāpatti*) in section 3.28.4. basically follows the standard Sarvāstivādin system without any reference to the *ālayavijñāna* concept (see Schmithausen 1987a, 19).[49] This is in contrast to the *Samāhitābhūmi* which in a similar context describing the *nirodhasamāpatti* makes use of the *ālayavijñāna* (see ibid., pp. 18ff.).[50] The latter concept presents clear advantages in explaining the problematic psychological dynamics underlying the attainment of cessation, and if the *ālayavijñāna* had been known to the *Śrāvakabhūmi* authors and editors, I see no reason why they should not have availed themselves of its explanatory potential.

From a thematic point of view, the *Śrāvakabhūmi* belongs to the substantial corpus of texts dedicated to the presentation and elucidation of the spiritual cultivation. As far as I know, there is no traditional Indian term denoting this genre. The Chinese Buddhists, faced with an impressive number of such translations (as well as apocrypha), coined terms like *chan jing* 禪經 'meditation scripture', *chan dian* 禪典 'meditation writ',[51] or *chan yao* 禪要 'meditation summary' (see Deleanu 1992, 43). This large output is quite natural for a religion in which meditation was a paramount spiritual concern.[52] Texts, in the form of single sutras like the *Mahāsatipaṭṭhānasuttanta* (*Dīghanikāya*, PTS, vol. II, No. XXII) or entire collections such as the *Satipaṭṭhāna-saṁyutta* (*Saṁyuttanikāya*, PTS, vol. V, Book III), *Jhānasaṁyutta* (ibid., Book IX) or *Ānāpānasaṁyutta* (ibid., Book X), dealing mainly or solely with meditative techniques and doctrines, are not a rarity in the early Buddhist Canon. The Abhidharma authors and compilers also dedicated much of their exegetical skills and *ars combinatoria* talent to the discussion and systematization of the spiritual path. Furthermore, between roughly the 1st and the 6th century C.E., we witness the production of numerous meditation treatises and manuals both in the Śrāvakayāna and Mahāyāna traditions. Most of them are preserved in Chinese translations, but some, found (and probably composed) in Central Asia, survive in Sanskrit.[53]

Amongst these treatises, two are particularly worth mentioning here: the *Xiuxing dao di jing* 修行道地經 and the *Damoduoluo chan jing* 達磨多羅禪經, which are extant only in Chinese translations. Actually, both of them, though quite different in content, appear to have originally been entitled **Yogācārabhūmi*.[54] The *Xiuxing dao di jing* is the work of Saṅgharakṣa 僧伽羅刹, a Sarvāstivādin patriarch who lived around the end of the 1st and beginning of the 2nd century C.E. (see Deleanu 1997, 34-35). The text, which was translated into Chinese by Dharmarakṣa 竺法護 in 284, is a Śrāvakayāna (probably, Sarvāstivāda) opus. The extant Chinese rendering contains a Mahāyānist fragment, but this appears to be an appendix added to the original text of the **Yogācārabhūmi* in China.[55] There is also a partial translation of the text made by the Parthian monk An Shigao 安世高 in the second half of the 2nd century. The translation, entitled *Dao di jing* 道地經 (T No. 602), in one *juan* 巻, is an extract of seven chapters of the original, which seems to be a selection made by An Shigao himself (see Deleanu 1997, 38-39).

The *Damoduoluo chan jing*, which is only one of the titles by which the text was

known in China, can be rendered as *The Meditation (dhyāna) Scripture [Taught] by Dharmatrāta*. However, the author of the extant work seems to be Buddhasena (usually transcribed in Chinese sources as 佛大先), one of the most famous Buddhist meditation masters active in Kashmir around the end of the 4th and beginning of the 5th century. The text was rendered into Chinese by Buddhabhadra in or shortly after 413 (Satō 1931, 343-349, especially p. 348; Yamabe 1999a, 72-76; Odani 2000, 183-186). It has a clearly Śrāvakayānika core but also contains, mainly in its final prose parts, visualisation techniques and elements which may represent Mahāyāna influences or, at least, similarities (see Yamabe 1999a, 76; Deleanu 1993).

Though not a direct textual prototype of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, Saṅgharakṣa's **Yogācārabhūmi* (*Xiuxing dao di jing*) may be regarded as one of its distant 'forefathers'. It must, nevertheless, be stressed that the *Xiuxing dao di jing* is different from the *Śrāvakabhūmi* in both structure and style. Unlike the latter, which is primarily a meditation treatise and manual, Saṅgharakṣa's **Yogācārabhūmi* is a literary as well as scholastic work written in a unique blend of poetic imagery, rivaling at times with Aśvaghoṣa's *kāvya*s, and technical discussions concerning the theory and praxis of spiritual cultivation. It probably represents the teachings of basically the same ascetic current which led to the birth of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, but these teachings are filtered through the sensibility of a philosopher-poet whose opus appleals to the mind as much as to the heart.

The *Xiuxing dao di jing* not only shares a common heritage of spiritual practices and doctrines with the *Śrāvakabhūmi* but it also displays some undeniable similarities which make the relation between the two texts more than a mere genre resemblance.[56] A detailed comparison between them is not possible here, and I shall limit myself to pointing out only one important similarity: the distinction between the meditation (禪 **dhyāna*) practised by ordinary people or novices (凡夫 **pṛthagjana*), which is aimed at attaining the four absorbtions and the five supernatural powers (**pañca abhijñāḥ* 五通), and the spiritual techniques cultivated by the Buddhist disciples (佛弟子 **śaikṣa*).[57] The latter consist in the contemplation of the Buddha, Dharma, and Saṅgha (most likely, representing a preliminary step) and, more importantly, of the Four Noble Truths (T15.217a2-217b7; see also 212b23-26).[58] This distinction appears to echo the dichotomy between the mundane and the supramundane paths, which is the main theme of Yogasthāna IV in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* (cf. Mizuo 1983, 27; Toyohira 1986, 88-90; Mōri 1987a, 573 and 1987b, 17-18, 24, 30).[59]

We know, mainly thanks to the studies of the Japanese scholar Nishi Giyū (1975), that the Sarvāstivāda tradition included an active community of meditation practioners (瑜伽師 **yogācāra* or **yogācārya*).[60] Their opinions are frequently cited or referred to in the *Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣāśāstra* 阿毘達磨大毘婆沙論, the magnum opus of the Kashmiri scholastic orthodoxy of this tradition.[61] Though not a school apart, the *yogācāra*s seem to have constituted a distinct group or groups, and the scholastic masters (*vaibhāṣika*) usually mention their views with much respect.[62] The term *yogācāra* is actually seen in a variety of Buddhist sources (see Silk 2000), and there is little doubt that most, if not all, schools had their own groups specialising in spiritual cultivation. Many of the meditation treatises and manuals mentioned above appear to have been compiled by Śrāvakayānika *yogācāra*s or at least seem to reflect their

teachings and praxis. And although other influences must also be taken into account, the birth of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* as well as much of the the rest of the *Yogācārabhūmi* was most probably closely connected to such a yogic milieu.[63]

Another important witness of the spiritual lore shared by the *Śrāvakabhūmi* with other traditions is Aśvaghoṣa's *Saundarananda*. Many of the similarities between the two texts have been brilliantly analysed by Yamabe (2003) and Yamabe, Fujitani, and Harada (2002).[64] The *Saundarananda* is not a highly technical treatise like the *Śrāvakabhūmi* and can hardly represent the latter's model. However, this masterpiece of early Indian *kāvya* contains abundant information regarding the ascetic practices and ideas of the day. The similarities with the *Saundarananda* are also relevant for determining one of the doctrinal perspectives which may have influenced the philosophical stance of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*. The seminal studies contributed by Honjō Yoshifumi (1987, 1992a, 1993) have proved that both the *Buddhacarita* and the *Saundarananda* contain doctrines typically attributed to the Sautrāntikas (cf. also Yamabe 2003, and Yamabe, Fujitani, and Harada 2002).[65] This tallies with another important aspect revealed by recent scholarship: quite a few of the doctrines which the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* attributes to the Sautrāntikas or to the so-called 'old masters' or 'masters of yore' (*pūrvācārya*) can actually be traced to the *Yogācārabhūmi* (see Mukai 1972; Miyashita 1986; Hakamaya 2001, 506-520;[66] Kritzer 1992; 1993; 1999; 2003b; 2005; Harada 1996; Yamabe 1990a; 1999b;[67] 2000; 2003; Yamabe, Fujitani, and Harada 2002; Fukuda 2002; 2003; etc.). The painstaking research and collation of the *Abhidharma- kośabhāṣya* and the *Yogācārabhūmi* undertaken by Robert Kritzer (2005) clearly shows the existence of large number of parallels and thematic affinities which cannot be relegated to mere coincidences.[68]

The *Yogācārabhūmi*, including the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, cannot, however, be simply categorised as a Sautrāntika or Dārṣṭāntika text.[69] The picture is far more complex, and another important aspect in determining the genesis of this work is its reliance upon the (Mūla-)sarvāstivāda Canon, especially its Vinaya.[70] This has been clearly proved by Schmithausen's key contributions (1970, 1987b)[71] and also supported by the studies of Enomoto (Enomoto, Hartmann, Matsumura eds., 1989, 21-23) and Skilling (1996, 218-219). Also relevant in this regard is the fact that the scholastic affiliation of the *Saṁyuktāgama* which is commented upon in the *Vastusaṁgrahaṇī* also appears to have been Mūlasarvāstivādin (see Mukai 1985).

In terms of monastic ordination, it is very likely that the *Śrāvakabhūmi* authors and redactors belonged to the (Mūla-)sarvāstivādin lineage. This does not entail any contradiction with the presence of the Sautrāntika/Dārṣṭāntika(-like) elements in their doctrines and interpretative patterns. In the context of Indian Buddhim, reliance upon a canonical tradition, mainly upon its *Sūtrapiṭaka* and *Vinayapiṭaka*, did not necessarily affect the entire philosophical stance of a group of followers or individual thinkers.[72] The Sautrāntika/Dārṣṭāntika orientation primarily refers to scholastic views or hermeneutical patterns different from the authority of the Vaibhāṣika Abhidharma.[73] One could have remained a (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin, in the sense of being ordained in this lineage and accepting its *Sūtrapiṭaka* and *Vinayapiṭaka*, and, at the same time, also become a Sautrāntika/Dārṣṭāntika, i.e., adopt perspectives divergent from the Vaibhāṣika establishment.

Furthermore, the terms Dārṣṭāntika and Sautrāntika may have encompassed a

range of opinions rather than one monolithic doctrinal system. And it seems that apart from Sautrāntika/Dārṣṭāntika adherents in the strict sense of the word, there also were groups or individuals who might be called sympathisers. The latter may have shared some Sautrāntika views but may have favoured Vaibhāṣika interpretations with regard to other doctrines. Actually, the *Śrāvakabhūmi* does seem to reflect such a pattern and, as far as I can see, the same is the case with Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya.* However, once one stepped into the Sautrāntika/Dārṣṭāntika interpretative pattern, even on a limited scale, the 'danger' was that he or she might gain a taste of hermeneutic freedom and gradually develop ever more 'heterodox' interpretations. This seems to have been the path followed by the *Yogācārabhūmi* author(s)/editor(s), and if we are to believe the traditional accounts, also by Vasubandhu who eventually turned to Mahāyāna.

A detailed analysis of the scholastic affiliation of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* is not possible here. For the time being, it will suffice to mention the fact that the complex historical picture behind the formation of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* is also reflected in our Chapter on the Mundane Path. We find here passages, like 3.28.2.1.2.7. and 3.28.2.2.2., which appear to take a stance similar to the Sautrāntika/Dārṣṭāntika doctrines.[74] There are other occasions, however, when the views of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* authors seem to have been different from the Vaibhāṣikas but only partially similar with the Dārṣṭāntikas (see, e.g., passage 3.28.3.1.5.).[75] And finally, we also see a passage like 3.28.3.3.5., which, as far as we can infer its underlying philosophical position, points to a doctrinal interpretation different from that of the Dārṣṭāntikas.[76]

The *Śrāvakabhūmi* may also contain other heterogeneous elements, but this, does not validate Wayman's assertion that 'various parts of Asaṅga's *Yogācārabhūmi*, and especially the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, are basically the doctrines of the later Mahīśāsakas, always subject to further influence of Asaṅga's Mahāyāna views' (1961, 29).[77] Schmithausen (1970, 115-119) convincingly demonstrates that all the *Śrāvakabhūmi* doctrines identified by Wayman's (1961, 26-29) as Mahīśāsaka are wrong or inconclusive. In 1989, Wayman contributed a new article on the subject which also attempts to prove 'Asaṅga's Mahīśāsaka adherence' (Wayman 1997, 103). The American scholar briefly touches upon Schmithausen's criticism, but no direct comment on its substance is made.[78] Insead, he tries to adduce evidence from the various parts of the *Yogācārabhūmi* in order to establish its Mahīśāsaka doctrinal affiliation.

A full examination of his argumentation is not possible here, especially since it entails a discussuion of the doctrinal background of the entire *Yogācārabhūmi*, a theme which doubtless requires one or rather several monographs. Briefly stated, Wayman's new attempt to prove that the *Yogācārabhūmi* has a Mahīśāsaka doctrinal basis remaines as inconclusive as his previous contribution. Some of the examples adduced are too general and shared with other schools. For instance, according to Wayman, the *Paramārthagāthā* view that 'all conditioned factors are momentary' (*kṣanikāḥ sarvasaṁskārāḥ*) is clearly similar to one of the Mahīśāsaka doctrines and therefore must prove the latter's influence.[79] This, however, was not the only Buddhist school advocating the doctrine of momentariness. We know that the same tenet was held by the Sarvāstivāda,[80] the Vātsīputrīya,[81] the Kaśayapīya/Suvarṣaka,[82] the Pūrvaśaila/ Uttaraśaila,[83] and the Aparaśaila.[84]

Other Mahīśāsaka doctrines discussed by Wayman are, as actually acknowledged by the author himself, different from the *Yogācārabhūmi* position. For example, Wayman (1993, 105) devotes one paragraph to the Mahīśāsaka thesis which declares that the stream-enterers (*srotāpanna*) may lose the attainment of their stage while the Arhats may not.[85] This view, however, does not agree with the *Yogācārabhūmi*. According to Wayman's interpretation, 'Asaṅga, coming in the Mahāyāna period after there was much downgrading of the Arhat in favour of the Bodhisattva, has a modification of this tenet in his *Śrāvakabhūmi* [...]' (1997, 105). He refers to a passage in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* which distinguishes between Arhats temporary emancipated (*samayavimukta*), who can fall from the blisfull state [obtained] in the present life (*dṛṣṭadharmasukhavihāra*), and Arhats whose nature is unshakable (*akopyadharma*), for whom this cannot happen (see ŚrBh Sh 192, 7-12; ŚrBh-Gr (13) 126, 8-15).[86] This clearly diverges from the Mahīśāsaka doctrine above, and the fact that Asaṅga (or whoever may have actually been the author) lived in the Mahāyāna age has no relevance here. The *Śrāvakabhūmi* is (almost tautologically stated!) a work dedicated to the Śrāvakayāna spiritual path and, as frequently made clear throughout the work and especially at its end, there is no doubt that its ideal is the attainment of Arhatship.[87] The dichotomy above comes from a scholastic background basically different from the Mahīśāsaka doctrinal system. The existence of a type of Arhat who is only temporarily liberated and thus susceptible to losing it was maintained by the Sarvāstivādins (see Bareau 1955, 140, § 14; *Samayabhedoparacanacakra*, Teramoto and Hiramatsu ed., Tibetan translation: Appendix p. 10, ll. 5-6; Chinese translations: p. 49). The distinction is often discussed in various contexts in the *Mahāvibhāṣā* (e.g., T27.314c8ff; 464c10-13; 524c21-24;526a19ff.; etc.) and is also adopted by Vasubandhu in his *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (372, 18ff.). It is true that other schools like the Vātsīputrīya (see Bareau 1955, p. 118, § 13), the Sammatīya (ibid., p. 123, § 2; § 14), and the Pūrvaśaila/Uttaraśaila (ibid., p. 101, § 15) advocated a similar doctrine, but in view of the historical background of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, its adoption of this tenet from the Sarvāstivāda tradition is the most likely explanation.[88]

The evidence adduced by Wayman does not by itself support the theory of a basic Mahīśāsaka affiliation of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* in particular or of the *Yogācārabhūmi* in general. It is, however, important to mention in this context that some Mahīśāsaka elements are found in the *Yogācārabhūmi*. For example, Schmithausen (1970, 118-119) shows that the list of eight non-conditioned factors (*asaṁskṛtā dharmāḥ*) in the *Yogācārabhūmi* (YoBh 69, 4-9) appears to bear an imprint of Mahīśāsaka origin.[89] It is not excluded that future research will prove the existence of further Mahīśāsaka elements as well as doctrinal imports from other schools. It seems, however, that at least as far as we can say in the present state of our knowledge, such heterogenous elements did not play a major one in the overall doctrinal system of the *Yogācārabhūmi*. It thus appeats safer to conclude with Schmithausen (1970, 119) that: *Vielmehr ist, bis zum Beweis des Gegenteils, auch mit der Möglichkeit zu rechnen, daß in die Yogācārabhūmiḥ neben Lehren der Mahīśāsikas auch solche der Dārṣṭāntikas, Sautrāntikas und sogar der Sarvāstivādins eingegangen sind.*[90]

To summarise the main hypotheses put forward above, it appears that the *Śrāvakabhūmi* was formed over a period of several decades in a milieu of Śrāvakayānika *yogācāra*s closely associated with the Sarvāstivāda fold. Already in the

1st century C.E., a tradition of Sarvāstivāda *yogācāra*s, with its own theoretical and praxis-related peculiarities, commences to be active in the production of meditation treatises and manuals.[91] One group or cluster of groups[92] probably belonging to this tradition, who relied upon a (Mūla-)sārvāstivādin *Sūtrapiṭaka* and *Vinayapiṭaka*, began to adopt (/develop) Sautrāntika/Dārṣṭāntika(-like) views or, at least, a more flexible hermeneutic perspective sometimes different from, sometimes similar to the Kashimiri Vaibhāṣika orthodoxy. Spiritual masters of this newly emerging tradition, also showing literary and scholarly inclinations, gradually started to commit to writing, edit, and make additions and interpretations to the body of their teachings and practices. These must have been the main authors and compilers of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*. One extra important ingredient in this process should not be forgotten—their own creativity and peculiarities which probably greatly contributed to the birth of a work in which the primary sources and influences are not always easily recognisable.

3. The *Bodhisattvabhūmi*

What was the original relation between the group behind the *Śrāvakabhūmi* and the authors of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*? As no clear evidence survives, the only alternative left to us is to draw up conjectural scenarios. One possibility is that some yogis originally associated with the *Śrāvakabhūmi* became increasingly involved with and eventually converted to Mahāyāna. This may have happened because the flexibility of their interpretative patterns led them to daring imports from the Great Vehicle. Contact with Mahāyānika meditative techniques may have also played a role, and so may have their own spiritual experiences.[93] A gradual incorporation of Mahāyāna or Mahāyāna-like visualisation techniques and even doctrines is actually witnessed by many of the Chinese translations belonging to *chan jing*s genre as well as by the Buddhist yoga manuals from Central Asia.[94] Last but not least, a sincere admiration for the noble ideals of universal compassion and the bodhisattva's messianic career may have also contributed to the radical transformation of their philosophical orientation.[95] One can, however, also imagine a reverse scenario: group(s) of Mahāyāna followers may have gradually developed an interest in the practices of these Śrāvakayāna *yogācara*s and ultimately worked out a spiritual and doctrinal system which assimilated their practices into ideals of the Great Vehicle. Or one could conceive of a compromise scenario in which Mahāyāna practitioners and Śrāvakayānika ascetics met somewhere 'midway', being reciprocally attracted by each other's heritage. All the three alternatives are possible, but the first scenario seems to fit better the textual evidence as well as the larger historical picture.[96]

There is no doubt that the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* is Mahāyāna text. Yet, while its basic philosophical vocabulary is Mahāyānist, its semantics is of a new brand, which is different in many aspects from other varieties of the Great Vehicle movement in general and the Prajñāpāramitā literature in particular. The authors of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* appear quite eager to stress their own peculiar stance regarding some of the basic concepts, especially that of emptiness (*śūnyatā*). Although Prajñāpāramitā echoes are still heard, the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* brings in old canonical sources and tries to show that the earlier interpretations of the concept can and should be refined. This is accompanied by a sharp criticism against the so-called 'wrongly grasped emptiness' (*durgṛhītā*

śūnyatā). Let us cite here one of the most illuminating and famous passages in the Chapter on the Reality (*Tattvārthapaṭala*):

> Furthermore, how is emptiness wrongly grasped? There are some ascetics (*śramaṇa*) or priests (*brāhmaṇa*) who do not accept that of which something is empty, nor do they accept that which is empty. This [emptiness grasped] in such a manner is called emptiness wrongly grasped. Why? For emptiness could [be declared to] hold good [only when][97] that of which something is empty does not exist, and that which is empty does exist. But if everything were non-existent, in what respect, of which, what would be empty? The same thing being empty of [it]self cannot hold good. Therefore, thus is emptiness wrongly grasped.
>
> And, furthermore, how is emptiness rightly grasped? Since, on the other hand (*ca*), [the ascetic] observes that something is empty of that which does not exist there [i.e., in it] and understands correctly (*yathābhūtaṁ*) that what remains there truly exists in that place, [then] this is called the realisation of emptiness in accordance with reality (*yathābhūtaṁ*) and without perversion (*aviparītā*).
>
> (*kathaṁ punar durgr̥hītā bhavati śūnyatā? yaḥ kaścic chramaṇo vā brāhmaṇo vā tac ca necchati yena śūnyaṁ, tad api necchati yat śūnyaṁ. iyaṁ evaṁrūpā durgr̥hītā śūnyatety ucyate. tat kasya hetoḥ? yena hi śūnyaṁ, tad asadbhāvāt, yac ca śūnyaṁ, tad sadbhāvāc chūnyatā yujyeta. sarvābhāvāc ca kutra kiṁ kena śūnyaṁ bhaviṣyati? na ca tena tasaiva śūnyatā yujyate. tasmād evaṁ durgr̥hītā śūnyatā bhavati.*
>
> *kathaṁ ca punaḥ sugr̥hītā śūnyatā bhavati? yataś ca yad yatra na bhavati, tad tena śūnyaṁ iti samanupaśyati, yat punar atrāvaśiṣṭaṁ bhavati, tad sad ihāstīti yathābhūtaṁ prajānāti, iyam ucyate śūnytāvakrāntir yathābhūtā aviparītā.* BoBh Wogihara ed. 47, 8-20; Dutt ed. 32, 6-15; cf. Tib. D Wi 26b3-6;[98] Ch. T30.488c22- 489a2)[99]

The ideas expressed in this passage actually laid the foundations of the *śūnyatā* dialectics in the Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda and Tathāgatagarbha systems (see, e.g., AbhSam 40, 10-18; MadhVibh ch. I , verse 1 and commentary, pp. 17-18;[100] MadhVibhṬ 10-15; RatVibh ch. I , verses 154-155 and commentary, pp. 76-77; etc.).[101]

This interpretation of the concept of emptiness is not an entirely new creation of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* authors. Its roots go back to canonical sources, and the direct source of the passage cited above is, in all likelihood, the *Cūḷasuññatasutta* (MN III 104-109) (see Mukai 1974; Mukai 1983; Hotori 1984b; Nagao 1991, 55; Skilling 1997, 350-351; etc.).[102] Unfortunately, the text has not survived in Sanskrit,[103] which must have been the language of the canonical texts used by the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* authors, but apart from the Pali original, we have a Tibetan translation (*mDo chen po stong pa nyid ces bya ba*; **Śūnyatā-nāma-mahāsūtra*; Skilling ed. 1994, 146-181) and a rendering into Chinese (*Xiao kong jing* 小空經; **Cūḍaśūnyatāsūtra*; T1.736c27-738a2). The influence of the *Cūḷasuññatasutta* (or rather **Cūḍaśūnyatāsūtra*) on the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* can be seen not only in its basic doctrinal stance but also in its wording. For example, the Pali text describes the emptiness in accordance with reality as follows: *Iti yaṁ hi kho tatta na hoti, tena taṁ suññaṁ samanupassati; yaṁ pana tattha avasiṭṭhaṁ hoti, taṁ santaṁ idam atthī ti pajānati. Evam pi'ssa esā, Ānanda,*

yathābhuccā avipallatthā parisuddhā suññatāvakkan ti bhavati. (MN III 104, 29-105, 3; cf. Skilling ed. 1994, 155). A (hybrid or classical) Sanskrit original close to this passage must have been the direct source of the definition of the well-grasped emptiness (*sugṛhītā śūnyatā*) in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi.* [104] This reliance and elaboration upon the canonical view on emptiness rather than on Prajñāpāramitā tenets is symptomatic of the Śrāvakayāna roots from which the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* grew out. [105]

For the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* authors, 'what remains there' and 'truly exists' is called the '[real] thing' (*vastu*) [106] or 'thing-in-itself' (*vastumātra*). [107] The passage above concludes that the ascetic rightly grasping emptiness 'knows in accordance with reality both the existing thing-in-istself and the mere designation (*prajñapti*) [constructed] with respect to the thing-in-itself' ([...] *yathābhūtaṁ prajānāti yad uta vastumātraṁ ca vidyamānaṁ vastumātre ca prajñaptimātraṁ*) (Wogihara ed. 48, 1-2; Dutt ed. 32, 18-19; cf. D Wi 27a1; T30.489a6-8). This thing-in-itself is actually identified with the Absolute Truth. 'And [the ascetic] correctly understands the Reality [/Suchness] (*tathatā*), the fact that [its] essence is inexpressible (*nirabhilāpya*). This is called emptiness rightly grasped, rightly penetrated through correct wisdom' (*yathābhūtāṁ ca tathatāṁ nirabhilāpyasvabhāvatāṁ yathābhūtaṁ prajānāti. iyam ucyate sugṛhītā śūnyatā samyakprajñayā supratividdheti*) (Wogihara ed. 48, 5-6; Dutt ed. 32, 21-22; D Wi 27a2-3; T30.489a9-11). [108]

One of the major philosophical concerns of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* authors is to refute the erroneous views on emptiness which deny the existence of this 'thing-in-itself'. The upholder of one of these is described as 'denying the thing[-in-itself], he rejects [lit., destroys] [its existence altogether] saying "nothing exists in any way"' (*vastv apavadamāno nāśayati sarveṇa sarvaṁ nāstīti*) (Wogihara ed. 45, 18-19; Dutt ed. 31, 1-2). Such a mistake, we are told, comes from the failure to understand the actual meaning of emptiness preached by the Mahāyāna sutras:

> Hence there are some who having heard scriptures belonging to the Great Vehicle, [109] which are difficult to comprehend, abstruse, related to emptiness, [and] preached with an intended meaning, due to lack of understanding as to the sense of the [teaching] expounded in accordance with reality, imagining [things] in an inappropriate way, by mere reasoning improperly applied, have such views, such theories: 'All is just mere designation, this is the Truth, and he who thus sees [reality] sees [it] correctly'.
>
> (*ato ya ekatyā durvijñeyān sūtrāntān mahāyānapratisaṁyuktān gambhīrān śūnyatāpratisaṁyuktān ābhiprāyikārthanirūpitān śrutvā yathābhūtaṁ bhāṣitasyārtham avijñāyāyoniśo* [110] *vikalpyāyogavihitena tarkamātrakeṇaivaṁdṛṣṭayo bhavanty evaṁvādinaḥ: "prajñaptimātram eva sarvam, etac ca tattvam,* [111] *yaś caivaṁ paśyati sa samyak paśyatīti"*. Dutt ed. 31, 11-15; [112] Wogihara ed. 46, 7-13; cf. D Wi 26a2-4; T30.488b28-c3)

A similar attack on the failure to understand the true purport of the abstruse scriptures preached by the Tathāgata is also seen in the Chapter on the Factors Conducive to Awakening (*Bodhipakṣyapaṭala*). The passage (Wogihara ed. 265, 3-267, 2; Dutt ed. 180, 17-181, 22) is too long to be discussed here, and it will suffice to quote only the following part:

And furthermore, [the bodhisattva] puts [the sentient beings] on the right course [for Awakening] in this way [, to wit, by realising/preaching] to the effect that it is not the case that these phenomena do not exist altogether but it is [only] their essence expressible in words[113] that does not exist. Therefore, these [phenomena] are said [to be] without essence. And moreover, the expressible thing[-in-itself][114] which [actually] exists and upon whose basis words occur, that, too, from [the perspective of] the Absolute Truth (*paramārtha*), does not have the essence of those words by means of which it is expressed as having such an essence.
(*evaṁ ca punar anulomayati yathā neme dharmāḥ sarveṇa sarvaṁ na saṁvidyante, api tv abhilāpātmakaḥ svabhāva eṣāṁ nāsti. teneme niḥsvabhāvā ity ucyante. yad apy*[115] *etad abhilāpyavastu vidyate yad āśrityābhilāpāḥ pravartante, tad api yair abhilāpair yatsvabhāvam abhilapyate, tad api na tatsvabhāvaṁ paramārthataḥ.* (Wogihara ed. 265, 13-19; Dutt ed.180, 23-27).

Who were these advocates of such 'mis-interpretations' of the meaning of emptiness? Apart from branding their opponent an 'arch-nihilist' (*pradhāno nāstiko*) (Wogihara 46, 18; Dutt 31, 18), the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* does not give any concrete details, but judging from the reference to the 'scriptures belonging to the Great Vehicle' and which are 'related to emptiness', it is quite probable that the cristicism was directed against the Prajñāpāramitā followers (see Hotori 1984b, 59), possibly also including (or mainly?) the Mādhyamikas.[116] The latter must have been still new in the philosophical landscape of Indian Buddhism, but it is not excluded that the tenets put forward by Nāgārjuna and his disciples were also known to the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* authors.

Whether the *śūnyatā* concept set forth in the Prajñāpāramitā literature and the Madhyamaka thought does indeed imply a complete negation of the existence of all entities and factors has been and is bound to remain a controversial issue. Methodologically, one should distinguish, first all of all, between the Prajñāpāramitā texts and their Madhyamaka interpretation, which doubtless represents a continuation of the former but in a unique and creative fashion. Then, obviously, interpretative differences may be found amongst various texts belonging to each line and even within the same source. A discussion of the problem, with its countelss aspects and ramifications, is definitely beyond the scope of this study.[117] Suffice it to say here that no matter what the actual intentions of the Prajñāpāramitā authors and the Mādhyamika thinkers were, the surface structure of the text semantics contains quite a few passages which can easily be explained as denying the existence of all phenomena and their ontological support.[118]

In this context, it is also relevant to mention that the Yogācāra-Vijñānavādin interpretation of emptiness was criticised by later Madhyamaka philosophers as Candrakīrti (see especially *Madhyamakāvatāra*, de la Vallée Poussin ed., *ad* VI.57, p. 139, ll. 9-14) and Bhavya (see Ruegg 1969, p. 322, notes 2 and 3; Hotori 1984b, p. 57 and p. 75, n. 7; Nagao 1991, p. 241, n. 31; Skilling 1997, 351). Last but not least, more important for us is the fact that the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* authors wished to present themselves as the revealers of the true meaning of emptiness, and in doing so, they relied on the traditional Śrāvakayānika heritage more than on any Mahāyāna current.

This reliance is also be seen in their spiritual path which is closely related to this conception of emptiness. Actually, the same *Tattvārtha* Chapter cites a canonical passage (BoBh Wogihara ed. 49, 15-50, 7)[119] on the elimination (*vibhava*) of all ideations, starting with that of the earth-element (*pṛthvīsaṁjñā*) and continuing up to that of everything (*sarvasaṁjñā*), and then elaborates its own interpretation (ibid. 50, 8-14) (see Hotori 1984a, 91; 1984b, 64ff.;[120] Odani 2000, 234-235). For the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* authors, this meditation implies the elimination of ideations which consist either in superimposition (*samāropikā*) of linguistically constructed essences or in denial (*apavādikā*) of the thing-in-itself (*vastumātra*). The practice is of paramount importance for the follower of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* as it leads to the realisation, trans-ideational in nature, of the thing-in-itself which amounts to Awakening. As shown by Hotori (1984a, 92; 1984b, 69-70), the elimination (*vibhāvanā*) is also found in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* (Sh 395-396) as a technique in the tranquillity practice (*śamatha*).

It is very important to note here the existence of Prajñāpāramitā passages which stress the fact that the bodhisattva should *not* become seriously engaged in the *elimination* of the concrete characteristics [/images] (*nimittaṁ vibhāvitaṁ bhavati*) lest he attains the state of the '[Lesser Vehicle] disciple' (*śrāvako bhavet*) before achieving all Buddha-qualities (*apraptipūrṇaiḥ sarvabuddhadharmaiḥ*) required by his messianic activity. The ideal course taken by the bodhisattva, Subhūti continues, is to be aware of characteristics, with their concrete marks and signs, and at the same time, continue his spiritual cultivation of the signelessness (*yat tac ca nimittaṁ jānāti yallakṣaṇaṁ yannimittam ānimitte*[121] *ca parijayaṁ karoti*) (Aṣṭa 356, 2-14; AbhisamĀl 726, 20-728, 12) (see Hotori 1984a, 93).[122] It is true that the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* also extolls the salvific duties of the bodhisattva, but it is less emphatic in the prohibition of the usage of these potent meditative techniques probably originating in the Śrāvakayānika repertoire.[123]

The dependence of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* upon the *Śrāvakabhūmi* can also be inferred from certain technical terms peculiar to the latter text. For example, the extent of reality (*yāvadbhāvikatā*) and the conformity to reality (*yathāvadbhāvikatā*) are the two basic aspects of the concept of phenomenal limit [lit., boundary of things] (*vastuparantatā*), one of the so-called universal meditative objects (*vyāpy ālambanam*) (ŚrBh-Gr (14), pp. 34-36). These two aspects are also used in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* in order to define the Reality (*tattvārtha*) (BoBh Wogihara ed. 37, 1-3) or to describe various types of the bodhisattva's wisdom (*prajñā*) (BoBh Wogihara ed. 213, 20-22). The *Bodhisattvabhūmi* does not define these two notions, which are far from being well-known doctrinal categories. On the other hand, detailed definitions of the extent of reality (*yāvadbhāvikatā*) and the conformity to reality (*yathāvadbhāvikatā*) are found in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* (ŚrBh-Gr (14), p. 36), and the authors of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* seem to presuppose that their readers and/or audiences would be familiar with such descriptions.[124]

All these aspects suggest that the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* authors may have come directly from a Śrāvakayāna background and this heritage continued to play a role more important than in other Mahāyāna currents.[125] Furthermore, the references to the *Śrāvakabhūmi* in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* may serve as more direct evidence linking the two texts. These will be presented later as they also appear in the earliest Chinese translation of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* and thus give a clue on the dating of the

Yogācārabhūmi. Such cross-refences are far from being a rarity in the *Yogācārabhūmi*. As argued below, not all of them can be assigned to the formation of the textual unit where they appear and quite a few may have been added in the final stages of the *Yogācārabhūmi*.

Although we have no precise rules to identify early cross-references and distinguish them from the later ones, one can nonetheless think of the following general principle. If a cross-reference adds no information essential to the argumentation of the passage in question and only points to the existence of similar or relatated data in another textual unit, then it is possible (though not absolutely necessary!) that we have to do with an late cross-reference. On the other hand, if the meaning of a passage cannot be properly understood without actually checking the reference, then we might deal with an early cross-reference. It must, however, be stressed that the contexts of many of the cross-refences are semantically too open to support such judgements. Speaking of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, three of the five references to the *Śrāvakabhūmi* seem to have been part of the text from the beginning since the meaning of the passage or doctrines explained would become blurred without them. The other two may be later additions as their presence is not absolutely necessary. More will be said under each of the five citations below (see Subsection 8), but I must stress that such judgements are largely conjectural.

If my hypotheses are correct, then the compilation of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* must have begun after the *Śrāvakabhūmi* attained a certain development in its textual formation, and it probably ended after the the *Śrāvakabhūmi* came to assume its (more or less) final form. If a wild guess is allowed, then I would venture to place the beginnings of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* compilation a few decades after the *Śrāvakabhūmi* formation process started.[126] A very tentative and largely conjectural attempt to date the various stages of the *Yogācārabhūmi* history is put forward in the Chronological Chart in Subsection 10 below.

A discussion of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* formation cannot be complete without pointing out the fact that the text itself appears to have two or even more stages in its development. Roth (1977, 409-410) reasonably argues that the Parts II and III of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, i.e., *Ādhārānudharmayogasthāna* and *Ādhāraniṣṭhāyogasthāna*, were composed later than its first part, the *Ādhārayogasthāna*.[127] This, however, must have happened before the text was rendered into Chinese since all the translations, the first dating from 418 (see below), contain these three Yogasthānas. This is not, however, the place to analyse in detail the strata of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, and I hope that the few remarks above are enough to place the text in the general history of the *Yogācārabhūmi*.[128]

4. The *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ*, the *Vastusaṁgrahaṇī*, the *Paryāyasaṁgrahaṇī*, and the *Vyākhyāsaṁgrahaṇī*

The formation of the rest of the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ* as well as of the *Vastusaṁgrahaṇī*, *Paryāyasaṁgrahaṇī*, and *Vyākhyāsaṁgrahaṇī* must have been an equally gradual process which probably began some time after the completion of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*.[129] Their doctrinal content is for the most part within the

Śrāvakayānika framework. As we shall see below, the few Mahāyāna elements occasionally seen in these parts of the *Yogācārabhūmi* can be explained as being either late (post-*Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra*) additions or isolated elements (under the influence of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*?) which do not affect their basic philosophical core. This suggests that the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ* and the three *Saṁgrahaṇī*s were born in the same or a closely related milieu where the *Śrāvakabhūmi* was formed. This group may have become increasingly aware of its unique position as well as the need to explain and elaborate upon their doctrinal stance. The result was an encyclopaedic collection of short treatises, glossaries, commentaries on canonical texts, etc.

Many of these elaborations and expositions in the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ* are linked to spiritual cultivation. This connection is, however, not always a direct one. The *Pratyekabuddhabhūmi* clearly represents a presentation of the spiritual path of the Solitary Buddhas and was probably added at a fairly advanced stage in the redaction of the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ* in order to offer a complete picture of all the three vehicles. While the Abhidharmic psychology in the first five Bhūmis or the *Samāhitābhūmi* can be seen as a necessary development explaining the mental processes underlying yogic practices, the verse collections of the *Paramārthagāthā*, *Ābhiprāyikārthagāthā*, and *Śarīrārthagāthā* appear to be rather by-products of this spiritual activity. The direct relation to meditative praxis is even harder to detect in the case of the three *Saṁgrahaṇī*s. More about these will be said below.

There is no doubt that authors and redactors of the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ*, at least in its late stages, knew about and eventually incorporated the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* into their compendium. I think that it is not unreasonable to assume that the beginnings of the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ* compilation coincide with the final phases of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*. Knowledge of this text expounding the bodhisattva's path may have been an extra reason which prompted to authors and compilers of the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ* to gather their materials as one encyclopaedic treatise dealing with various facets and types of spiritual cultivation. Undoubtedly, their attidude was, most probably, inclusivistic since they allowed a place to the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* in their *Summa Ascetica*, but typical Mahāyāna concepts, whether coming through the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* or other sources, are found only sporadically and they do not affect the basically Śrāvakyānika outlook of the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ*.

I surmise that the latter part of the compilation process of the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ* must have overlapped with the formation of the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra*. Elements traceable to the latter are, however, hardly seen in the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ*. And when such elements appear, they appear to be later accretions which found their way via the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī*. As shown by Schmithausen (2000) in one of his seminal contributions on the subject, this seems to be the case with the five categories (*pañca vastūni*) (edited text in ibid., p. 248, § B.01), the twofold emptiness (*dvividhā śūnyatā*) (ibid., § B.02), the threefold nature (*trividhaḥ svabhāvaḥ*) (ibid. § B.08), the threefold absence of nature (*trividhā niḥsvabhāvatā*) (ibid. § B.09), and the fivefold Great Awakening (*pañcākārā mahābodhiḥ*) (ibid. § B.10) occurring in the *Śrutamayībhūmi* (ibid., pp. 246-254).[130] Likewise, the three characters, i.e., the perfect character (*pariniṣpannalakṣaṇa*), the mutually dependent character (*paratantralakṣaṇa*), and the falsely imagined character (*parikalpitalakṣaṇa*), which are mentioned in the *Savitarkasavicārabhūmi* (YoBh 154, 11-155, 2) as well as in the *Cintamayībhūmi*

(Sanskrit text edited in Schmithausen 2000, 259), were probably borrowed from the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* and 'added after or at least towards the very end of the compilation of *MauBh* [i.e., *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ*], but before the compilation of *VinSg* [i.e., *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī*] had started' (Schmithausen 2000, 263). What is even more important is that these ideas do not play any role in the shaping of the basic philosophical outlook of the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ*.

The gradual growth of the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ* is also witnessed by the birth and development of the concept of *ālayavijñāna*, which was not borrowed from other sources or circles but seems to have been created by the *Yogācārabhūmi* authors. The history of this idea, brilliantly analysed in Schmithausen 1987a, shows a continuous evolution from its 'modest' beginnings in the *Samāhitābhūmi* (Schmithausen 1987a, 18ff.) to the more developed forms in other passages in the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ* (ibid., 109ff.; etc.) and eventually to its systematic treatment in the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* (ibid., pp. 10-11; n. 226; etc.).

The *Vastusaṁgrahaṇī*, which chronologically seems to be the earliest of the three *Saṁgrahaṇī*s, is basically an exegetical work dedicated to the *Sūtrapiṭaka*, mainly to the *Saṁyuktāgama* (see Mukai 1985, especially pp. 8ff.). One could speculate that at least in the beginning, the *Vastusaṁgrahaṇī* was not directly linked to the explanation of the spiritual path, though admittedly the *Saṁyuktāgama* does contain sutras and concepts related to meditation. This, however, is not a decisive argument since basically all canonical collections have materials relevant to spiritual cultivation. The basic type of discourse of the *Vastusaṁgrahaṇī* is different from most of the other parts of the *Yogācārabhūmi*. It does not deal with a certain path and related aspects of the spiritual praxis like the *Śrāvakabhūmi* or the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*. Neither is it a systematic discussion of the psychology related to it, and nor does it comment upon the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ* as the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* does. The *Vastusaṁgrahaṇī* shares many traits with an exegetical work and its interest is not limited to meditation. It actually comments upon a much larger range of topics following the subject-matter set by its *mūla*-text, i.e., the *Saṁyuktāgama*.

More or less the same can be said about the style of the *Paryāyasaṁgrahaṇī* and the *Vyākhyāsaṁgrahaṇī*, though neither is particularly associated with any specific canonical text. Probably, both texts began to be composed later than the *Vastusaṁgrahaṇī*, and both clearly reflect Abhidharmic concerns to explain and classify scholastic concepts. The *Vyākhyāsaṁgrahaṇī* is actually a *Mātṛkā* commentary, and together with the *Paryāyasaṁgrahaṇī*, it supplies the heremeneutical tools necessary for scriptural exegesis and understanding. It seems reasonable to assume that the three *Saṁgrahaṇī*s began to be compiled in the same circles which produced the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ* but at least in their early stages, they were not conceived as being part of a single work which included the latter text, too. Rather they may have been auxiliary works meant to offer the followers of these circles models of exegetical understanding of their canons and scholastic collections of the terms and definitions.

It rather looks as if the group which had first started with the compilation of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* and then continued with the rest of the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ* was in the process of creating its own complete Canon. One could speculate that if a part of this fold, or a group closely related to it, had not developed a keen interest in the bodhisattva's spiritual path and later had not become influenced by the philosophical

innovations of the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra*, the result might have been the birth of a new Śrāvakayānika school with its own Canon (basically, a subtype of (Mūla-)sarvastivādin lineage?) as well as a series of original treatises and texts strongly emphasising the practice, theory and psychology of meditation.[131]

The doctrinal stance of all these three *Saṁgrahaṇī*s is basically Śrāvakayānist. It is true that they are aware of the existence of the Great Vehicle[132] and also contain a few terms and doctrines apparently of Mahāyāna origin. On the whole, however, such elements do not play a central role in the doctrinal framework of the texts. It is also quite frequent to see what appears to be a Mahāyāna term used or explained in a sense closer or acceptable to the Śrāvakayāna stance.[133] Of course, it could be argued that such elements may be late accretions in the formation of the *Yogācārabhūmi*, but I do not exclude the possibility that these elements (or at least part of them) may have been there from the very beginning. In view of the inclusivistic and encyclopaedic atmosphere which seems to have been behind the compilation of the *Yogācārabhūmi*, the latter alternative is perfectly possible. What is important here is the fact that like the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ* (excluding, of course, the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* and the few late additions), the *basic* doctrinal position of these three *Saṁgrahaṇī*s was not affected the Great Vehicle.

The doctrinal position of the *Vastusaṁgrahaṇī* is very well reflected in the lengthy discussions devoted to the concept of emptiness (e.g., T30.812b6-814a14 = D Zi 214a5-218a4; T30.826b5-c6 = D Zi 243b7-244b4; T30.833b15-c5 = D Zi 259b5-260a). In spite of what appears to be a terminology inspired by or similar with that of the Great Vehicle, the doctrinal content of its interpretations can hardly be considered full-fledged Mahāyānist views. The text speaks, for example, of emptiness in accordance with the conventional truth (**saṁvṛtisatyaśūnyatā*; *kun rdzob kyi stong pa*; 世俗諦空) and emptiness in accordance with the Absolute Truth (**paramārtha-satyaśūnyatā*; *don dam pa stong pa nyid*; 勝義諦空).[134] The latter is defined as follows: 'If it is stated that at all times all conditioned factors only have cause and effect but there is no recipient and agent whatsoever, then it should be known that this is called emptiness in accordance with the Absolute Truth' (若說恒時一切諸行唯有因果，都無受者及與作者，當知是名勝義諦空。T30.826b8-10; *dus thams cad du 'du byed thams cad kyi 'bras bu dang rgyu tsam zhig ni yod la tshor ba po dang byed pa po ni med pa gang yin pa 'di ni don dam pa stong pa nyid ces bya'o* | | P 'I 282b2-3; D Zi 244a2).[135]

We also find the concepts of selflessness of persons (**pudgalanairātmya*; *gang zag bdag med pa*; 補特伽羅無我) and selflessness of phenomena (**dharmanairātmya*; *chos bdag med pa*; 法無我). The understanding of the latter concept, usually regarded as a basic Mahāyāna tenet, is nothing more than a denial of a permanent self on grounds of impermance. 'The selflessness of phenomena refers to the fact that the nature[136] of all condioned factors which arise in dependence is not the real self[137] because of [their] being impermanent' (法無我者謂：即一切緣生諸行性非實我，是無常故。T833b18-19; *chos bdag med pa ni rten cing 'brel bar 'byung ba'i 'du byed gang yin pa de dag nyid bdag med de mi rtag pa'i phyir ro* | | P 'I 299a6; D Zi 259b6).

Furthermore, the *Vastusaṁgrahaṇī* goes as far as mounting an outright attack on what appears to be the Prajñāpāramitā position. 'If one regards the essence of all

phenomena as ultimately[138] empty, this is called a perverted understanding [lit., penetration] with regard to emptiness (**viparītā śūnyatāvakrāntiḥ*). It is also called[139] a transgression against the [correct] teaching [/spiritual practice] and monastic discipline (**dharmavinaya*) well-preached by the Buddha'[140] (若觀諸法所有自性畢竟皆空，是名於空顛倒趣入。亦名違越佛所善說法毘奈耶。T30.812c6-8; *gal te chos rnams kyi rang bzhin rang bzhin kyis stong par mthong na ni phyin ci log gi stong pa nyid la zhugs pa yin par bstan te | chos 'dul ba 'di las 'das te thal bar 'gyur ro* | | P 'I 247b7; D Zi 214b7-215a1). The rejection of a nihilist interpretation of emptiness is similar to the *Cūḷasuññatasutta* and the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, and actually the argumentation of this passage closely resembles the latter.[141] It is true that eventually, the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* went a different direction and developed its own dialectics and praxis centred upon the thing-in-itself. The *Vastusaṁgrahaṇī*, on the other hand, basically remained within the Śrāvakayāna framework.

It is hard to determine whether this anti-nihilist criticism probably directed against the Prajñāpāramitā interpretation of emptiness originated with the *Bodhisattva-bhūmi* or with the *Vastusaṁgrahaṇī*. Since we lack any concrete clue about the dates of these works and clear historical information about their formation process, nothing can be said with certainty. I would venture to push a little further my conjectural scenario and surmise that such a position may have actually been inherited by both texts from a common tradition and developed in different ways. Though much less visible and vocal than the Mahāyāna attacks on the 'Lesser Vehicle', the Śrāvakayāna criticism against the new *enfant terrible* does not come as a surprise. It is conceivable that the Buddhist milieu where the *Vastusaṁgrahaṇī* was composed may have elaborated such a criticism based upon the canonical interpretation of the concept of emptiness. Though the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* was more radical in its own development of this interpretation, it still kept its canonical flavour and links with the Śrāvakayāna fold. Rather than surmising a doctrinal borrowing one way or another, these similarities between the *Vastu-saṁgrahaṇī* and the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* may reflect a common heritage. On the other hand, we cannot exclude the possibility that the *Vastusaṁgrahaṇī* authors may have known the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* criticism against the 'wrongly grasped emptiness' and may have even become stimulated to articulate their own refutation of the 'perverted understanding of emptiness'.

I conjecture that the early stages in the formation of the *Vastusaṁgrahaṇī* coincided with the later phases of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*. The *Vastusaṁgrahaṇī* may have actually been the next textual production in the activities of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* followers. The process was probably continued with the composition of *Paryāyasaṁgrahaṇī* and the *Vyākhyāsaṁgrahaṇī*, the finalisation of which must have gone hand in hand with the gradual compilation of the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ*. The three *Saṁgrahaṇī*s actually refer to and rely upon the *Śrāvakabhūmi* quite often. It is not only the large number of cross-references to the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, which, as argued in this study, can be later additions, but also the fact that the argumentation of the three *Saṁgrahaṇī*s presupposes the knowledge of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*. I shall mention here only the frequent integration of the seven contemplations (*sapta manaskārāḥ*) of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* into the explanations seen in these *Saṁgrahaṇī*s (e.g., T30.756c22-757a14; 760c14-15; 764b6-7; 764c13-15; 765b14-16; etc.) It is difficult to ascertain when the composition of the three *Saṁgrahaṇī*s ended, but since they do not appear to

be affected by the latest developments in the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ*, it is likely that this happened before the final stages in the compilation of the latter.

A detailed account of the chronology of the various Books making up the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ* will doubtless require a much more meticulous examination. Different stages of doctrinal development seem to exist in quite a few cases, and no doubt that future research will shed more light upon the intricate historical relations between all the parts of the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ*. For the time being, I shall limit myself only to a more general (and definitely conjectural!) conclusion and say that the compilation of the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ* and of the three *Saṁgrahaṇīs* seems to have begun after the *Śrāvakabhūmi* had already assumed its (more or less) final form and while the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* was in its late stages of formation. This compilation process probably lasted a few decades and came to an end while the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* was in the final phases of compilation.

5. The *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra*

The history of the *Yogācārabhūmi* cannot be discussed without the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra*, a text which except its introductory chapter, is quoted in toto in the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī*. Philosophically, it is the formation of the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* that marks the actual birth of the Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda as a distinct Mahāyāna school.[142] The relation between the compilation of the *Yogācārabhūmi* and the genesis of the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* is complex and definitely far from easy to ascertain. It seems, however, almost certain that the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* took shape in circles closely associated with the *Yogācārabhūmi*. Chronologically, this appears to have happened sometime after the completion of the basic text of the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ* and before the compilation of the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* in its final form (see Schmithausen 1969b, 822-823; Schmithausen 2000, 245-246 and Addenda, p. 1).[143] More concretely, it can be conjectured that the early strata of the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* were written while the late parts of the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ* were compiled and that the creation of the younger parts of the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* as well as its final editing took place while the formation of the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* was in its early stages.

What is more difficult to determine is how closely connected were the author(s) and redactor(s) of the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* to those who were composing and compiling the *Yogācārabhūmi*. In other words, did the former belong to an independent milieu? If so, what was their original affiliation and how did their work become part of the *Yogācārabhūmi*? Or did member(s) of the same group who authored and edited the *Yogācārabhūmi* also compile a text (or cluster of proto-texts) later known as the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra*? This would explain why this text was (after all, quite naturally!) included into the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī*, a part of their own sacred corpus *in statu nascendi*. But how did then the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* become an independent source regarded as an authentic *sūtra*? And why is its doctrinal influence on other parts of the *Yogācārabhūmi* and even on the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* rather limited? There are, I am afraid, no certain answers to all these questions, and the specialists working in this field have tried various paths of explanation. Fukaura (1933, 4-5) and Nishi (1959, 670-671) consider that the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* was originally composed as part of

the *Yogācārabhūmi*, being therefore not a mere citation in the latter. According to them, it was only later that the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* was extracted from the *Yogācārabhūmi*, had an introductory chapter added; and then circulated as an independent sutra.[144] On the other hand, scholars like Schmithausen (1969b, 822-823; 1973a, 167-68), Suguro (1989, 293; 1976, 32-33), Takasaki (1982a, 32), Ahn (2003, 6-8), etc. argue that though closely related with the formation of the *Yogācārabhūmi*, the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* was compiled as an independent text.[145]

This latter scenario seems to me more plausible. It has the advantage of better accounting for the limited influence of the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* on other parts of the *Yogācārabhūmi*. And it also explains more convincingly why the former circulated as an independent sutra. If we suppose that the authors of the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* were part of the same group writing and compiling the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ*, one would expect to see their new and innovative ideas being applied to the interpretation of more doctrines. We have seen above that this was not the case and that the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ*, in spite of its occasional accretions and unique concepts as *ālayavijñāna*, remains within a Śrāvakayānika framework. One rather gets the impression that the group of authors, editors, and followers of the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ* remained strong enough not to allow for much external doctrinal influence in spite of their inclusivistic spirit which admitted of the possibility of the *Bodhisattvayāna*. Their strong position seems to have continued even after the completion of the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ* since the basic philosophical outlook of their work was not (probably could not be) fundamentally changed even in the late stages of the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* and the final editing of the *Yogācārabhūmi* as a unitary work, a phase when the Mahāyānika tone had already become more noticeable. By this time, the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ* must have gained a status close to that of a scriptural authority, and only minor additions and editorial interventions could be performed on it. The clear rapprochement between the *Yogācārabhūmi* and the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* must have occurred during the compilation of the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī*. On this we shall speak more below.

Though the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* authors, compilors, and followes appear to have formed an independent group, we cannot assume this group to have been 'situated' too far away from the *Yogācārabhūmi* fold. Their knowledge of and debt to the earlier parts of the *Yogācārabhūmi*, to be more precise, the *Śrāvakabhūmi* and the *Bodhisattva-bhūmi*, is too obvious to consider them a completely unrelated group. Equally important seems to be their genuine interest and involvement in the yogic practice, which they shared with the *Śrāvakabhūmi* and *Bodhisattvabhūmi* ascetics. One could speculate that they may have been a splinter group from the *Śrāvakabhūmi* milieu or, even more likely, from the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* circles.[146] And while continuing the yogic tradition of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* and the Mahāyāna commitment of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, this splinter group seems to have become more radical and creative in its philosophical interpretations and reformulation of the spiritual path.

The indebtedness of the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* to the *Śrāvakabhūmi* will be discussed in detail in the Chapter Six below. Here it will suffice to mention only three important examples. First, the four types of universal meditative objects (*vyāpy-ālambanam*) defined in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* (ŚrBh-Gr (14) 28-38) seem to have provided the basic framework for the path of spiritual cultivation expounded in § 36, Chapter VIII of the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* (pp. 114-116)[147] (see Mōri 1989, 48; 51-52).

Second, one of the sources of the representation-only (*vijñaptimātratā*) doctrine can be found in a passage in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* which describes the image of the meditative object as 'merely cognition or perception or recollection' *jñānamātraṁ vā, darśanamātraṁ vā, pratismṛtimātraṁ vā* (ŚrBh-Gr (14), 44, 7-10) (see Schmithausen 1973a, 167; 1976c, 239-240; 1984, 434). Of course, this passage alone does not account for the entire formation process of the *vijñaptimātratā*. As argued by Schmithausen, a crucial role was also played by the 'historical background of Mahāyānistic illusionism describing all finite entities and notions as empty (*śūnya*), unreal (*asaṁvidyamāna* etc.), and illusory, comparable to magic (*māyopama*) or to a dream (*svapnopama*), etc.' (1976c, 249) as well as by the 'nominalism' of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, i.e., the qualification of 'all finite entities as nothing but denomination (*prajñaptimātra*)' (ibid., 243-244). Another important source may have also been the mind-only verse in the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* declaring that 'the [entire universe consisting of] three spheres is nothing but mind only' (*cittamātram idaṁ yad idaṁ traidhātukam*; DaśBh, Rahder ed. 49, 9; Kondō ed. 98, 8-9) (see Schmithausen 1973a 172-175 and 1976c, 244-246).[148] Last but not least, the meditative experiences and philosophical reflection of the circles where the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* was formed probably also contributed to the birth of this new paradigm (see Schmithausen 1973a, 170-171; 1976c, 241; and 2001, 1057).

Third, we also see concepts originating in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* which seem to have found their way into the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* most probably through the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*. Thus, the extent of reality (*yāvadbhāvikatā*) and the conformity to reality (*yathāvadbhāvikatā*), which define the constitute the two basic aspects in phenomenal limit (*vastuparantatā*) in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* (ŚrBh-Gr (14), pp. 34-36), are also met with in the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* in the definition of the reality (*don*; **artha*). In the latter text, the extent of reality (*ji snyed yod pa nyid*; **yāvadbhāvikatā*) and the conformity to reality (*ji lta ba bzhin du yod pa nyid*; * *yathāvadbhāvikatā*) are two of the ten aspects through by means of which the bodhisattva knows the reality (*don*; **artha*) (SaṁNirm pp. 98-99, § 20.1-2).[149] It is relevant that as we have seen above, the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* also employs these two concepts in order to define the Reality (*tattvārtha*) (BoBh Wogihara ed. 37, 1-3) (see Subsection 3 above).

We have substantial textual evidence suggesting that the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* also relies upon or presupposes other Books in the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ*, especially the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*. For instance, as pointed out by Schmithausen (1987a, p. 266, n. 115), the list of the so-called nine categories (*dngos po dgu*; **nava vastūni*) in the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* (p. 151, ll. 9-22) seems to require knowledge and probably depends on the similar set of concepts explained in the *Manobhūmi* (YoBh 71, 12-72, 3), itself apparently presupposing the *Vastusaṁgrahaṇī*.

Another example is the treatment of the inexpressible nature (*brjod du med pa'i chos nyid*; **anabhilāpyadharmatā*) and non-dual character (*gnyis su med pa'i mthshan nyid*; **advayalakṣaṇa*) of phenomena in Chapter I of the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* (pp. 34-38), which appears to be based upon the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (Wogihara ed., p. 50, ll. 14ff.) (see Hotori 1983).[150] Like the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (see above), the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* also rejects the extreme nihilist view which denies the existence of all phenomena (*chos thams cad la med par lta ba*) and characteristics (*mthshan nyid med par lta ba*) (p. 77, ll. 11-12) (see Schmithausen 2000, 255-256). The influence of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* can also be seen in the adoption of the meditative praxis of

elimination (*vibhāvanā*) of ideations and conceptual constructions which obstruct the realisation of the thing-in-itself (see above). The *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* declares that the bodhisattva engaged in spiritual cultivation 'removes the images of phenomena (**dharmanimitta*) as well as the images of the object [of knowledge] (**arthanimitta*) by means of the contemplation on Suchness (**tathatāmanasikāra*)' (*de bzhin nyid yid la byed pas chos kyi mthsan ma dang | don gyi mtshan ma rnam par sel bar byed*; pp. 106, ll. 16-17)[151] (see Hotori 1984a, 93; 1984b 71-72).

It thus appears that the emptiness (*śūnyatā*) theory and praxis in the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* is filtered through the philosophical stance of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*. The very title of the text implies that the hidden or underlying meaning (*saṁdhi*) of the Buddha's teaching had not been fully understood and needs being unravelled (*nirmocana*). We have seen that the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* proclaims its teachings to be the right interpretation of the scriptures 'difficult to comprehend, abstruse, [...] preached with an intended meaning'. The *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* goes one step further. It claims to represent 'the third turning of the Dharma-wheel' (*chos kyi 'khor lo gsum pa bskor*) (p. 85, ll. 30-31) superior to both the first one, which revealed the Four Noble Truths to the Śrāvakayāna followers (*[nyan thos kyi]*[152] *theg pa la yang dag par zhugs pa rnams la 'phags pa'i bden pa bzhi'i rnam par bstan pas*) (ibid., 85, 11-12), and the second one, which was set forth 'in the form of the teaching of emptiness for those established in the Great Vehicle' (*theg pa chen po la yang dag par zhugs pa rnams la stong pa nyid smos pa'i rnam pas*) (ibid., 85, 21-22).[153] The hermeneutical rhetoric of claiming that one's own doctrines are *the* final interpretation and actual intention of the Buddha's words is certainly not unique to the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* and represents one of the most conspicuous aspects of the (hierarchically!) inclusivistic spirit of the Buddhist tradition. What is important here is that the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* presents itself as an exceptional point in the history of the Holy Teaching and regards the earlier emptiness theories (or at least part of them) as needing further interpretation (*drang ba'i don*; **neyārtha*) (ibid., 85, 24) in order to become fully consistent with the Buddha's intended meaning. Of course, its own doctrines on emptiness are declared to be definitive or explicit (*nges pa'i don*; **nītārtha*) (ibid., 85, 32).[154]

The philosophical effort to develop a *śūnyatā* dialectics along new interpretative lines, most probably inspired from the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, must have led to the formulation of the three characters of the phenomena (**trīṇī dharmalakṣaṇāni*; *chos rnams kyi mtshan nyid gsum po*),[155] i.e., perfect character (**pariniṣpannalakṣaṇa*; *yongs su grub pa'i mtshan nyid*; 圓成實相), mutually dependent character (**paratantralakṣaṇa*; *gzhan gyi dbang gi mtshan nyid*; 依他起相) and falsely imagined character (**parikalpitalakṣaṇa*; *kun brtags pa'i mtshan nyid*; 遍計所執相) (SaṁNirm pp. 60ff.; T16.693a15ff.),[156] as well as of the threefold absence of nature (**trividhā niḥsvabhāvatā*; *ngo bo med pa nyid rnam pa gsum po*; 三種無自性) (see SaṁNirm. pp. 67ff.; T16.694a13ff.). The *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* is the first text which clearly states and explains these three characters (see Funahashi 1976, 155-169; Takemura 1995, 70-74), but the proto-history of this doctrine may be traced to the Prajñāpāramitā literature (Takemura 1995, 49-52).[157] According to Funahashi (1976, 150-155), the direct prototypes of the three natures are found in 'the mind [which constructs] provisional designations' 假名心, 'the mind [which perceives] the reality [of the five

aggregates behind these designations]' 法心, and 'the mind [which conceives] emptiness' 空心 expounded in the **Tattvasiddhi* 成實論 (T32.327a8ff.). Takemura (1995, 53-57) accepts that these concepts in the **Tattvasiddhi* may have had a certain role in the genesis of the three natures but argues that a more important part was played by the *Tattvārtha* Chapter in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*. A detailed discussion is not possible here, but roughly speaking, Takemura's theory appears more plausible.[158]

The concept of the subliminal 'mind which takes possession' [of a new body] (**ādānavijñāna*; *len pa'i rnam par shes pa*), discussed in detail in Chapter V of the Tibetan translation (SaṁNirm, pp. 54-58), appears to be the creation of the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* (see Schmithausen 1987a, 49).[159] The term is, however, also identified as being synonymous with the *ālayavijñāna* (*kun gzhi rnam par shes pa*) (SaṁNirm, p. 55, § 3). This suggests the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* authors were familiar with the latter concept as it appears in the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ* (see Schmithausen 1987a, 12-13; 49). Actually, the new appellation of **ādānavijñāna* may have served not only to describe what the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* deemed to be the main function of this subliminal mind but also the purpose of 'setting itself off against the terminology of the Yogācārabhūmi' (Schmithausen 1987a, 49). It thus appears that at least the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* part dealing with the **ādānavijñāna* was formed at a time when the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ* was probably in its late stages or already completed (cf. Schmithausen 1987a, 12-13).[160]

Finally, let us note that the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* appears itself to be a composite work whose compilation was gradual and may have taken a few decades. This has already been pointed out by Lamotte (1935, SaṁNirm pp. 17-24) who distinguishes between three parts of the text probably representing different strata in its formation: chapters I to IV, chapters V to VII, and chapters VIII to X (of the Tibetan translation of the text).[161]

6. The Early Parts of the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī*

The text of the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī*, as we know it today, was completed after the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ*. This assumption is quite natural since the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* represents a commentary or rather a collection (*saṁgrahaṇī*) of clarifications (*viniścaya*) as well as supplementary materials dedicated to basically each Book of the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ*.[162] It seems, however, that some of its parts and passages go back to earlier periods, and the compilation of these materials may have already begun during the late stages of the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ* formation. These may originally have been exegetical and scholastic materials which had been in existence for a while in the circles associated with the (still nascent) *Yogācārabhūmi* but which for some reason had not been included in the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ* or in the three *Saṁgrahaṇī*s. The prescise inner chronology of the Books of the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* still remains to be established. What appears quite evident is that there are passages which seem to reflect early stages in the doctrinal history of concepts which they expound and these stand in marked contrast to other explanations in the same *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī*, which are clearly more developed philosophically or quite differently conceived.

Let us see a few examples. One is connected to the seed (*bīja*) concept.[163] Although the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* contains the most developed form of the *ālayavijñāna* theory in the *Yogācārabhūmi*, we also find passages which seem to ignore the concept althogether (see Schmithausen 1987a, pp. 271-272, n. 131). For instance, the *Cintamayabhūmiviniścaya* (P Zi 215a5-7; T30.661b26-c1) speaks of the seeds of defilement (**kleśabīja*; *nyon mongs pa'i sa bon*; 煩惱種子) in the pellucid matter (**rūpaprasāda*; *dang ba'i gzugs*; 清浄諸色) [of the sense faculties] in the mind (**citta*; *sems*; 心) and the concomitant mental functions (**caitasikā dharmāḥ*; *sems las byung ba'i chos*; 心所) without, however, making any hint to the *ālayavijñāna* (see Schmithausen 1987a, pp. 271-272, n. 131; p. 353, n. 495).

Another example is found in a passage occurring shortly after the most detailed and philosophically refined treatment of the *ālayavijñāna* in the whole *Yogācārabhūmi* (see Schmithausen 1987a, pp. 271-272, n. 131; cf. Schmithausen 1969b, 817-818).[164] This passage (P Zi 15b5ff; T30. 583b21ff.) puts forward a different theory which holds that the mind and the body contain their own seeds (*bīja*) as well as the seeds of each other. The *ālayavijñāna* concept is not employed in the main presentation of this theoretical framework. However, towards its end, the passage states that this theory is based upon doctrines expounded when the Holy Teaching of the *ālayavijñāna* had not been established and now that the latter had been forward, all seeds can briefly be said to rely upon the *ālayavijñāna* (復次此所建立種子道理當知且依未建立阿頼耶識聖教而説。若已建立阿頼耶識，當知略説諸法種子一切皆依阿頼耶識。T30.584a27-b1; *sa bon rnam par gzhag*[165] *pa'i tshul 'di ni kun gzhi rnam par shes pa rnam par ma bzhag*[166] *pa la rig par bya'o | | rnam par bzhag pa la ni mdor bsdu na de la chos thams cad kyi sa bon yod par rig par bya ste* | P Zi 17b6; D Zhi 15a6-7).[167] This must be a redactional remark which attempts to harmonise the old (but apparently still influential) *bīja* concept and the new *ālayavijñāna* theory (cf. also Schmithausen 1987a, pp. 271-272, n. 131).

The formation of the theory of the mind and body mutually containing their seeds has been brilliantly analysed by Yamabe Nobuyoshi (2000).[168] According to the Japanese scholar (see especially pp. 140-142), the only place in the *Yogācārabhūmi* where this theory is found in its complete form is the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* passage discussed above. This also seems to be its first occurrence in Buddhist literature, and Yamabe reasonably argues that it does not seem to have been borrowed or inherited from other sources but rather to be based on elements found in the older strata of the *Yogācārabhūmi*. The doctrine most likely represents the result of an internal process of development within the framework of the *Yogācārabhūmi*. Moreover, Yamabe shows that even in its complete form in the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī*, the theory is not perfectly consistent and seems to be a heterogenous mixture of various elements.[169]

Another example of an early doctrinal element surviving in the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* is the unique Buddhology espoused by the *Sopadhikanirupadhikabhūmiviniścaya* (edited Tibetan text in Schmithausen 1969a, 54ff.; 66ff.) (see Schmithausen 1987a, p. 14 and n. 130).[170] The Buddha is depicted here as continuing his salvific action even after attaining Nirvana without remainder (*nirupadhiśeṣaṁ nirvāṇaṁ*). No presupposition or mention is made, however, of concepts like Dharma-body (**dharmakāya*; *chos kyi sku*) and Liberation-body (**vimuktikāya*; *rnam par 'grol ba'i lus*) which

are employed in the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* (p. 149, ch.X, §§ 1-2), a text which, as we have seen, is cited almost entirely in the same *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī*.[171] This suggests that this passage was composed prior to the incorporation of the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* into the *Yogācārabhūmi* or, at least, independently on the basis of unique doctrines developed in the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* circles.

7. The Late Parts of the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* and the Final Redaction of the *Yogācārabhūmi*

Three main features characterise the last phase in the formation of the *Yogācāra-bhūmi*: (1) a marked development in the philosophical treatment of many of the concepts already found in the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ*; (2) the citation, almost in toto, of the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra*; and (3) increasing editorial efforts to put all the materials into a single work.

Concerning the first feature, the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* contains, for instance, the most refined and detailed theory of the *ālayavijñāna*.[172] Another example is the development of the so-called five categories (*pañca vastūni*), i.e., phenomenon [/appearance] (*nimitta*), apellation (*nāman*), conception (*vikalpa*), Reality [/Suchness] (*tathatā*), and correct wisdom (*samyagjñāna*), which had their roots in the *Tattvārtha* Chapter of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* but were systematised as such by the authors of the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* (see Kramer ed. and tr. 2005, especially pp. 52-60;[173] Takahashi 2005, especially pp. 34-49).[174] Such developments reflect the continuous philosophical efforts which doubtless took place within the *Yogācārabhūmi* circles. This comes as no surprise, and many of these novelties reflect a gradual maturing continuing the doctrinal lines of the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ*.

What is more intriguing is the inclusion of almost the entire text of the *Saṁdhi-nirmocanasūtra* into the *Bodhisattvabhūmiviniścaya*. Although sharing the same Mahāyāna framework as well as many common ideas with the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, the the citation of the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* is not necessary for the clarification of any of the basic doctrines of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*. As argued above, the *Saṁdhinirmocana-sūtra* appears to be the work of a group sufficiently close to the *Yogācārabhūmi* circles to be influenced by their teachings but independent enough to develop its own unique philosophy. Who made the editorial decision to quote this text? And why?

One possible start for our speculation is to conjecture that the authors of the *Bodhisattvabhūmiviniścaya* belonged to the same group who had compiled the *Saṁdhi-nirmocanasūtra*. Then, the basic reason for the citation can be explained as a genuine desire to propagate the highest form of Buddhist Truth, after all, representing the Third Turning of the Dharma-Wheel. However, if we take a careful look at the way in which the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* was incorporated into the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī*, one cannot help feeling that this citation is not only largely unnecessary but also stylistically awkward. The quotation starts in a passage which comments upon the *Bodhisattva-guṇapaṭala* and discusses the five aspects of the Absolute Truth (*paramārthasatya*).[175] Speaking of its inexpressible and non-dual aspects (*brjod du med pa'i mtshan nyid dang | gnyis su med pa'i mtshan nyid*; 離名言相及無二相), the *Bodhisattvabhūmi-viniścaya* says that these should be known as explained in the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* (*dGongs pa nges par 'grel pa'i mdo las ji skad 'byung ba bzhin blta bar bya ste* | P 'I

47b7-8; D Zi 44a3-4; 當知如解深密經中, T30.713c28-29). It is here that the citation of the sutra, without its introductory chapter, begins.[176]

It is true that Chapter II in Xuanzang's translation of the *Saṁdhinirmocana-sūtra* (corresponding to the first four chapters of the Tibetan version)[177] deals with the aspects of the Absolute Truth, and one could say that its quotation is not exegetically out of place. In my opinion, however, a more sensible way of referring to this topic in the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* would have been to quote the most relevant passages only. But even if we accept that the quotation of the whole chapter was needed, doubt remains as to the necessity of citing the *rest* of the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* since the following chapters have no direct relation to the elucidation of the *Bodhisattva-guṇapaṭala*. In the Chinese translation of the the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī*, the next chapter of the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* is introduced as: 'Next, the aspects of *citta*, *manas*, and *vijñāna*, should be known as [expounded] in the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra*' (復次心意識相當知如解深密經中。T30.718a7). In the Tibetan rendering, this is stated as: 'Herein, the character of the mind (**cittasya lakṣaṇam*) should be known as it appears in the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra*' (*de la sems kyi mtshan nyid ni dGongs pa nges par 'grel pa'i mdo las ji skad 'byung*[178] *ba bzhin blta bar bya ste* | P 'I 57b4; D Zi 52b7-53a1). However, *citta*, *manas*, and *vijñāna* or *cittalakṣaṇa* are not treated in the *Bodhisattvaguṇapaṭala*. And more or less the same can be said about the rest of the chapters in the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra*.[179]

One might reply that in discussing the *bodhisattva*'s merits, a whole range of doctrinal aspects could (or even should) be presented, but this is not the basic strategy of the exegetical literature. While often introducing new concepts and engaging in various collateral discussions, commentarial works usually stay more focused on the *mūla*-text. It is true that as indicated by the title of the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī*, this part of the *Yogācārabhūmi* is a 'collection of ellucidations' rather than a pure commentary. However, the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* is structured according to the Books of the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ* and a basic thematic consistency is usually maintained in most of its textual units. A large part of the (anyway exceedingly long!) quotation of the *Saṁdhi-nirmocanasūtra*, especially the chapters after the **Paramārthasatyalakṣaṇaparivarta* 勝義諦相品, appears to be more than a mere scholastic excursus. To be sure, this is not in itself a definitive proof against the possibility that the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* group might have been behind the compilation of the *Bodhisattvabhūmiviniścaya*, but hardly can it be a strong argument supporting such a scenario. No doubt, compositional structure is an issue open to subjective preferences, but I, for one, would imagine that if the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* group had authored or compiled the *Bodhisattvabhūmi-viniścaya*, they would have found a more ingenious way of blending their basic scripture with this commentarial part of the *Yogācārabhūmi*.[180]

From a compositional viewpoint, the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* was incorporated in the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* in a clearly akward manner. It is hard to imagine that the whole text of the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* as we have it today was written on the basis of a careful plan. Personally, I see no reason why the authors would have needed to interrupt the flow of their commentary on the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* and start to compile a stylistically different type of discourse, which furthermore has almost no direct relevance to the *mūla*-text. It rather looks as if the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* came to

exercise an intentense fascination upon a group of different authors and compilers, who decided to cite the text without giving too much thought to or caring about how well it fits the context of their 'collection of elucidations'.

Are there any other traces left by the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* upon the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* apart from this citation? A few doctrinal similarities between the two texts indicate the strong possibility of such an influence. For example, the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* description of the three characters of the phenomena (**trīṇī dharmalakṣaṇāni*; *chos rnams kyi mtshan nyid gsum po*) (SaṁNirm pp. 60ff.; T16.693a15ff.) and the threefold absence of nature (**trividhā niḥsvabhāvatā*; *ngo bo med pa nyid rnam pa gsum po*) (SaṁNirm pp. 67ff.; T16.694a13ff.) is closely followed by the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* (T30.a703a28ff.; T30.705a1ff.) (see Suguro 1989, 305-309; Takemura 1995, 74-79; cf. also Yokoyama 1971, 42-44). The bondage consisting in images [/characteristics] (**nimittabandhana*; *mtshan ma'i 'ching ba*; 相縛) and the bondage consisting in noxiousness (**dauṣṭhulyabandhana*; *gnas ngan len gyi 'ching ba*; 麤重縛) are notions which appear only in the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* (SaṁNirm p. 43, ll. 26-27; T16.690b25-28; etc.) and the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* (T30.580c11; 581c1-2; etc.) (see Suguro 1989, 298). The *Bodhisattvabhūmiviniścaya* describes the Tathāgata stage (*tathāgatabhūmi*; 如來地) as the obtainment of the Dharma-body 法身 (T30.738a5), a concept which is not used in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* itself but appears in the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* (see Suguro 1989, 313-315).[181] The number of cases in which we can reasonably assume the influence of the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* is not very large, but neither is it negligible.[182] It is also important to notice that there is almost no originality or marked doctrinal development in the way the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* defines or uses concepts peculiar to the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra*.

Furthermore, apart from appearing in the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* citation, some important philosophical ideas are simply ignored altogether. The most conspicuous absence is that of the *vijñaptimātratā*, the very concept which will come to define the Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda School (see Schmithausen 1969b, p. 820 and n. 46; Schmithausen 1987a, p. 12, § 1.6.3.; pp. 297-298, n. 221; etc.). The term is neither commented upon nor does it play any role in the doctrinal and hermeneutical framework of the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* in particular or the *Yogācārabhūmi* in general.[183] This suggests that though the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* gained the approval and respect of the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* authors and editors, its philosophy was only partially 'digested'. It is rather unlikely that this as well as other basic doctrines would have remained mere quotations with no further influence on the general outlook of (at least the late parts of) the *Yogācārabhūmi* if the authors and compilers of the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* had come from the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* group.[184]

The philosophical impact of the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* upon other parts than the *Bodhisattvabhūmiviniścaya* is minimal.[185] This clearly shows that the group associated with the former text had basically nothing to do with the formation of the other Books of the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī*. The unique Buddhological views expressed in the *Sopadhikanirupadhikabhūmiviniścaya* (see above) also corroborate it. It is hard to imagine that authors and/or compilers directly associated with the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* group would have left this rather unusual pattern of Buddhology intact when they had a much better interpretative pattern which could account in a more

refined manner for the subtleties of the Buddha's wonderous modes of existence. To me, it rather seems that the authors and/or compilers of *Sopadhikanirupadhikabhūmiviniścaya* were caught in between the traditional Śrāvakayāna system and Mahāyāna ideals (but not a state-of-the-art Buddhology!). Their solution here looks like an attempt to prove that the noble ideal of the Buddha's universal and continuous salvific action could be explained within the old philosophical framework offered by the 'Lesser Vehicle'. In other words, much of the Śrāvakayāna philosophical legacy could be saved without too radical transformations, and the stigma of a Buddha deserting his fellow beings in the suffering of the *saṁsāric* ocean could thus be wiped off.

The formation of the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* was probably well under way when the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* was incorporated into it. Who then decided to cite the later text? My purely conjectural answer is that the people responsible for such an editorial decision must have been the authors and compilers of the *Bodhisattvabhūmiviniścaya*. The assumption that the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* came to exercise a deep fascination on the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* circles and was eventually incorporated into the *Bodhisattvabhūmiviniścaya* appears to me quite plausible. This editorial decision also reflects the growing influence of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi(viniścaya)* circles within the *Yogācārabhūmi* community. It is true that the basic position of the *Yogācārabhūmi* is inclusivistic, and an important part of the scholastic material contained in this work could be used within the frameworks of both Vehicles. The quotation of the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* in the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* cannot, however, be simply explained as encyclopaedically motivated. Unlike the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* which expounds the bodhisattva's spiritual career and training, the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* does not present a substantially new path which had to be incorporated by all means in the *Yogācārabhūmi*.

The inclusion of the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* marked, however, an increase in the Mahāyānist 'dose' of the entire *Yogācārabhūmi*. This, of course, is not tantamount to saying that the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* is a predominantly Mahāyānika textual unit. Actually, with the exception of the *Bodhisattvabhūmiviniścaya*, the rest of the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* appears to be basically written within a traditional Śrāvakayānika framework. It contains some Mahāyāna elements but not to such a conspicuous degree as to declare the whole of its doctrinal outlook as belonging to the Great Vehicle. As argued above, the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* and, as far as I can tell, the *Bodhisattvabhūmiviniścaya* had a very limited impact upon the other parts of the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī*, let alone the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ* and the three *Saṁgrahaṇī*s. This shows that even in the final stages of the *Yogācārabhūmi* compilation, the group or groups around the *Yogācārabhūmi* still included many traditional Śrāvakayānika *ācārya*s and followers. The textual units with which the latter were primarily associated must have already gained the status of (semi-)scriptural authority and they (or at least their core teachings) could not become the object of substantial alterations. A radical re-writing of the Śrāvakayānika textual units in the light of the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* and the *Bodhisattvabhūmiviniścaya* would have certainly alienated the conservative groups. And furthermore, this must have been against the basically inclusivistic and encyclopaedic spirit of the *Yogācārabhūmi* which was probably keeping together these doctrinally dissimilar groups, including the *Bodhisattvabhūmi(viniścaya)* followers.

The hypothesis of a growing ascendancy of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi(viniścaya)* group during the last phase of the *Yogācārabhūmi* does not deny this general setting.

And apart from accounting for the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* citation, it also has the advantage of explaining two other peculiarities of the *Yogācārabhūmi* history. The first one is the presence of the late Mahāyānist accretions in the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ*, especially those which appear to have been influenced by doctrines peculiar to the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra*, most probably via the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī*. Without assuming Mahāyāna-orientated minds and hands, so to speak, participating in or even directing the final redaction process, it would be difficult to account for such elements.

The second peculiarity is linked to the ultimate 'destiny' of the *Yogācārabhūmi*. The scenario conjectured here can also help to explain why our text eventually came to be regarded a Mahāyāna treatise and included in the corpus of the newly emerging Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda School. After all, if we exclude the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* and the *Bodhisattvabhūmiviniścaya* as well as the few sporadic Mahāyāna accretions and elements, the rest of the *Yogācārabhūmi* could have evolved and remained a *śāstra* within the 'Lesser Vehicle' spectrum. It may have led to the formation of a new Śrāvakayānika school, no doubt having the *ālayavijñāna* as one of its most distinctive doctrinal features. (We may even imagine this counter-factual Nikāya being called *Ālayavijñānavāda/*Kun gzhi rnam par shes pa smra ba'i sde/*說阿賴耶識部!...) But this, as we well know, was not the course taken by history. The *Yogācārabhūmi* became a fundamental treatise of one of India's major Mahāyāna traditions in spite of the fact that a large part of it contains or presupposes no teachings peculiar to the Great Vehicle.

How did this actually happen? We have no historical documents to support our reconstruction, but we may surmise that this was also a gradual process. It is hard to know how the groups associated with the *Yogācārabhūmi* regarded the *yāna*-affliliation of their text in the years immediately after its completion. I would surmise that the tendency to consider it an inclusivistic, comprehensive treatise encompassing both Vehicles did not simply die out together with the end of its compilation process. The birth of the *Yogācārabhūmi* as a single text marked only *one* step in the history of this nascent tradition which attained its full maturity with Vaubandhu's late works. The *Yogācārabhūmi* is not the only text which bears witness to this transational period from a chiefly Śrāvakayānika-conservative and/or inclusvistic stance to a more markedly Mahāyānist philosophy. The Mahāyānist elements in Asaṅga's *Abhidharmasamuccaya* are still few and seem to play only a minor role. The philosophical core of this text relies upon a basically Śrāvakayāna doctrinal outlook (see Schmithausen 1972, 154-148).[186]

Eventually, however, both the *Yogācārabhūmi* and the *Abhidharmasamuccaya* came to be regarded as Mahāyāna texts or at least as belonging to the sacred corpus of a Mahāyāna school. Most likely, this was not an abrupt event which occurred in the latest phases of the *Yogācārabhūmi* formation or immediately after its completion.[187] It must have been a gradual process, and efforts to make the community regard the *Yogācārabhūmi* in this way had probably begun earlier. It is not meaningless, I believe, to assume that during the last phase of the *Yogācārabhūmi* formation, the ascendancy gained by the *Bodhisattvabhūmi(viniścaya)* group set the tone which would prepare the gradual acceptance of the entire text being viewed as part of a Mahāyānika corpus. And it is quite possible that some of the members of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi(viniścaya)* group and/or the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* followers became actively involved in the compilation of other early Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda works which led to the complete

'Mahāyānisation' of the movement.

As mentioned above, it is not excluded that Asaṅga, probably still a young scholar at that time,[188] may have become involved in the last phases of the compilation of the *Yogācārabhūmi*, but it was not his role in *this* process that would be his most lasting contribution to the new school. No doubt, Asaṅga and his fellow followers regarded the *Yogācārabhūmi* teachings as Maitreya's sacred revelation. However, in one way or another, it must have been the lack of sufficient clarification or imperfections (thoughy they would not have used like words...) in the doctrinal systematisation of this very text which made them continue their quest for more precision, elaboration, and creation. Without Asaṅga's and Vasubandhu's philosophical genius and struggle, the new movement inintiated by the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* and continued by the *Bodhisattvabhūmiviniścaya* authors and editors may have never become firmly crystallised into a new school of thought and spirituality which would deeply affect Buddhism not only on Indian soil but also throughout Central and Eastern Asia.

The final phases of the *Yogācārabhūmi* compilation must have also consisted in a number of interpolations and redactional interventions. Only few of them were Mahāyāna accretions, like the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ* elements which show the influence of the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* (see above). Many more were simply meant to bring more cohesion and organisational unity to this huge text. This must have also included the finalisation of the cross-references found throughout the *Yogācārabhūmi*. Thanks to the painstaking investigation undertaken by the Japanese scholar Suguro Shinjō (1989, 250-252; 256-258, 264-267; cf. also Suguro 1976, 4-6; 9-10; 15-18), we have a clear picture of the large network of cross-references linking various parts of the present *Yogācārabhūmi* text.[189]

As argued above, there seems to be a stratification of these cross-reference. Some may be quite early, like, for instance, a few of the references to the *Śrāvakabhūmi* which are found in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*. There is, however, no precise method which allows the identification of early and late the cross-references in the *Yogācārabhūmi*. My methodological remarks in Subsection 3 as well as my attempt in Subsection 8 to determine the early and late references to the *Śrāvakabhūmi* in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* are purely tentative. Generally speaking, I assume that the process of adding cross-references must have slowly progressed in the beginning and reached its peak during the final redaction of the *Yogācārabhūmi*.

The 'final phase' in the formation of the *Yogācārabhūmi* does not mean that redactional modifications, especially affecting the organisation of the text, as well as minor additions and interpolations did not take place after its basic completion, but its substance must have remained more or less the same.

8. Dharmakṣema's Translation of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*

The earliest precise clue concerning the date of the *Yogācārabhūmi* is the *terminus ante quem* which can be deduced from the Chinese translation of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*. The first translation was done in 418 by the Indian monk Dharmakṣema 曇無讖 (385-433)[190] under the title *Pusa di chi jing* 菩薩地持經

(*Bodhisattvabhūmyādhāra),[191] and it attests not only to the existence of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, more or less in a version similar to the extant Sanskrit text, but also to that of other parts of the *Yogācārabhūmi*. The *Pusa di chi jing* contains five cross-references to the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, two to the *Vastusaṁgrahaṇī* (如攝事處說, T30.904b1; 如四攝品說, T30.917b5), and one to the *Manobhūmi* (如意地身分別則有無量, T30.936c29), all of which can actually be ascertained in the Sanskrit version as well as Xuanzang's rendering of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, too (cf. Suguro 1976, 4-6; 1989, 250-252).[192]

Let us take a closer look at the references to the *Śrāvakabhūmi* and see whether we can identify when they were included in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*. Of course, once again, it should be emphasised that the attempt to determine such a detail regarding the history of the text is largely conjectural. The *Bodhisattvabhūmi* tells that:

(1) the adornments of morality (*śīlālaṁkāra*) should be known as in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* (當知戒莊嚴謂聲聞地。T30.917c12-13; Sanskrit text (here and below cited after Wogihara's edition): *śīlālaṁkāro veditavyaḥ tadyathā Śrāvakabhūmau*. BoBh 185, 10-11; Xuanzang's translation: T30.522b3-4). This cross-reference is rather intriguing since there is no substantial treatment of the adornments of morality in the extant *Śrāvakabhūmi* text. We only find a short passage explaining the meaning of the word *śīlālaṁkāra* as used by the Exalted One (ŚrBh-Gr, pp. 84 and 86). We cannot exclude the possibility that the *Śrāvakabhūmi* referred to by the early *Bodhisattvabhūmi* authors included a longer treatment of the adornments of morality.[193] However, without any hard evidence supporting this alternative, I think that as it stands, this cross- reference must have been added late in the formation of the *Yogācārabhūmi* since it brings no essential clarification of the notion of *śīlālaṁkāra*.

(2) the five aspects (五事; *pañcākārāḥ*) defining the bodhisattva who acts as a spiritual friend (*kalyāṇamitrabhūto bodhisattvaḥ*) should be understood according to the *Śrāvakabhūmi* (菩薩有五事，眞善知識，調伏衆生，爲善知識事。一者、語言，二者、與念，三者、教授，四者、教誡，五者、説法。以是五事廣化衆生如聲聞地，教授教誡廣説如力性品。T30.927a2-5; Skt.: *tatra pañcabhir ākārair ayaṁ kalyāṇamitrabhūto bodhisattvaḥ pareṣāṁ vineyānāṁ kalyāṇamitrakāryaṁ karoti. codako bhavati. smārako bhavati. avavādako bhavati. anuśāsako bhavati. dharmadeśako bhavati. eṣām padānāṁ vistaravibhāgo veditavyaḥ tadyathā śrāvakabhūmāv. avavādānuśāsanaṁ ca bhūyas tata uttari veditavyaṁ tadyathā balagotrapaṭale*. BoBh 239, 13-19; Xuanzang's translation: T30.535a29-b3). The *Śrāvakabhūmi* contains a passage which describes in detail the five qualities of the spiritual friend (Section 3.4.9., i.e. ŚrBh-Gr 218-225). This might be an early cross-reference. It occurs in a sub-section which expounds various aspects and merits of the spiritual friend, and the authors may have wanted from the beginning to include as many items as possible in their description. The five qualities set forth in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* may have been an important addition to this *kalyāṇamitra* panegyric, but full definitions must have been considered unnecessary and replaced with a cross-reference. Since the spiritual friend here is a bodhisattva, the Mahāyānist image of his activity had to be stressed, and thus the reference to the Chapter on Powers and Lineages (*Balagotrapaṭala*) which contains details about two aspects, i.e., instruction (*avavāda*) and precepts (*anuśāsana*) (BoBh 110, 14-112, 9), was also added.[194]

(3) the Awakening factors are to be understood differently in accordance to the principles (*naya*) of Śrāvakayāna, on the one hand, and those of Mahāyāna, on the other. The former, the text adds, must be known as expounded in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* (Dharmakṣema's translation: 聲聞乘方便如實知，如聲聞地所說。T30.929c23-24; Skt.: *tatra śrāvakanayena yathābhūtaṁ prajānāti tadyathā śrāvakabhūmau sarvaṁ yathānirdiṣṭaṁ veditavyaṁ*. BoBh 259, 13-15; Xuanzang's translation: T30.539c5-6). Section 3.16.2. in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* actually contains a very detailed treatment of the thirty-seven factors of Awakening.[195] Here, too, we may have to deal with an early cross-reference. The purport of the reference is not exactly to elucidate the thirty-seven factors of Awakening, which represent a basic set of praxis-related concepts in Buddhism. It rather stresses that different principles underlie these factors according to the Vehicle which one follows. In other words, it says that the Śrāvakayānikas have different principles from ours, and those who wish to check them should take a look at the *Śrāvakabhūmi*. This argumentation, including the reference to the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, appears to have been part of the passage from the very beginning.

(4) the persons dominated by sensual passion (*rāgacarita*) should practise the meditation on the impure (*aśubhā*) as explained in detail in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* (Dharmakṣema's translation: 貪欲觀不淨廣說如聲聞地。T30.956c20-21; Skt.: *rāgacaritānam aśubhā vistareṇa tadyathā śrāvakabhūmau*. BoBh 389, 2-3; Xuanzang's translation: T30.570a6-7). This seems to refer Section 3.7.2. and/or Subsection 3. 26.2.1. in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* which indeed deal in detail with the medition on the impure. Probably this is an early cross-reference since the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* authors may have needed a precise description of this important meditative practice. Since the basic technique of *aśubhābhavanā* is the similar in both Vehicles, a simple reference to the *Śrāvakabhūmi* may have been enough.

(5) the teachings of the Tathāgatas for the followers of the Disciples' Vehicle have been explained in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* (Dharmakṣema's translation: 如來爲諸眾生種種度門種種教授，如聲聞地次第開發顯示教授宣說。T30.957b19-20; Skt.: *tatra yathā tathāgatāḥ śrāvakāṇāṁ teṣu teṣv avatāramukheṣv avavādam anuprayacchaṁti. tathā śrāvakabhūmau sarveṇa sarvaṁ niraṁtaram ākhyātam uttānaṁ vivṛtaṁ prajñaptaṁ prakāśitaṁ*. BoBh 394, 20-23; Xuanzang's translation: T30.571b25-27). This could be taken as a general reference to the entire text of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, but more specifically, the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* may allude here to the Part on the Entry (*avatārabhūmi*) and/or to Chapter 3.8., which deals with instruction (*avavāda*).[196] This cross-reference may be late. The *Bodhisattvabhūmi* deals here with the ten powers of the Tathāgata, and amongst these, describes the fact that a Tathāgata can also teach the Śrāvakas in various ways, which, the text adds, were expounded in the *Śrāvakabhūmi*. This does not bring any clarification to the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* itself. It is not excluded that the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* authors wanted to draw the attention of their audience/readers to the existence of such a text, but in my opinion, it is more probable to see it as a late addition meant to bring more unity to the *Yogācārabhūmi*.[197]

We must not, however, forget that without an equally early Sanskrit original, or at least translations, of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, a definitive conclusion is not possible. In the light of the above cross-references, it seems almost certain that already at the beginning of the 5th century,[198] the *Śrāvakabhūmi* existed as a separate textual unit which

probably was part of a work apparently similar in structure to the extant *Yogācārabhūmi*. It also seems that at least four of these cross-references above roughly match, at least as far as the content is concerned, the extant text of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*. Even the first cross-reference, which may raise some problems, cannot be said to be without a corresponding passage in the *Śrāvakabhūmi*. But this, admittedly, does not tell us how similar the *Śrāvakabhūmi* referred to in Dharmakṣema's translation was in terms of general structure of the text, doctrinal nuances, and actual wording. As stated above, redactional alterations, additions, and deletions may have continued even after the basic formation process of the text had been completed. This, after all, seems to have been the rule rather than exception in the history of Buddhist literature.[199]

9. Vasubandhu's Date

Another clue concerning the date of the *Yogācārabhūmi* is provided by the fact that we find three references to this text in Vasubandhu's *Pratītyasamutpādavyākhyā* (P Chi fol. 5b1, 13a1, 25b4)[200] (see Matsuda 1984, 82-85; Skilling 2000, 303).[201] The exact date of the *Pratītyasamutpādavyākhyā* is not known, but it most probably represents a work written by Vasubandhu in the early phases of his Mahāyāna period.[202] Furthermore, as pointed out above, there is a large number of similarities between the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* and the *Yogācārabhūmi*. The American scholar Robert Kritzer (1999, 199-204; 2003b, 375-381; 2005; etc.) reasonably argues that that many doctrines and passages in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* actually seem to rely upon or presuppose the *Yogācārabhūmi*. Though no direct reference to the *Yogācārabhūmi* is made in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, it is quite possible that Vasubandhu knew and drew inspiration from the former or, at least, was familiar with the doctrinal tradition which had produced it. There is no doubt that the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* belongs to Vasubandhu's early phase of activity, being most probably his first major opus.[203] I suppose, however, that even a genius of Vasubandhu's stature needed some time to become familiar and synthesise more than one scholastic tradition in such a masterful and creative way.[204] Therefore, I would speculate that the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* must have been written by Vasubandhu when he was in his thirties (or even early forties?). This would then imply that the *Yogācārabhūmi* had probably assumed its more or less final shape already before this date. But does this offer us a precise point in time? Well, to tell the truth, it basically takes us from the frying pan into the fire....

Determining the date of Vasubandhu (or Vasubandhus?) is one of the thorniest issues in the history of Indian Buddhism.[205] Nevertheless, since his date is also relevant to the compilation of the *Yogācārabhūmi*, I find myself unavoidably having a tiger by the tail... And though I am not sure that I can appease it, some words about Vasubandhu's date become necessary. All discussions concerning this topic have to piece together a jigsaw puzzle out of a rather confusing mass of legendary, fragmentary and contradictory data. In the end, the only way to deal with it is to rely on some information and dismiss other, while patching the unknown with a good dose of imagination. No such jigsaw has so far succeeded in satisfactorily assembling the data in a pattern that could account for every single detail and solve all contradictions, and I have no claim that my essay will be more successful. I only hope it will manage to offer at least a plausible picture.

The hypothesis which I adopt here is that Vasubandhu lived between ca. 350 and 430. This obviously differs from one of the most widely espoused theories which places Vasubandhu between 400 and 480 (see Hirakawa 1974-1979, vol. 2, pp. 101-106; Hirakawa et al. 1973, Introduction, pp. I -X; etc.). The latter are also the dates of the 'younger Vasubandhu' as advocated by Frauwallner (1951a and 1961, 129-132).[206] The basic argument for the dates ca. 350-430 comes from Schmithausen 1992. According to Schmitausen's analysis, two passages in the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* clearly appear to presuppose Vasubandhu's *Triṁśikā*.[207] Since these two passages also appear in the earliest extant Chinese translation done by Guṇabhadra 求那跋陀羅 in 443, the most likely explanation is that the *Triṁśikā* must have been composed before this date.[208] And since the *Triṁśikā* appears to belong to Vasubandhu's late phase of activity, Schmithausen concludes that the best solution is 'to place Vasubandhu the Kośakāra somewhat earlier than Frauwallner did, but not necessarily more than a few decades (five or six, or even less)' (1992, 397).

These dates solve some problems but, at the same time, upset some other pieces in the jigsaw puzzle. One of them, as also noted by Schmithausen (1992, 396), is the fact that such a dating does not allow the identification of 'Vikramāditya' with Skandagupta and of 'Bālāditya' with Narasiṁhagupta, which plays a crucial role in Frauwallner's scernario. The names 'Vikramāditya' and 'Bālāditya' appear in the *Biography of Dharmācārya Vasubandhu* 婆藪槃豆法師傳 translated into Chinese by Paramārtha (499-569). The passage in question goes as follows:

> The name of Vikramāditya's Crown Prince was Bālāditya. (*Bāla* is translated [into Chinese] as 'new'; [*ā*]*ditya* is translated as 'Sun'.)[209] The King originally had[210] the Crown Prince follow *Dharmācārya* [Vasubandhu] and receive the [Buddhist] precepts [from him]. The Queen went forth and also became *Dharmācārya*'s disciple.[211] Later, Bālāditya ascended the throne. Mother and son together asked *Dharmācārya* to dwell in the land of Ayodhyā and receive their worship. *Dharmācārya* granted this [request]. (正勤日王太子名婆羅袟底也。("婆羅" 譯爲 "新"; "袟底也" 譯爲 "日"。) 王本令太子就法師受戒。王妃出家亦爲法師弟子。太子後登王位。母子同請留法師住阿緰闍國, 受其供養。法師即許之。T50.190b18-22).

Quite a few hypotheses have been forward concerning the identification of 'Vikramāditya' and 'Bālāditya' (see Shukla, in Sh Introduction, p. LXXXIII, n 4). Frauwallner (1951a, 26) equates them with Skandagupta (ca. 456-467), who also called himself 'Vikramāditya', and Narasiṁhagupta, who is known to have used the title of 'Bālāditya' and seems to have been a generous patron of Buddhism.[212] Admittedly, the hypothesis has the advantage of pinpointing the only *clearly* ascertainable instance of two Gupta rulers in chronological succession who bore these titles. This has been considered a strong point in Frauwallner's argumentation, but upon closer look, it poses some complications mainly because Narasiṁhagupta's date and order of ascending the throne is far from being clear.

The problem of Skandagupta's successors is anything but simple, and several possibilities have been suggested. No matter what scenario is chosen, one fact seems, however, fairly certain: Narasiṁhagupta, who was actually Skandagupta's nephew, did not succeed his uncle immediately. Frauwallner is aware of this detail but argues: 'No

difficulty is presented by the fact that Narasiṁhagupta did not directly succeed his uncle Skandagupta, and that between the two we must place the reign of his father Puragupta Prakāśāditya: on account of the particular character of Indian tradition, this short reign of probably one year can easily have been forgotten after 50 years' (Frauwallner 1951a, 26).[213] Unfortunately, Frauwallner does not indicate the sources upon which he based this conclusion. To the unsuspecting reader, it may seem that we have to deal with plain, well-established facts. The historical information which has survived to this day is, however, quite scanty and discouragingly confusing. Much of the confusion comes from the data provided by epigraphical sources, on one hand, and the account found in Xuanzang's *Records of the Western Regions* 西域記, on the other.

The Gupta genealogy is known from such sources as the Nālandā clay seal of Narasiṁhagupta (Bhandarkar ed. and tr. 1981, 354-355), the Nālandā clay seals as well as the Bhitarī copper-silver seal issued by Kumāragupta (ibid., 355-358 and 358-360). The first seal states that Narasiṁhagupta was the son of Purugupta. According to the other two remains, Kumāragupta was the grandson of Purugupta and the son of Narasiṁhagupta.[214] We know from numismatic evidence that Narasiṁhagupta also assumed the laudatory epithet (*biruda*) of 'Bālāditya' (see Goyal 1966, 100; Majumdar and Altekar 1967, 192).[215] This certainly coincides with the title mentioned in the *Biography of Dharmācārya Vasubandhu*. Unfortunatley, the seals are not dated. We know, however, that the name 'Kumāragupta' appears in a stone inscription engraved on the pedestal of a Buddha image discovered in Sārnāth and dated Gupta year 154, i.e., 473 C.E. (Bhandarkar ed. and tr. 1981, 321-322; Sircar ed. 1986, 328-329). The most natural interpretation of this testimony is to assume that Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya ruled for a short period after Skandagupta and Purugupta and was then succeeded by his son Kumāragupta II (see also Goyal 1966, 100). The period of his rule should then be placed sometime between Skandagupta's death in 467 and the year 473 of the Sārnāth inscription. This, however, does not fit with the *Records of the Western Regions* which clearly tells us that King Bālāditya 婆羅阿迭王 fought and defeated Mihirakula (see T51.888c7-889b3).[216] The latter was the notorious Hephthalite Hun king who was active at the beginning of the 6th century and succeeded his father Toramāṇa around 515 (see Majumdar 1977, 248-249; Kulke and Rothermund 1990, 95).[217]

Various solutions have been attempted in order to bridge the gap between the epigraphical evidence and Xuanzang's account (see Goyal 1966, especially pp. 100-102). I find the hypothesis advocated by S. K. Mookerji the most plausible one (see Goyal 1966, 101-102).[218] According to the Indian historian, Skandagupta was succeeded by Purugupta (467), and the latter had three sons: Kumāragupta II (who was mentioned in the Sārnāth inscription), Budhagupta (476), and Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya (495). Such a chronology dovetails neatly with the time of King Mihirakula but leaves the Bhitarī seal unexplained. In order to account for this, Mookerji postulates the existence of a Kumāragupta III, who succeeded his father Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya and issued the Bhitarī seal.[219] S. R. Goyal (1966) also accepts the existence of Kumāragupta II and Kumāragupta III but goes one step further and puts forward the hypothesis of two Narasiṁhagupta Bālādityas: the first one was the son of Purugupta and the father of Kumāragupta II (thus explaining the epigraphical evidence), and the second one flourished at the beginning of the 6th century and

defeated Mihirakula (hence accounting for Xuanzang's testimony).[220] According to the Indian scholar, Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya I was the father of Kumāragupta II, and Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya II was the father of Kumāragupta III. Goyal's attempt may be ingenious (and not utterly impossible), but I find the postulation of Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya II an unnecessary addition.[221] Unless supported by clear evidence (and not merely by *interpretation* of fragmentary data), it seems safer to make use of Occam's razor and think along the lines proposed by Mookerji.[222]

More recent contributions such as Majumdar 1977 (pp. 246-251) as well as Kulke and Rothermund 1990 (pp. 94-95) also suggest a long interval between Skandagupta and Narasiṁhagupta without hypothesising the existence of Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya II. It is not without interest to mention here that the name 'Skandagupta' does not appear in the official Gupta genealogies probably because he seems to have usurped the throne of his father, Kumāragupta I, 'by displacing the legitimate crown prince, Purugupta' (ibid., p. 94).[223] Furthermore, Skandagupta's mother seems to have been a concubine of low-caste extraction (Majumdar 1977, 244; Kulke and Rothermund 1990, 94). It is not clear whether Purugupta's short-lived rule should be placed immediately after the death of Kumāragupta or after the reign of his half-brother Skandagupta (Majumdar 1977, 246).[224] The next monarch seems to have been Kumāragupta II, who also ruled for a only a few years.[225] He was followed by Budhagupta, who commenced his reign in or before 477 and reigned for about two decades. It was only shortly before 500 that Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya appears to have succeeded his brother Budhagupta to the throne (see Majumdar 1977, 246-247).[226]

It would thus seem that the details linked to 'Vikramāditya' and 'Bālāditya' in the *Biography of Dharmācārya Vasubandhu* do not fit so well with the little which can be guessed about Skandagupta and Narasiṁhagupta from other historical sources. It is true that we have a chronological succession, but this is not separated by the negligible 'intermezzo' of one year. It is doubtful whether Vasubandhu's biographer(s) would have forgotten the three decades and the other reigns which occurred between Skandagupta's death in 467 and Narasiṁhagupta's accession to the throne around 500 (anyway, not earlier than 495 when Budhagupta is still mentioned in official records). This chronology, which appears to be the most sensible way of interpreting our data, would actually require a revision of the dates 400-480 for Vasubandhu. As seen above, the master's biography clearly states that he was invited to Ayodhyā *after* Bālāditya had ascended the throne. This would then imply that Vasubandhu was still alive around 500! The only way to avoid such a conclusion is to postulate the existence of two Narasiṁhaguptas. This, however, as argued above, seems quite unlikely.[227]

If we do not accept the 'two Narasiṁhaguptas' theory, we must then look for another identification. A clue in this direction is provided by Vāmana, a celebrated rhetorician who flourished around 800 at the court of King Jayāpīḍa of Kaśmīr. The testimony is also discussed by Frauwallner (1951a, 27-31), but he dismisses it as unreliable. In his *Kāvyālaṁkāravṛtti*, Vāmana cites a verse from the Gupta age, which mentions 'Candragupta's son' (*Candraguptatanayaś*) and calls him 'the refuge of the wise' (*āśrayaḥ kṛtadhiyāṁ*). Vāmana glosses upon this as follows: 'the words "refuge of the wise" contain a covert allusion, as they hint at Vasubandhu's ministership' (Frauwallner's rendering, ibid., 28) (*āśrayaḥ kṛtadhyām ity asya Vasubandhu-*

sācivyopakṣepaparatatvāt sābhiprāyatvam). Frauwallner concludes that Vāmana 'had a hazy knowledge of the high position enjoyed by Vasubandhu the younger at the court of a Gupta ruler, and [...] he utilized this knowledge in the wrong place' (p. 30). To be sure, Vāmana's testimony does require a prudent approach, but it is one of the very few pieces of information which we have.[228] If we give it some credence, the main problem facing us is to establish whether Candragupta I or Candragupta II, the only two Gupta kings who bore this name, had a successor styled 'Bālāditya'.

One hypothetical solution was put forward by Stefan Anacker (tr. 1984, 8-10) on the basis of a suggestion from the Vietnamese scholar Le Manh That. The latter argues that 'Bālāditya' may have been a title 'used by Gupta princes in their minority' (ibid., p. 8). Then, Anacker conjectures, 'Bālāditya' in the *Biography of Dharmācārya Vasubandhu*, can be identified with Govindagupta, the son of Candragupta II (375-413/15).[229] This solves the mystery of the other name, too, since 'Vikramāditya' was the main laudatory title used by Candragupta II.[230] As to Bālāditya's ascending the throne, Anacker thinks that this must refer to the custom of the Gupta monarchs to consecrate the crown princes as 'young kings' (*yuvarāja*) at a relatively early age and entrust them with the administration of a province (ibid., 9-10). Anacker affirms that Govindagupta seems to have become 'young king' around 391 and was put in charge of the central Gangetic valley which included Ayodhyā (ibid., 10).[231]

Schmithausen (1992, 396) considers Anacker's hypothesis as a viable alternative but reasonably argues that there is no need to limit the identification of 'Bālāditya' to Govindagupta since this 'young prince' died before his father.[232] If 'Bālāditya' was a title currently adopted by the Gupta crown princes, then the 'Bālāditya' in the *Biography of Dharmācārya Vasubandhu* may have been Kumāragupta I who actually succeded Candragupta II and reigned between ca. 413/15 and 455 (see Schmithausen 1992, 396).[233] Shukla (Sh, p. LXXXIV) similarly considers that 'Candragupta II Vikramāditya's time accords well with the time when Vasubandhu might have fourished', but he further enlarges the scope of potential candidates to the identification of 'Bālāditya'. The Indian scholar continues, 'Kumāra Bāladitya whether he be identified with Kumaragupta [sic] I, Govindagupta, Narasimhagupta [sic] I or any other Gupta king might have been taught by Vasubandhu in his youth age' (ibid., p. LXXXV). (Narasiṁhagupta I seems to imply the distinction made by S. R. Goyal; see above).[234] This, however, is quite problematic even if we accept Goyal's theory since according to the latter, Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya I was the son of Purugupta. This would then contradict Shukla's own statement about the agreement of Vasubandhu with Candragupta II Vikramāditya's reign.[235]

It, therefore, seems more sensible to limit the identification of 'Bālāditya' to either Kumāragupta I or Govindagupta. It must be stressed, however, that (at least as cited by Anacker) Le Manh That's assertion seems purely conjectural, and no primary historical sources are adduced.[236] If the Vietnamese scholar simply took *bāla* 'young, child' in 'Bālāditya' as a reference to the age of the crown princes, the inference is not on firm ground. Though semantically possible, this does not appear to be the most likely interpretation. As suggested by Bhandarkar (ed. and tr. 1981, 70), 'Bālāditya' should be construed in the sense of 'Rising Sun'.[237] Furthermore, as we can see from Narasiṁhagupta's case, the title of 'Bālāditya' does not seem to have been limited to his

youth (if it was connected to his early years at all!). The epithet 'Bālāditya' is found on a few of Narasiṁhagupta's coins which, in all likelihood, must have been minted while he was a fully reigning monarch.[238] We must, therefore, look for more cogent proofs which could link Kumāragupta I or Govindagupta with the title 'Bālāditya'.[239] Though far from exhaustive, my search through the relevant historical, epigraphical, and numismatic evidence of the age has not yielded any positive result beyond reasonable doubt. There seems to be only one possible clue pointing in this direction. The clue is, however, purely conjectural: it might connect the names of Kumāragupta I with 'Bālāditya' *if (and only if)* we accept a couple of very fragile missing links.

This is the so-called Sārnāth inscription of Prakaṭāditya (reproduced and transliterated in Fleet ed. and tr. [1888] 1970, 285-286).[240] The inscription, written in Sanskrit, mentions the building of temple dedicated to the god Muradviṣ, i.e., Kriṣṇa. Unfortunately, it is badly damaged and only parts of it can be deciphered. The legible portions tell us that King Prakaṭāditya, whose capital was Kāśi (i.e., modern Varanasi), was born in the lineage of a king called Bālāditya. Furthermore, another Bālāditya was also born in the same lineage. The latter's consort was called Dhavalā, and she is likened to Rohiṇī, the wife of the Moon, to Gaurī, the wife of Śūlapāṇi, and to Lakṣmī, the wife of Vāsudeva. The son of this Bālāditya and Dhavalā was the glorious Prakaṭāditya (*tadvaṁsasaṁbhavonyo Vā(bā)lādityo nṛpaḥ prītyā || Tadgotralavdha(bdha)janmā Vā(bā)ladityo ...... paṭiḥ || Tasya Dhavaleti jāyā pativratā Rohiṇīva candrasya | Gaurīva Śūlapāṇer L[l]akṣmīr iva Vāsu[devasya ||] [...] śrīmān Prakaṭādityo* (Fleet ed. and tr. [1888] 1970, plate XLIII. c; romanised text: p. 285, ll. 3-4 and 6; p. 286: translation).[241]

Fleet (ed. and tr. [1888] 1970, 285) ascribes the inscription 'on palaeographical grounds roughly to about the end of the seventh century A.D.' and surmises that the first Bālāditya mentioned in it might be the Bālāditya known in connection with Mihirakula. A detailed palaeographical analysis of the inscription is not possible here, but my tentative view is that it could be dated earlier. Goyal (1966, 104) similarly thinks that it can be ascribed to an earlier date. His interpretation, however, is that the inscription should be regarded as a proof of the hypothesis of two Bālādityas (see above).[242] Mishra (1971, 8) thinks that the inscription dates back to the 6th century and that 'Bālāditya' is to be identified with Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya.[243] Agrawala (ed. 1983, 120) refers to this epigraphical remain as the 'Sarnath Stone-Inscription of Bālāditya and Prakaṭāditya' and surmises that this Bālāditya might be identified with Bhānugupta of the Eraṇ Inscription (dated 510).[244] He does not elaborate, however, upon the basis of this conjecture.

But who is 'Prakaṭāditya' in the Sārnāth inscription? There seems to be no other historical document or epigraphical remain mentiong this particular name. The second member of the compound, i.e., *-āditya*, appears in the *biruda*s of most of the Gupta monarchs. The Indian scholar B. P. Sinha identifies him with another ruler called Prakārakhya (see Goyal 1966, 104), but the latter name is too different to account for the title used in this inscription. Another possibility is suggested by Mishra (1971, 8), who thinks that 'Prakaṭāditya' is the same as 'Prakāśāditya'.[245] Mishra does not state who exactly this 'Prakāśāditya' was, but judging from his identification of 'Bālāditya' in the inscription with Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya, it would seem to refer to a ruler postdating the latter.

The only known 'Prakāśāditya' of the Gupta age is *Śrī Prakāśādityaḥ* who appears on quite a few coins (see the specimens in Smith [1906] 1972, 119; Allan 1914, 135-134; Altekar 1954, 312). The problem, however, is that no one knows for sure who this *Śrī Prakāśādityaḥ* was. Hoernle (1889, 93-94) conjectured that this was a title adopted by Purugupta. This view was followed by Smith [1962] 1972, p. 119, n. 1), who asserts that 'there is good reason for believing it [i.e., Prakāśāditya's personal name] to have been Puragupta'.[246] As seen from the citation above, Frauwallner (1951a, 26) also gives the latter king's title as 'Prakāśāditya'. On the other hand, John Allan (1914, L I — L III) strongly argues that this identification has no real basis and Prakāśāditya should be regarded as a son or descendant of Skandagupta. He also suggests that this may have been 'a Gupta whose name is not yet known, and who must be palced about the end of the fifth century A. D.' (ibid., L II).[247] A. S. Altekar (1954, XXXVI) similarly surmises that Prakāśāditya was different from Purugupta and considers him a contender to the throne who ruled sometime between the death of Skandagupta (ca. 467) and the accession of Budhagupta (ca. 476).

The hypotheses put forward by Allan and Alterkar are not impossible, but they do tend to further confuse the hazy picture of this turbulent period in the Gupta age. (It must, however, be admitted that historical realities can be quite intricate, whether we like it or not....) Allan's conjecture that the latter could have been Skandagupta's son or descendant is problematic. Actually, there is no evidence that Skandagupta had any sons at all (see Altekar 1954, XXXIV; Goyal 1966, 100). The historical scenario mentioned above would rather suggest that he may have been an usurper and the Gupta lineage returned to its legitimate succession after his death. The less precise suggestion that 'Prakāśāditya' may have a descendant of Skandagupta ruling at the end of the 5th century does not help the identification too much. And the same can be said of Altekar's conjecture. One could imagine that he was a regional ruler, but this 'local' Gupta wrote on his coins *vijitya vasudhāṁ divaṁ jayati* '[having subdued] the earth, His Majety is victorious' (see Smith [1906] 1972, 119; Allan 1914, 135-136).[248] As proved by many other Gupta coins,[249] such a legend is more appropriate for a monarch ruling at least over the central parts of the kingdom.[250] The purity and weight of his gold coins also seem to plead for this and possibly imply that they may predate Narasiṁhagupta (see Allan (1914, L II).[251] It would seem that until new findings cast more light on this issue, the alternative is to assume that 'Prakāśāditya' was a title of one of the rulers after Skandagupta and before Narasiṁhagupta. My conjecture is that he was Purugupta, but I do admit that this is not corroborated by solid evidence.

Even supposing that my conjecture is true, linking Prakāśāditya = Purugupta with Prakaṭāditya of the Sārnāth inscription suffers, however, from a serious flaw. The Nālandā clay seal of Narasiṁhagupta (Bhandarkar ed. and tr. 1981, 355) and the Nālandā seal of Kumāragupta III (357-358) as well his Bhitarī copper-silver seal (ibid., 359-360) (see above) clearly state that Purugupta's mother was Anantadevī. This does not tally with the name 'Dhavalā' which appears in the Sārnāth inscription. Could it be another name used by the same Queen? This is a logical possibility, but without a clear historical proof, the inference remains purely speculative.

If allowed to use more that one conjectural 'missing link', the equation obtained would be Prakaṭāditya = Prakāśāditya = Purugupta. Then this would prove that

Purugupta's father, i.e., Kumāragupta I, was named 'Bālāditya'. We could thus conclude that 'Vikramāditya' and 'Bālāditya' mentioned in the *Biography of Dharmācārya Vasubandhu* are Candragupta II and Kumāragupta I respectively. This would also be consistent with Vimāna's note. However, the foundation of this equation is too frail to allow for a sound conclusion. But even if this line of inference is wrong, the Sārnāth inscription is not devoid of interest. It shows that the name Bālāditya was used in the Gupta period more than once. According to Fleet (ed. and tr. [1888] 1970, 285), the word 'other' (*anyo*) in the inscription (see above) might hint at yet another Bālāditya, different from both the ancestor and the father of Prakaṭāditya.[252] But this, to be sure, does not guarantee *eo ipso* the fact that Kumāragupta I assumed this particular *biruda*. In spite of its uncertainities, I nevertheless hope that the Sārnāth inscription of Prakaṭāditya is worth further consideration and study.[253]

In the end, without any conclusive evidence, I have to admit that my dating of Vasubandhu rests partly upon conjectural judgement and that at least one important piece in the jigsaw puzzle (Kumāragupta I /Govindagupta = Bālāditya) is not based upon hard facts. This scenario has, however, the advantage of taking into account the evidence coming from Guṇabhadra's translation of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* as well as integrating both Paramārtha's *Biography of Dharmācārya Vasubandhu* and Vāmana's remark. If (and only if!) 'Vikramāditya' in the *Biography of Dharmācārya Vasubandhu* is Candragupta II, this would mean that roughly speaking, Vasubandhu was already active in the last decades of the 4th century. The *Triṁśikā* is no doubt one of the master's late works, probably produced in his twilight years.[254] We could surmise then that it must have been written sometime between 410 to 430. This would leave a span of one or two decades for the *Triṁśikā* to become to known to the authors of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* before the latter was translated into Chinese by Guṇabhadra in 443. I have rounded the date proposed by Schmithausen (1992, 397) to ca. 350-430, but of course, a margin of approximately one decade (plus or minus) should be allowed for.

Shukla (Sh, p. LXXXV) also conjectures Vasubandhu's date as ca. 360-440, mainly on the basis of the identification of Vikramāditya with Candragupta II and of Bālāditya with one of his followers (see above). Placing Vasubandhu's life between 350 and 430 is also suggested by the Japanese scholar Katō Junshō (1989, especially 64-68) on the basis of his examination of the chronology of Kumāralāta, Harivarman, and Śrīlāta. Katō acknowledges that this hypothesis leaves some problems unanswered, but nonetheless it succeeds in better explaining the dates of the three masters and the history of their Abhidharma systems.

Last but not least, these dates tally much better with the lineage found at the end of the Chinese translation of Vajrarṣi's commentary upon Vasubandhu's *Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitāśāstra* (the so-called *Jingangxian lun* 金剛仙論) (T No. 1512). The text was translated by Bodhiruci, and the passage containing the lineage (T25.874c9-24) seems to be a note added (probably by the Chinese assistants) at the time of rendering the work or sometime not so long after that. It tells us that Maitreya Bodisattva 彌勒世尊 composed the commentary in prose 長行 and entrusted it to Bhikṣu Asaṅga 無障礙比丘 whose erudition and phenomenal memory 多聞強記 ensured its faithful preservation and transmission to the world. It was from his brother

that Vasubandhu the *śāstrakāra* 論主天親 learned it and later added 80 verses as well as enlarged it with further elucidations in prose (以釋此經，凡有八十偈，及作長行論釋。T25.874c20-21). Vasubandhu transmitted the doctrines 轉教 of the text to *Vajrarṣi 金剛仙, and these teachings were consecutively conveyed from *Vajrarṣi to *Akṣayamati 無盡意, then to *Āryaparitrāṇa 聖濟, and finally to Bodhiruci 菩提留支. The note concludes: 'thus, it [took] about 200 years to this day' 以至於今，殆二百年許 (T25.874c23-24).[255] Bodhiruci arrived in China in 508 (see Mochizuki ed. 1974, vol. 5, pp. 4671-4672) and translated the *Vajracchedikāprajñāpāramitāśāstra* in 535 (see Ono ed. 1964, vol. 3, pp. 475-476). The passage does not give any clue about the interval between a master and his disciple. Frauwallner (1951a, 42-44), who also discusses this testimony, surmises that it must have been about 50 years.[256] Supposing, however, an interval of 50 years between each master and pupil is not impossible but does not seem very likely either. In the absence of any positive evidence, I would conjecturally prefer the traditional period of one generation, i.e., roughly 30 years. Thus we can calculate the following approximate dates: if Bodhiruci received the text around 500 (i.e., a few years before his coming to China), *Āryaparitrāṇa must have learned its teachings in ca. 470. Then, *Akṣayamati was entrusted with the text in ca. 440, and *Vajrarṣi studied it directly from Vasubandhu in ca. 410. If we keep on the 30-year calculation, this would mean that Vasubandhu received the commentary from Asaṅga in ca. 380, and that the latter 'heard' it from Maitreya around 350. This would give us approximately 200 years from ca. 535 when the Chinese translation was undertaken and the genealogy must have been added to the text. Assuming that Vasubandhu lived between ca. 350 and ca. 430 fits much better this reckoning.

As indicated above, I surmise that Vasubandhu wrote the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* in his thirties, which means that his conversion to the Great Vehicle took place sometime in his forties. If we take 350 to be the approximate date of his birth, this would mean that we would have to place Vasubandhu's creative Mahāyāna period after ca. 390. This date would not diverge too much from 380, which was the figure resulting from the calculation above, and would also give enough time for Vasubandhu to enlarge the text and then hand it to Vajrarṣi (sometime between ca. 390-410?).[257] We must not forget, however, that the actual interval between the masters and pupils remains unknown and it is much more likely to have been uneven. And more importantly, we must keep in mind that there are no textual proofs that Vasubandhu ever wrote or participated in the enlargement of the *Vajracchedikāprajñāpāramitāśāstra*. Provided that the account in the Chinese translation goes back to Bodhiruci himself, it remains, however, an important testimony. Even if based on a false attribution of the text to Vasubandhu, it nevertheless tells us how an Indian Buddhist master, and no doubt the tradition behind him, at the beginning of the 6th century placed Vasubandhu in their sacred chronology.[258]

10. Hypothetical Chronological Chart of the *Yogācārabhūmi*

If the dates conjectured above are correct, Vasubandhu must have written the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* sometime between ca. 380 and 390. And in view of the

similarities between the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* and the *Yogācārabhūmi*, we can surmise that the latter text must have already assumed more or less its present form before 380. This also matches the conclusions reached by many scholars concerning the formation of the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* in the first half of the 4th century.

Taking 380 as the hypothetical date for the end of the *Yogācārabhūmi* compilation, we can continue to trace back the formation of each of its major parts as follows. I surmise that the compilation of the older parts must have been slower and that by the end of the process, especially in the final stages of the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī*, the awareness of composing a single work probably made the creative, exegetical, and editorial efforts pick up more speed. Arbitrarily, I would assume that the formation of each major textual unit of the *Yogācārabhūmi* as well as the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* required something from 50 to 70 years, i.e., more or less the equivalent of a span of two generations.[259] As pointed out above, the compilation of some of these parts took place in parallel and overlapped to a certain extant.

The results of this higly tentative attempt to date our text are summed in the following chart which commences with the earliest deducible traces of activity of a tradition of Sarvāstivādin *yogācāra*s and ends with Dharmakṣema's translation of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*.[260] Once again it must be emphasised that these dates are purely conjectural, but I do not think that we can or should relativise the information too much. Roughly speaking, I surmise that the *Yogācārabhūmi* assumed its more or less final form around the middle or in the latter half of the 4th century and that its compilation must have had taken something between 100 to 150 years.

ca. 1st century C.E.: Earliest traces of a tradition of Sarvāstivādin *yogācāra*s.[261]
Beginning of the compilation of meditation treatises and manuals.
Doctrines of the *yogācāra*s are attested in the *Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣā* (compiled ca. 150-200).[262]

ca. 100: Saṅgharakṣa composes the **Yogācārabhūmi*.[263]
An Shigao 安世高 translates into Chinese extracts from the **Yogācārabhūmi*, i.e., the *Dao di jing* 道地經, sometime between ca. 148 and 168.
Dharmarakṣa renders the entire text of **Yogācārabhūmi* into Chinese, i.e., the *Xiuxing dao di jing* 修行道地經, in 284.

ca. 100: Aśvaghoṣa composes the *Saundarananda* and the *Buddhacarita*.[264]

(Compilation of the *Yogācārabhūmi*)

ca. 200-270: Compilation of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* (Phase I).[265]

ca. 230-300: Compilation of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (Phase II).

ca. 270-340: Compilation of the rest of the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ*, and in parallel with it, compilation of the *Vastusaṁgrahaṇī* (the earliest textual unit of this phase) as well as of the *Vyākhyāsaṁgrahaṇī* and the *Paryāyasaṁgrahaṇī* (Phase III).

ca. 300-350: Compilation of the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* (Phase IV).

ca. 320-350: Compilation of the early parts of the *Viniścayasaṁgrahāṇi* (Phase V).

ca. 350-380: Compilation of the late parts of the *Viniścayasaṁgrahāṇi*, including the citation of the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra*, and the final redaction of the *Yogācārabhūmi* (Asaṅga's participation in this process?), consisting in additions, interpolations, cross-references, etc. (Phase VI).

ca. 330-405: Asaṅga's date[266]
ca. 350-430: Vasubandhu's date[267]
ca. 380-390: Vasubandhu composes the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* sometime between or around these dates.
ca. 400: Vasubandhu composes the *Pratītyasamutpādavyākhyā*
418: Dharmakṣema translates into Chinese the **Bodhisattvabhūmyādhāra* 菩薩地持經 (which already contains references to other parts of the *Yogācārabhūmi*).

III Paramārtha's Translation of the *Yogācārabhūmi*: A Parallel Version?

Another important hint regarding the history of the *Yogācārabhūmi* comes from Paramārtha's (499-569) activity. We have seen in Chapter Four that in 550 the Indian master rendered into Chinese a work entitled *Shiqi di lun* 十七地論 **Śaptadaśa-bhūmiśāstra*.[268] The translation had been already lost in the first decades of the 7th century, but traditional Chinese sources as well as modern scholarship regard it as a partial translation of the *Yogācārabhūmi*. Indeed, the extant text of the *Yogācārabhūmi* employs the title *Saptadaśa bhūmayaḥ* to refer to the Seventeen Books which make up its first main part (see Appendix to Chapter One above). It is rather intriguing, however, that the titles as well as the order of the Books comprised in the **Śaptadaśabhūmi-śāstra* translated by Paramārtha do not correspond perfectly to the *Yogācārabhūmi* text which survives to this day.

Apart from the brief bibliographical data found in the traditional Chinese catalogues, the only slightly more detailed information which we have about Paramārtha's **Śaptadaśabhūmiśāstra* is provided by the *Dacheng si lun xuan yi* 大乘四論玄義, a treatise written by Junzheng 均正 from the perspective of the Sanlun (Chinese Madhyamka) School 三論宗.[269] There are no records concerning this scholar-monk's life, and except for the extant fragments of the work above (now included in volume 46 of the *Manji zokuzō*), no other text authored by him has survived.[270] From its style and content, it can be inferred that the *Dacheng si lun xuan yi* must date back to a period between the end of the Sui Dynasty (581-617) and the beginning of the Tang Dynasty (618-907) (see Ono 1964, vol. 7, pp. 307-308). In Scroll II, this treatise mentions, with occasional brief explanations, the titles of the seventeen Bhūmis of what it calls **Śaptadaśa[bhūmi]sūtra* 十七〔地〕經[271] translated by *Tripiṭakācārya* Paramārtha 眞諦三藏師 (*Manji zokuzō*, vol. 46, p. 569c1). In all likelihood, this refers to Parmārtha's incomplete translation of the *Yogācārabhūmi* known from catalogues and other indirect testimonies (see also Kamata 1990, 45).

It is not clear whether Junzheng had the text before his eyes or relied on secondary materials or simply cited from memory, but the seventeen Bhūmis which he listed diverge substantially from the extant *Yogācārabhūmi*. In Junzheng's enumeration, they are: (1) 善心地, (2) 聞慧地, (3) 思慧地, (4) 修慧地, (5) 有心定地, (6) 無相定心地,[272] (7) 聲聞地, (8) 緣覺地, (9) 十信地, (10) 十住地, (11) 十行地, (12) 捨小乘迴向大乘地, (13) 大乘十迴向地, (14) 十地, (15) 佛地, (16), 有餘涅槃地, and

(17) 無餘涅槃地 (*Manji zokuzō*, vol. 46, 569b25-c15; see also Ui 1958, 38; Ui 1965, vol. 6, pp. 55-56; Kamata 1990, 45 and 405). The titles of some Bhūmis are identical or similar with the extant version of the *Yogācārabhūmi*, but some others have obviously different names and appear in a dissimilar arrangement. In terms of compositional order, the first Book above, whose title could tentatively be reconstructed as **Kuśalacittabhūmi* should correspond to the *Pañcavijñānakāyasaṁprayuktā bhūmiḥ*, *Manobhūmiḥ*, *Savitarkādibhūmiḥ* (i.e., the *Yogācārabhūmi* Books edited by Bhattacharya 1957). However, apart from its altogether different title, this is not how Junzheng describes this Bhūmi. According to Chinese master, the *Shan xin di* 善心地 constitutes the 'level of the wholesome mental states of charity (**dāna*), morality (**sīla*), etc.' 布施持戒等善心地, which together with the following 聞慧地 *Śrutamayī bhūmiḥ,* 思慧地 *Cintamayī bhūmiḥ,* and 修慧地 *Bhāvanāmayī bhūmiḥ* forms 'the level of the wholesome mental states of the realm of sensual pleasures' 欲界善心地 (*Manji zokuzō*, vol. 46, p. 569c3-4). 有心定地 and 無相定心地 seem to be a combination of the *Sacittikā bhūmiḥ* with the *Samāhitā bhūmiḥ* and of the *Asamāhitā bhūmiḥ* with the *Asacittikā bhūmiḥ* respectively. Let us also note that the place of these two (combined) Bhūmis in the overall order is different from the extant *Yogācārabhūmi.*[273] The most conspicuous difference is the lack of the title *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, and its replacement with seven Books, from (9) 十信地 to (15) 佛地, for which we have no direct equivalent in the extant Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese versions. If Junzheng's reference is trustworthy and the content of the text translated by Paramārtha closely corresponded to the present *Yogācārabhūmi*, one way to explain the discrepancy would be to surmise that the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* was actually divided into separate Bhūmis culminating with the **Buddhabhūmi.*[274] Finally, let us also note that the *Śrāvakabhūmi* 聲聞地 has the same title, but it appears as Book VII, unlike our extant *Yogācārabhūmi* in which it is counted as Book XIII.

Paramārtha's has also contributed a partial translation of the *Viniścaya- saṁgrahaṇī.* This is the *Jueding zang lun* 決定藏論[275] in three *juans* 卷. The text is extant and roughly corresponds to scrolls 51 to 54 in Xuanzang's *Yogācārabhūmi.*[276] Paramārtha's translation generally agrees with Xuanzang's version,[277] but it also contains some important peculiarities which may hint at a different recension of (at least this part of) the *Yogācārabhūmi*. One essential dissimilarity is that the *Jueding zang lun* contains and gives an important role to the co-called 'spotless mind' (**amala(vi)jñāna* 阿摩羅識).[278] In the *Jueding zang lun*, the *ālaya(vi)jñāna* is described as a completely defiled mind which must be eliminated and replaced with *amala(vi)jñāna*, a concept similar to the Tathāgatagarbha.[279] Let us see its description in one the most representative passages in the text:

> Eradicating the *ālayavijñāna* means the transmutation of the ordinary person's nature (**pṛthagjanasvabhāva*). [By] abandoning the profane factors, the *ālayavijñāna* perishes. Because this consciousness perishes, all defilements perish. Because the *ālayavijñāna* is counteracted, [one can] realise the *amala(vi)jñāna* [unhindered]. *Ālayavijñāna* is impermanent and contaminated (**sāsrava*). *Amala(vi)jñāna* is eternal and non-contaminated (**anāsrava*). One realises the the *amala(vi)jñāna* because of attaining the

path which has Suchness (*tathatā) as its object.[280]

斷阿羅耶識，即轉凡夫性。捨凡夫法，阿羅耶識滅。此識滅故，一切煩惱滅。阿羅耶識對治故，證阿摩羅識。阿羅耶識是無常，是有漏法。阿摩羅識是常，是無漏法。得眞如境道故，證阿摩羅識。(T30.1020b10-14)

According to the Korean master Wŏn-ch'ŭk 圓測 (613-639), it was the *Jueding zang lun* which provided the scriptural source upon which Parmārtha based his theory of nine levels of consciousness. This model adds the *amala(vi)jñāna* to the classical Vijñānavādin doctrine of eight consciousnesses.[281]

Paramārtha actually appears to have transmitted a different brand of Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda, which Ui calls the 'old doctrine' 古說 as opposed to Dharmapāla's 護法 'new doctrine' 新說 (Ui 1933; Ui 1965, vol. 6, 499-540; Paul 1984). This 'old doctrine' does not imply that Paramārtha's lineage reflected the original teachings expounded by Maitreya, Asaṅga, and Vasubandhu. It rather represents a certain (regional or scholastic) strain which existed at that time in India and is also found in some of the Chinese translations done by Bodhiruci 菩提流支 (*var. lec.* 菩提留支) (d. 527) and Ratnamati 勒那摩提 (arrived in China in 508) (Ui 1965, vol. 6, p. 538; cf. also Paul 1984, 6-7; etc.). This lineage was more open to the incorporation and elaboration of ideas based upon the Tathāgatagarbha philosophy.

It must be added, however, that generally speaking, it is difficult to decide which is the stance of the original text and which is Paramārtha's own interpretation. In texts like the *Zhuanshi lun* 轉識論 or the *San wuxing lun* 三無性論, Paramārtha's exegetical contribution to the text is often formally marked by the phrase 釋曰 '[the master] explains'. The *Zhuanshi lun* also contains, however, passages which appear to reflect Paramārtha's own views and are not formally marked in the Chinese translation.[282] Amongst these, we also find the theory of the nine consciousnesses 九識 (T31.62a4), which seems to be Paramārtha's own addition. Paul (1984, 117) reaches a similar conclusion concerning the *Wuxiang lun* 無相論: '[...] the passages that relate to an *amala-vijñāna* most probably belong to Paramārtha's interpolation since there is no basis whatever for claiming that Vasubandhu ever held such a belief or ever used the term'.

In the end, it seems almost hopeless to disentangle with precision Paramārtha's own exegesis from the texts which he was supposed to simply render into Chinese. And what is even more difficult is to know exactly to what extant he reflected an authentic Indian lineage of Yogācāra thought or he expressed his own creative interpretations. On the top of this, we can never be sure in what measure his disciples participated in this exegetical effort and how well they grasped the actual nuances of Paramārtha's philosophy.[283] The latter aspect is actually not limited to this particular instance but seems to have been a perennial problem which characterises all Chinese translations done by teams consisting of Indian or Central Asian monks with imperfect (sometimes, no) knowledge of Classical Chinese and local scholars with equally little (or even more frequently, no) familiarity with any Indic language.

To return to our texts, we have to conclude that there is no certainty as to whether the passages concerning the **amala(vi)jñāna* in the *Jue ding zang lun* reflect a different

version of the *Yogācārabhūmi* circulating at that time in India or simly represent Paramārtha's own interpolations. Both alternatives are conceivable. A rapprochement between the 'orthodox' Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda philosophy and the Tathāgatagarbha current is already witnessed in the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* as well as in some translations done by Bodhiruci and Ratnamati. This process may have also led to a different *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* containing passages re-interpreted in a Tathāgatagarbha vein. But one could also imagine that an erudite and assertive scholar-monk, no doubt acting bona fide, might have considered adding here and there interpretations in order to faciliate the correct understanding of an abstruse (or 'non-explicit'?) text. It would thus make equally good sense to suppose that Paramārtha may have including some passages on **amala(vi)jñāna*, which after all was the key-term of his whole system, and guided thus the Chinese audiences and readers to the true purport of the text. What appears more difficult to ascertain is the degree in which these additions constituted the lineage to which Paramārtha belonged or mirror his own philosophical idiosyncrasies.

But what about the structure of the **Śaptadaśabhūmiśāstra*? In my opinion, it seems rather unlikely that the change in the order and titles of the 17 Books as transmitted by Junzheng could originate in Paramārtha's editorial intervention. Unlike the **amala(vi)jñāna*, which is a concept of paramount importance, the structure of the *Maulyo Bhūmayaḥ* has no doctrinal relevance. I, for one, could not think of any cogent reason for rearranging and renaming the Books of the *Maulyo Bhūmayaḥ*. If Junzheng's citation of the seventeen Bhūmi titles is correct, then the differences from the extant *Yogācārabhūmi* can only be explained as a different recension peculiar to another scholastic or regional lineage. Why and how this version came into being is entirely unclear to me, and one could imagine both deliberate changes and/or accidental changes in the transmission process.

I, nevertheless, incline to believe that Junzheng's information on the *Yogācārabhūmi* is not trustworthy. It must be stressed that we do not know whether Paramārtha's translation of the **Śaptadaśabhūmiśāstra* was actually available to the Chinese master at all. The period of his activity overlaps with the time when the **Śaptadaśabhūmiśāstra* translation became lost. This greatly increases the likelihood that the Junzheng may have relied upon a wrong 'hearsay' or imperfect recollection concerning the text. Even if not impossible, this testimony is, in my view, not exactly reliable.

Supposing, however, that Junzheng's information is correct, there is one more possibility which should be explored. Could Paramārtha's translations represent a state in the textual history of the *Yogācārabhūmi* around the middle of the 5th century? After all, except for Dharmakṣema's and Guṇavarman translations of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* and a few scant references in some Indian texts (see above), there is no precise information about the *entire* text of the *Yogācārabhūmi* before Xuanzang's translation around the middle of the 7th century. The answer is, I believe, negative. First of all, it is very hard to imagine that within the space of about 80 years which separates Paramārtha's translations from the time when Xuanzang reached Nālandā, the *Yogācārabhūmi* could have undergone such substantial modifications in terms of structure and content.

Though probably reflecting an earlier stage in the historical development of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, Dharmarakṣa's translation is not a text essentially different from the

extant Sanskrit original as well as the Tibetan and Chinese translations of Book XV of the *Yogācārabhūmi* (see Sueki 1980). Compositionally, Dharmakṣema's and Guṇavarman's renderings of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* are not structured in a way which would suggest something like stages (9) to (15) in Junzheng's reference. It would therefore be rather surprising to see first the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* structured more or less like our extant versions, then dividing it into the above mentioned Bhūmis (9) to (15), and then finally recomposing it into one Book. Doctrinally, too, it is very unlikely that Paramārtha's version of the *Jueding zang lun* constitutes an earlier stage. It would be quite implausible to assume the existence of an original a nine-consciousness model (which, anyway, is not attested in the 'orthodox' Vijñānavādin lineage!) and then see it abandoned in favour of eight-consciousness theory, which eliminates altogether the supremely important *amala(vi)jñāna*.

Evidence also comes from the **Yogācārabhūmivyākhyā* compiled by Jinaputra 最勝子 (fl. ca. 550-600) (see Chapter Six below) around the same time or a few decades after Parmārtha's translations. This commentary clearly seems to indicate that the *Yogācārabhūmi* text around the middle or in the second half of the fifth century was more or less identical with our extant version. Jinaputra speaks of five basic divisions 五分 of the *Yogācārabhūmi* and gives their titles as *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ* 本地分, *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* 攝決擇分, *Vyākhyāsaṁgrahaṇī* 攝釋分, *Paryāyasaṁgrahaṇī* 攝異門分, and *Vastusaṁgrahaṇī* 攝事分 (T30.883a8-12). Furthermore, from the brief presentations of each of the 17 Books made in the **Yogācārabhūmivyākhyā* (T30.885a23-888a3), it appears that the titles and content of text commented upon by Jinamitra was more or less identical with our extant *Yogācārabhūmi*.

It could be argued that since it was the same Xuanzang who rendered the **Yogācārabhūmivyākhyā*, we could suspect an editorial intervention on the part of the Chinese master in order to make the commentary correspond perfectly with his translation of the *Yogācārabhūmi*. I do not think that Xuanzang did or would have done such drastic interventions affecting the structure of the text. From my experience with the *Śrāvakabhūmi* and several other texts as well as from the general testimony concerning the Chinese master's translation style, it seems that when he made his editorial presence felt, it usually was quite reticent. And his motivation more often than not seems to have been a legitimate wish to bring in more clarity and order and not to change the content and/or structure of the original.[284]

It could be further argued, however, that Xuanzang translated a text as he found it in India around 631 when he reached Nālandā Monastery, and it is possible that editorial alterations may have taken place from the time of the compilation of the **Yogācārabhūmivyākhyā*, which must go back half a century or more ago. It is not excluded that slight changes may have been brought to the text, but it would be quite surprising to see substantial alterations made to Jinaputra's commentary at a time when its original was certainly fresh in the memory and every day scholarly life of the Nālandā 'academics'. After all, both Śīlabhadra and Prasenajit must have been young or middle-aged men when the **Yogācārabhūmivyākhyā* was compiled.

My conjectural conclusion is that some parallel passages in the *Viniścaya-saṁgrahaṇī* (or orally transmitted interpretations concerning them?) may have existed in India, though one cannot rule out Paramārtha's *own* philosophical idiosycresies. I am,

however, more sceptical about the existence of a *Maulyo Bhūmayaḥ* so differently structured as suggested by Junzheng's reference. It seems more likely to me that the latter reflects erroneous information.

NOTES

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[1] Here and in many similar references concerning the formation of the ŚrBh and the YoBh below, I use the term 'authors', but this should more often than not be understood as including the authors as well as the compilers and late redactors. Very useful remarks on the notions of 'author' and 'compiler' are found in Schmithausen 1987a, p. 477, n. 1198.

[2] There are scholars, traditional and modern, Eastern and Western, who clearly admire the structure of our text. Speaking of the YoBh in general, Saeki Jōin in the Introduction to his *kundoku* translation of the text (KDK, *Ronbu* 論部, vol. 6, p. 18) describes the work as 'coherent and neatly organised' 首尾一貫、組織井然. Similarly, commenting upon the YoBh, Wayman (1956, 317-318) says that 'Asaṅga's work demonstrates a remarkable degree of organization of material'. Concerning the ŚrBh, the American scholar praises Asaṅga's 'genius in organization of thought', which he considers 'certainly superior to [...] Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga*' (1956, 324). I do not completely deny the editorial virtues of the compilers of the YoBh in general and ŚrBh in particular, but I am not so ecstatic about the final outcome of their efforts. I do admit, however, that such evaluations concerning the coherence and organisation of a text contain an important dose of subjective judgement.

[3] The numbers of the chapters, sections, and subsections as the same as those used in the Synoptic Presentation (Chapter One) above.

[4] Many instructions in Yogasthāna III are actually worded as imperative sentences. See the presentation of the meditation on impurity at the beginning of Chapter One above. Cf. also note 33 to Chapter One.

[5] Aramaki (2000, p. 39, n. 2) speaks of 'the three strata of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*' but unfortunately, does not give any further details. See also note 43 below.

[6] This process may also reflect a gradual enlargement of one or more original ascetic groups and their transformation into an organised community which would eventually lay the foundations of the Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda School (see below). Set against this historical background, the need to have a common set of codified teachings for all the (increasingly large number of) followers becomes all the more evident.

[7] In its present form, the chapter does not even enumerate the thirteen requisites detailed at 3.4. in Yogasthāna I. The fact that the latter have been already discussed in the text is clearly presupposed here. Chapter 3.22. lists some requisites starting with restraint in morality (*śīlasaṁvara*) and continues up to mindful [/discerning] conduct (*saṁprajānadvihāritā*), after which the following items are omitted with the usual *yāvac chrāmaṇālaṁkāra* '[the rest as known] up to the [spiritual] adornments of the ascetic' (Sh 358, 11-13). If my hypotheis is correct, then the original Chapter 3.22. must have contained the whole list of requisites and probably even short definitions. As these were treated in detail at 3.4., in the final stages of the textual formation, the list was probably shortened and all further explanations were omitted.

[8] Apart from the main discussion in chapter 3.7., the universal meditative objects are also mentioned in Yogasthāna II at ŚrBh-Gr (18) 38, 6; Sh 293, 14-15 (The manuscript reading *vyādhyālambane* (MS 85b1M) is a scribal error). Let us also note that this category also appears listed together with the other three categories in the *Śrutamayī bhūmiḥ* (D Tshi 165a4: *khyab par bya ba la dmigs pa*; T30.346c22: 遍滿所縁).

[9] These are the impurity (*aśubhatā*), friendliness (*maitrī*), dependent origination (*idaṁ-*

pratyayatāpratītyasamutpāda), analysis of the elements (*dhātuprabheda*), and mindfulness of breathing (*ānāpānasmṛti*).

[10] The category of universal meditative objects (*vyāpy ālambanam*) consists of: (1) meditative objects with images accompanied by reflection (*savikalpaṁ pratibimbam*), (2) meditative objects with images unaccompanied by reflection (*nirvikalpaṁ pratibimbam*), (3) meditative objects which constitute the phenomenal limit [lit., boundary of things] (*vastuparantatā*), and (4) meditative objects representing the perfection of the [contemplative] act (*kāryapariniṣpatti*). We shall have more to say about these universal meditative objects below and in the Chapter Six below.

[11] Bhikkhu Huimin (1994a, especially pp. 273-274) also makes a distinction between the meditative objects for purifying the conduct (*caritaviśodhanam ālambanam*) and meditative objects for purifying defilements (*kleśaviśodhanam ālambanam*), on the one hand, and the universal meditative objects (*vyāpy ālambanam*), on the other. He argues that the ŚrBh, which belongs to the old YoBh strata, emphasises the former pair (called type A), basically representing the traditional Budhist meditative path, while the category of universal objects (termed type B) is touched upon but does not play a major part. According to Bhikkhu Huimin, in the SaṁNirm, which constitutes a new textual layers of the YoBh, this relationship is reversed, and type B comes to play the dominant role while type A is only briefly mentioned.

[12] These include *vastuparyantatāvabodha*, *yathābhūtāvabodha* (MS 99a7R; Sh 370, 5; P Wi 163b3-4; T30.452a5-6), etc. (MS and Sh read the first compound as: *vastuparyeṣantatāvabodhaṁ*, which is, most likely, a scribal error; cf. Tib. *dngos po'i mtha' rtogs pa* and Ch. 事邊際覺.) See also *yāvadbhāvikatā* and *yathāvadbhāvikatā* below.

Mihono (2001a, 95-97) also points out such common elements which are related to the universal meditative objects. However, he criticises Mōri's view and argues that the universal meditative objects serve as the premise for the practice of tranquillity and insight as expounded in Yogasthānas III and IV (ibid., p. 96). Logically it is not impossible to infer such a relation of dependence as suggested by Mihono, but I find this alternative less likely. The reasons for this are the absence in Yogasthānas III and IV of the *entire* set making up *vyāpy ālambanam* and, more importantly (as actually emphasised by Mōri, too), the fact that their theoretical framework *as a whole* is not presupposed in this part of the text. Another detail which helps to corroborate this assertion is an occurrence at ŚrBh Sh 367, 5-7, in Yogasthāna III which discusses the practice of insight. This passage speaks of the yogi who examines (*vicinoti*) the meditative objects for purifying the conduct (*caritaviśodhanam ālambanam*), the meditative objects for proficiency (*kauśalyālambanam*), and the meditative objects for purifying defilements (*kleśaviśodhanam ālambanam*). And, the text continues, the praxis also implies examination with respect to the extent of reality as well as thoroughly examining with regard to the conformity to reality (*yāvadbhāvikatayā vicinoti, yathāvadbhāvikatayā pravicinoti*; Sh 367, 7-8). The concepts of *yāvadbhāvikatā* and *yathāvadbhāvikatā* actually represent the third type of the universal meditative objects, i.e., the phenomenal limit (*vastuparantatā*) (see ŚrBh-Gr (14), 34-36). If the complete set of four universal meditative objects had been available for the authors of this passage, I do not see why they did not mention it together with the other three categories of *ālambana*. If a discussion from the viewpoint of *yāvadbhāvikatā* and *yathāvadbhāvikatā* had also been necessary, this could have been added as a supplementary remark after referring to the *vyāpy ālambanam*.

I, therefore, believe that it is easier to explain these discrepancies as indicative of a historical process in which disparate original elements were gradually pieced together in a more developed and comprehensive category, i.e., the *vyāpy ālambanam*. If my hypothesis is true, then the presence of elements of the latter concept in the earlier textual layers is quite normal,

and this does not necessarily entail the conclusion that they presuppose the entire category as it appears in the late strata of the work, i.e., Yogasthānas Ⅰ and Ⅱ.

[13] The relevant passage in chapter 2.4. is cited in the Synoptic Presentation (Chapter One) above.

[14] See note 132 to my English translation.

[15] The cross-references with the other Books of the *Maulyo Bhūmayaḥ* must belong to the final stages of the redaction of the YoBh. More details on this process are found below.

[16] Tib. and Ch. (see note 17 below) suggest: °*vastuparyeṣakā*, which makes a better sense, but MS *vastukā{ma}* is a possible reading.

[17] Sh reads: [...] *yā vipaśyanā [|]* [new paragraph] *ṣaḍvastukarmitāṁ paścād vakṣmāmi svasthāne* |. Tib. and Ch. are more developed and contain the full name of the insight. Cf. Tib.: *mkhas pa'i dmigs pa dang | nyon mongs pa rnam par sbyong ba'i dmigs pa dag la lhag mthong gis dngos po drug yong su tshol bar byed pa gang yin pa de dag ni phyis rang gi gnas skabs su brjod par bya'o | |* (P 171b6-7); Ch.: 若依止善巧所緣及淨惑所緣，尋思六事差別所緣毘鉢舍那，於其自處我後當説。(T30.455b13-15).

[18] The Chinese translation suggests 'based upon'.

[19] The identification of the cross-reference which the editor had in mind here is rather problematic. Apart from some other occasional references, the only detailed discussion of the 'six aspects' after this sentence is found in passage 3.28.2.1.2. in the Chapter on the Mundane Path. The passage deals with the contemplation perceiving characteristics, which though occurring in the context of *dhyāna*-attainments, is a practice closer to the *vipaśyanā*-reflective method. What is intriguing, nevertheless, is that there is no direct mention of 'meditative objects for proficiency and [those] for the purification of defilements' announced in the sentence above.

The sentence cited here is also noteworthy for its being written in the first person singular. This could be interpreted as the indication of the fact that the ŚrBh is the work of a single author. (I assume that the scholars willing to give more credence to the Buddhist tradition will see this a statement made by Maitreya or Asaṅga himeself.). I do not think, however, that such sentences in the first person singular can be immediately taken to be the 'fingerprints' of one single author. The first person might be a redactor trying to give more coherence to the text. Or it could reflect an original oral exposition included as such in the ŚrBh, in which case the master may have mentioned that he will refer to a certain topic later. Furthermore, we should not forget that especially Yogasthāna Ⅲ is conceived as being the direct instruction of a master to the beginner.

[20] This and the possible implications for the history of the ŚrBh are discussed in note 299 of my English translation.

[21] The possibility that the arrangement of *uddāna*s may linked to the history of the text is also suggested by Roth (1977, 410) in connection with the BoBh.

[22] Some aspects of the *uddāna* differences between the Sanskrit original and the Chinese translation of the ŚrBh are also discussed by Kanakura (1977, 115-117). The Japanese scholar points out that the *uddāna*s were added after the prose parts of the text had been completed. The main function of an *uddāna* is that of summing up the gist of a section or chapter, and its precise wording is less important. According to Kanakura, different wordings may have appeared during the history of the text transmission, and this accounts for the dissimilar phrasing of the *uddāna*s in the the Sanskrit original and Chinese version.

[23] The position of the summary verses in Xuanzang's translation is different from the Sanskrit and the Tibetan versions because of the Chinese convention of placing *uddāna*s at the beginning of the chapters or sections which they summarise. This rule is not, however, applied to *antaroddāna*s, which, as their name suggests, occur in the middle of textual units.

[24] The ŚrB manuscript (MS 66a2L) and Shukla (Sh 169,1-2) actually place the fourth *uddāna* at the beginning of Yogasthāna Ⅱ, but this must be a scribal error.

[25] This order is also adopted by the Śrāvakabhūmi Study Group's edition (p. 296).

[26] The crucial decision of the Singhalese Theravāda monks to commit the Buddhist sacred corpus to writing in the 1st century BCE is recorded in both the *Dīpavaṁsa* (XX, 20-21) and the *Mahāvaṁsa* (XXXⅢ, 100-101). For details, see Lamotte 1958, 403-405.

[27] The role of the oral tradition has been pointed out and analysed in many modern studies (see, for example, Cousins 1983; Collins 1992; Allon 1997, the latter also containing an ample bibliography on this subject). Cousins (1983, 5) argues that even after the introduction of the written transmission, there followed 'a considerable transitional period with both oral and literary approaches remaining concurrent'. Collins (1992) similarly maintains that the Buddhist tradition remained largely an oral/aural one in spite of the parallel usage of writing (cf. also Allon 1997, 1-8).

Relevant information about the parallel existence of the oral and written traditions is also provided by the Chinese historical records concerning the translation of the Buddhist texts. We find instances of both recitation from memory and usage of manuscripts, often by the same person. The following two examples from the *Biographies of Eminent Monks* 高僧傳, compiled by Huijiao 慧皎 in 519, are illustrative of this situation. According to this source, the famous translator Dharmarakṣa 竺法護 (239-316) 'recited scriptures tens of thousands of words a day' 誦經日萬言 (T50.326c4). In spite of his prodigious memory, Dharmarakṣa also valued, however, the written tradition. After a journey to the Western Regions, he 'eventually, brought a great number of Indian scriptures and returned to China' 遂大齎梵經, 還歸中夏 (T50.326c11-12). Another early translator, Saṅghabhadra 僧伽跋澄, who had come from Kashmir to China in 381, was famed for the fact that he had committed to memory the huge *Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣā*. He is depicted as 'recit[ing] the text of the scripture' 口誦經本 (T50.328b7) for a team translating it into Chinese. The same Saṅghabhadra is, however, said to have brought with him 'Vasumitra's Indian text' 婆須蜜梵本 (T50.328b11) (this refers to the *Āryavasumitrasaṅgītiśāstra* or 尊婆須蜜菩薩所集論 in Chinese rendering). At a later date, he and two other scholar-monks 'took the text in hand' 執梵本 (T50.328b13) and translated it with the help of Chinese assistants. Oral recitation and reliance upon written transmission are thus seen side by side.

[28] It is interesting to note here that the Indian tradition is not unaware of the possibility of editorial interventions on classical texts. We find, for instance, in the *Carakasaṁhitā* the following verses: *vistārayati leśoktaṁ saṁkṣipaty ativistaram | saṁskartā kurute tantraṁ purāṇaṁ ca punar navam* | (Chapter XⅡ, stanzas 36-37, vol. 1, p. 681) 'Detailing what is brief, abridging what is excessively detailed/ The redactor makes the old treatise new again'.

[29] This is not the place to embark upon the problem of Maitreya's historicity. Here it will suffice to say that basically I agree with Demiéville (1954, p. 381, n. 4; also p. 434, n. 9) that the traditional accounts of Maitreya as the author of *Yogācārabhūmi* should be taken as probably referring to a *révélation reçue en extase* rather than as evidence pointing at the existence of a real author called 'Maitreya(-nātha)'. I find it quite useful, on the other hand, to speak of the 'Maitreya-Asaṅga complex', a term suggested and defined by Schmithausen (1969b, 821; 1987a, 187-189) as a corpus of early Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda works consisting of the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṁkāra, Madhyāntavibhāga, Dharmadharamatāvibhāga, Mahāyānasaṁgraha, *Āryadeśanāvikhyāpanaśāstra* (= *Xianyang shengjiao lun* 顯揚聖教論), and *Abhidharmasamuccaya* (see Schmithausen 1969b, p. 821, n. 48).

[30] Yamabe also speaks of 'old strata' 古層 of the YoBh in his contributions published in

1990b (p. 64) and 2000 (see especially pp. 140-142).

[31] The list is far from exhaustive. Unfortunately, lack of space and time do not allow me to present in detail the argumentation and views of each of these studies. In this context, one could also mention Yokoyama 1971. This contribution convincingly shows that five of the most important doctrines of the Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda School which are expounded in the MadhVibh, MahSūt, and *Dharmadharmatāvibhāga* (works ascribed to Maitreya, whom Yokoyama regards a historical personage as advocated by Ui), are different or absent from the YoBh. This leads Yokoyama to conclude that this text must therefore be the work of another author (or authors?). Yokoyama does not give, however, any further detail on his views concerning the formation of the YoBh.

[32] Ui considers that the authorship of the YoBh should be ascribed to Maitreya, whom he considers a historical person. With the exception of Takemura and Funahashi (see notes below), all other scholars mentioned here consider that the YoBh was composed by Asaṅga.

[33] Although a traditional Buddhist scholar, Katō (ibid., pp. 6-8) criticises Ui's theory of Maitreya as a real personage (and with very good arguments, it must be added).

[34] According to Takemura, Maitreya composed the BoBh and Asaṅga authored the rest of the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ* as well as the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī.*

[35] Wayman continued to advocate this view in many of his later studies. For instance, in the 'Doctrinal Affiliation of the Buddhist Master Asaṅga' (originally published in 1989 and included in the author's collection of studies issued in 1997), Wayman says, '[...] by this personage Asaṅga, I mean one who authored the entire bulky *Yogācārabhūmi*' (1997, 90). A few lines below, the American scholar adds, however, that 'the *gāthā* [in the YoBh] were not his composition' (ibid., p. 91)! Leaving apart the 'slight' semantic violation of the basic sense of the word 'entire', there is little doubt that Wayman ascribes the YoBh to Asaṅga. Actually, on the basis of 'Asaṅga's system of cross-references', Wayman re-constructs the 'order of his writing [the YoBh]' (1997, 92). This, according to him, started with 'a manual of *yoga*, the *Śrāvakabhūmi* with its four *yogasthāna*' (ibid.), and continued with the *Samāhitābhūmi*, the *Paryāyasaṁgrahaṇī*, the *Vastusaṁgrahaṇī*, the *Śrutamayībhūmi*, the *Cintamayībhūmi*, and the *Bhavanāmayībhūmi*. These were composed, we are told, until around Asaṅga's mid-twenties, when he was invited (by whom?) to write the commentary on the *Sūtrālaṁkāra* (ibid.) Then around 410, he composed the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, which 'was instentenously successful, and arrangements were made to translate it into Chinese, starting around 414 A.D' (ibid., 93). (One does not fail to note the speed of such arrangements almost vying with the marketing of modern blockbusters!...). After this, Asaṅga wrote the other Bhūmis and the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* (ibid.). As no details are given about which cross-references and how exactly they can lead to such an order, the scenario remains largely imaginary and cannot prove *eo ipso* that the YoBh is Asaṅga's work. (I also assume that the ŚrBh seems to be the first textual unit of the YoBh to have been compiled, but my scenario is quite different; see below).

[36] The same view is espoused in Shukla's Part II of his edition and study of the ŚrBh. The author refers to the YoBh as Asaṅga's work all throughout Sh II (pp. CVIIIff; CXIIIff; etc).

[37] Funahashi follows the Chinese tradition and treats the YoBh as one of Maitreya's works. He briefly touches upon other views concerning the authorship of the YoBh and the historicity of Maitreya, but he chooses to refer to the YoBh, the MadhVibh, the MahSūt as a set of texts which transmit the early Vijñānavāda philosophy and can be ascribed to Maitreya.

[38] The study is discussed and refuted in Schmithausen 1987a, 183-193.

[39] Mukai is one of the most fervent supporters of the view that the YoBh basically constitutes the work of one author, i.e., Asaṅga. Unfortunately, lack of time and space does not allow me to discuss his and other scholars' arguments. As apparent from these pages, I take a different view, but this does not mean that I regard the line of conjecture followed in my study as the only one

logically and historically possible. Nor do I deny the possibility that future discoveries and research on the authorship of the YoBh could prove the contrary to my hypothesis. If given (what I would regard as) convincing evidence, I would be more than willing to change my views expressed here. And if one confession is allowed, I must admit that in my weak moments, I sometimes regretted that I had to spend so much time and energy on searching into a seemingly endless number of sources and studies and then trying to build up a plausible scenario. It would have been so deliciously simple to speak without further ado of '*Yogācārabhūmi* composed by Asaṅga'....

[40] Suguro's studies (1976 and 1989) rank as one of the most outstanding contributions to the history of the YoBh and early Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda. Though I respectfully differ from the main line of his interpretion, I cannot but express my respect for his research, from which I had so much to learn. A brief presentation, followed by some comments, is necessary especially in view of the fact that his study published in 1989 offers one of the most articulate views that 'the text [i.e., the YoBh] as we have it today arose as a whole at a single time' (Suguro 1989, English summary, p. 11; see also p. 249: 現形[of the YoBh]が一時期において成立したものである; the main argumentation is to be found at pp. 263-270; see also p. 320 as well pp. 323-328). One of Suguro's main arguments supporting his statement is the large number of cross-references found throughout the YoBh. (No doubt, credit goes to Suguro for their meticulous collection and collation.) Speaking of the cross-refences in the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ*, the Japanese scholar says:

> [...] both the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* and the *Śrāvakabhūmi* anticipate and quote theories from other Bhūmis. I think that such a phenomenon could not have happened unless the various parts of the 17 Bhūmis had been in existence at the same time and their writing had been undertaken by making reference to one another. [...]菩薩地も声聞地も他の地の学説を予想してそれを引用している。このような現象は、十七の地の諸部分が同時に存在していて、それらを相互しながら著述が進められて行ったのでなければ起こり得ないことであろうと思う。 (p. 263)

Suguro further concludes:

> [...] I think that prior to the unitary compilation of the *Yogācārabhūmi*, the draft of four of its parts, [i.e.,] the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ*, *Vyākhyāsaṁgrahaṇī*, *Paryāyasaṁgrahaṇī*, and *Vastusaṁgrahaṇī*, [therefore, the whole work] with the exception of the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī*, was first prepared and then in the process of correlating these [parts] and compiling [the text] in a unitary manner, the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* was added. Since the appellation *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ* is not employed in the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ* itself, this must be a term [which began to be] used at the stage when the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* was added. [...]『瑜伽論』の統一編纂に先立って、摂決択分を除く本地分・摂釈分・摂異門分・摂事分の四分の草稿がまず用意され、そしてその後にそれらを関係づけて統一編纂する過程において摂決択分が付加増広されたと考えるのである。本地分という名称は本地分自体に用いられていないから、これは摂決択分が増広された時点において使用された名称であろう。 (p. 268)

As to the author(s), Suguro believes that YoBh 'was compiled through the cooperative efforts of a number of people' (English summary, p. 11). Methodologically, he rejects, however, that the YoBh 'was historically formed' 歴史的に形成せられた (p. 271). Suguro has a rather peculiar view on what 'historical' means. According to him, the formation of a sacred text usually implies a series of steps in the compilation process, which, unless the text is extremely short, are bound to take some time to be completed. It is continuity rather than duration that matters. If a text is the result of a continuous compilation process, then the formation cannot be termed 'historical', no matter whether it lasted ten or fifty years.

Furthermore, Suguro argues, we cannot speak of 'historical' formation even if a text displays different stages of doctrinal development as long as these occurred during a single, continuous and unitary process of compilation. The term 'historical formation' should be used only when such a process comes to an end and after a certain period of time, a new compilation process begins and adds extra parts and elements to the original text. Since, according to Suguro, the YoBh must have been produced as a single, continous process, we cannot speak of historical formation in its case. As to the duration of the YoBh compilation, this must have taken place within the space of one generation (p. 271). The Japanese scholar recognises the fact that the YoBh is based upon traditional Āgama sources and Śrāvakayānika doctrines, but this is not sufficient to make the work qualify as a 'historically' formed text (p. 272).

Suguro further surmises that even if we suppose the existence of an old ŚrBh and BoBh, which predate the YoBh as a whole, the extant ŚrBh and the BoBh which appear in the YoBh and cite or refer to other Bhūmis cannot be the original form of these texts. Besides, no trace or information in other sources concerning these 'different textual varieties' 別種 of the ŚrBh and the BoBh is found. Therefore, even if they had existed, 'they must have been transmitted orally or in the form of memos or as closed scriptures, without being formally recognised and made public as scriptural texts. These might have been collected and prepared as drafts when the *Yogācārabhūmi* was compiled' 多分口伝やメモの形によって、あるいは非公開の聖典として伝えられたものであって、聖典として正式に承認され、また公表されたものではなかったに違いない。『瑜伽論』編纂に際してこれらが集録されて草稿として用意されたのであるまいか。 (p. 273).

Let us also add here that in his 1976 contribution, Suguro shows (or rather appears to show) a different interpretation which is more in tune with the 'mainsteam' philologico-historical approach. He says: '[In this paper,] I hypothesised that the various parts [of the YoBh] were probably first drafted independently and eventually edited together in a unitary manner' 諸部分が先に独立に起草され、それらが最終的に統一編集されとものであろうという仮説をたてた (p. 31). Here it is also stated that the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* was composed after the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ*, which it explained by developing its doctrinal content (発展的に解明した) and that there are differences in the philosophical stages (思想の発展段階の差) displayed by these two parts of the YoBh (p. 19). A similar conclusion is clearly expressed at page 31: 'one can ascertain different stages in historical development between the doctrines expounded in the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ* [,on the one hand,] and the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* [, on the other]' 本地分と摂決択分の所説の間には、歴史的な発展段階が認められる. In the 1989 study, Suguro, however, repudiates his views expressed in 1976 as 'immature and not [properly/completely] organised' 未熟・未整理. Referring precisely to the sentence just quote above, he declares that the word 'historical' 歴史的 should be deleted (p. 326) and then rewrites it as follows: 'In the process of a series of editorial operations, the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ* and the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* established a temporal and philosophical sequence, and one can ascertain differences in the development of their doctrines' 本地分と摂決択分は、一連の編纂作業が行われた過程の中において、時間的思想的に前後関係をなし、その所説には発展段階の差が認められる (pp. 326-327).

Though I follow a different path of reasoning, it must be admitted that Suguro's study raises some delicate methodological and historical issues. Can we refer to the compilation of a text as including the whole formation going back to the earliest sources? Or should we use the word 'compilation' only when the process reaches its final stages? How can we ascertain the existence of a single, continuous, unitary compilation process and differentiate it from one having clear-cut stages of development? What is the weight one has to give to such details as

cross-refences? Definite answers and general rules valid for all text are, I believe, impossible. Here I can only attempt a brief sketch of what appears to me a more sensible way to look at the history of the sacred literature in general and of the YoBh in particular.

Like many other abstract terms, the definition of 'compilation' has a certain margin open to more or less subjective interpretations. In the case of a huge and complex text like the YoBh, it is conceivable that one could limit his or her use of the term 'compilation' to its last phase and consider this stage as the actual birth of the text in question. This is, I think, a possible semantical choice, which I do not reject off hand (though I do not favour either). If we place such semantical limitations, of course, we can speak of the compilation of the YoBh as a more or less single, unitary process, with the proviso that in the case of our text, 'unitary' did not mean perfect philosophical harmonisation, elimination of all doctrinal contradictions, and brilliant organisation of the material. If this proviso is kept, I have nothing against speaking of 'a single, unitary process of compilation'. I actually imagine that the last stage (what I term below, phase VI) in the formation of the YoBh must have been a process in which the compilers became more self-aware of their goal and increased their concerted effort. What previously must have been a common but rather loosely connected corpus of texts actually became a single work.

Does this, however, rule out the possibilty to speak of 'historical formation' when there are more or less clear hints of doctrinal development within the text examined? The answer is, I believe, negative. We have the right to use the phrase 'historical formation' and the word 'compilation' with a wider sense. The bottom line is the presence of doctrinal differences and contradictions as well as the less than perfect formal organisation of the YoBh. When faced with such irregularities, related to both the content and the form, it is more logical to assume that some parts of the text came first into existence or, at least, were composed independently. Later strata may develop new (sometimes, even conflicting) doctrines, but due to the (semi-)scriptural authority gained by the earlier parts, the latter cannot be changed, at least not completely. Occasionally, a harmonious interpretation may be attempted, and often interpolations could be added. But due to the status of the textual units which the redactors had to edit as well as to mistakes and carelessness (*errare humanum est*!), quite a few of the contradictions, differences and structural irregularities had to be left as such (and thus supply later exegetes with plenty of points to bother about). I suppose that such a model explains better the composite nature of a text like the YoBh, and calling this 'historical formation' or 'multi-strata compilation' is a legitimate choice.

Speaking of a single, unitary compilation process and at the same time admitting doctrinal developments and a 'temporal and philosophical sequence' seems almost a contraditiction in terms. It is true that works written by one single author, sometimes even short ones, can and do contain differences of tone and interpretation and even contradictions, but these tend to be less conspicuous and numerous. Usually it is because of their less apparent nature that their authors do not notice them. But can we explain all doctrinal gaps and differences in the YoBh as simple discrepancies overlooked by authors and editors working in a continuous, unitary compilation process? Formal irregularities such as numerous unnecessary repetitions, lack of sufficient explanation, chaotic organisation, etc. are more likely to be indicative of a work with different textual layers whose final redaction could not effect compositional balance. I assume that a well-organised unitary editing process would have shown better textual organisation in all respects. Suguro is actually aware of such formal problems, and even speaks of cases when the explanation of the concepts is 'extremely non-unified' 極めて不統一 (p. 327). He considers these as an indication of the fact that the authors of the YoBh shared a common knowledge of such concepts and that the lack of explanations or poor organisation did not, therefore, have much importance. But why then bother to write such a treatise, anyway? If just a mnemonic list

of terms, well-understood by the respective milieu, was what was necessary, then a simple *mātṛkā* list would have done as well.

It is true that even works by single authors may often have an inner development, which may leave or not traces in the final text. It is not unnatural that authors do sometimes change their ideas during their drafting of the work, but what they eventually do in most cases is to re-arrange their works into more coherent wholes. Is this the impression given by the YoBh? No! Not to me, at least.... We do not have to go as far as to compare this *śāstra* with our modern standards. Let us think of, say, texts like the *Visuddhimagga* or the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*. I believe that in the hands of a Buddhaghosa or Vasubandhu (or for that matter, Asaṅga!), the YoBh would have looked quite different if the author had full freedom from the beginning in organising all the material and basic sources. It is not that the final editors of the YoBh inherently lacked compositional talent (although some of them might have failed to exercise them fully...), but I think that they were confronted with a different situation. They had little freedom in making changes and substantial redactional modifications in a corpus of texts which had already gained an important status and recognition in the religious circles where they were circulating. My view is that in cases like the YoBh, it is more sensible to speak of 'historical formation' in its usual sense without any methodological complications (such as the 'single, unitary compilation' which allows for 'temporal and philosophical sequence' of its parts).

Suguro's methodological stance also entails a few other problems: why should we refuse a text like the ŚrBh and the BoBh the status of a stage in the compilation of the YoBh only because it was transmitted orally or in 'memos'? (Suguro does not explain what メモ means here, but in everyday Japanese, from which the *katakana*-spelled word is doubtless taken, it refers to an informal note.) Usually, as argued above and accepted by many modern Buddhist scholars, the historical formation of a traditional text often starts by means of oral transmission. If 'memos' refer to pieces which are later compiled into larger texts, then I see no problem in regarding them as part of the text formation. That these 'memos' are conceived of as a step in the formation of the text is actually suggested by Suguro himself: 'these might have been collected and prepared as drafts when the *Yogācārabhūmi* was compiled' (p. 273).

More difficult is to comprehend what Suguro means by 'closed scriptures' which 'were not formally recognised and made public as scriptural texts' (ibid.). The term 'closed' makes little, if any, sense in our case. Some religious texts may be addressed to a very limited or select audience. This was not only the fate of the Tantric texts but, very probably, also of many yogic manuals and treatises which at least in their initial stages must have been transmitted in small circles of initiates. The beginning of Yogasthāna III in the ŚrBh is, in all likelihood, a reflection of such a milieu in which the teachings are passed from master to disciple in what definitely appears to be far away from the boisterous public of a large monastic establishment. The limited circles to which such texts were transmitted and addressed did not necessarily imply an exclusivist secrecy but only a high degree of spiritual motivation and specialisation. Not all Buddhist monks were supposed to become involved in spiritual practices, and not too many appear to have been particularly keen to know them (see Deleanu 2000). In such milieus, a 'closed' transmission must have been the rule than rather the exception, and its non- or semi-public character does not disqualify such steps from being included in the history of the texts dedicated to the spiritual path.

In the end, I think that the basic difference between Suguro's methodology and an approach like mine is largely semantic. The Japanese scholar restricts (too much, in many opinion) the usage of 'compilation' only to the last phases of (what appears to be) a longer and more complex textual formation. The most problematic part of this limiting definition is the exclusion of all other previous formative stages from the compilation process. I plead for a wider and, I hope, more flexible usage of 'compilation', which includes and can easily account

for various historical stages and doctrinal development within a text. Apart from this interpretative stance (and a few other less important details), I think that, roughly speaking, Suguro largely accepts more or less a succession of events and steps in the YoBh history not so different from the one which I have in mind, but he chooses to use a peculiar terminology to depict it.

One last remark about the cross-references. I do not think that in themselves they are evidence supporting either the theory of a single, unitary redaction or a view advocating a multi-strata historical formation. It is possible to imagine two distinct scenarios: (1) a well-planned work in which the authors and editors knew, at least approximately, where and how they were going to deal with various concepts (Suguro's hypothesis); (2) a gradually growing text, which especially in the last stages of compilation was edited by a team of redactors (having by now knowledge of the entire work) and thus had many passages, themes, and doctrines correlated through a web of cross-references (my view). Actually, I think that in the case of the YoBh, this process was more complex. It must have started from the early phases of formation of the text, probably as early the BoBh (at least some of the cross-references to the ŚrBh) and picked up speed as the compilation process advanced and the awareness of its becoming one single work increased. This reached its peak in the final stage of formation. What is really difficult is, I think, to distinguish between early and late cross-references. Probably, in a large number of cases, this is not possible, but a closer look at the contexts where they occur could provide some hints in this respect. More about it will be said below.

41 Suguro (1989, 325-326) discusses these two examples adduced by Schmithausen and declares them to be insufficient proofs for the composite formation of the YoBh. According to the Japanese scholar, these can be explained by the encyclopaedic character of the YoBh which collected and adopted doctrines of different schools, some of them being contradictory. In my opinion, such an interpretation amounts to acknowledging the fact that the YoBh is a conglomerate of different strata of various origins and, most likely, various dates. It is true that the YoBh has an encyclopaedic character in the sense of including a wide variety of topics and categories. The stated purpose of the YoBh is not, however, that of compiling a comprehensive anthology of the doctrinal systems of different schools of the age. If this had been the intention of the author(s), one one would have expected clear statements as to the provenence of this or that teaching. A coherently composed work, whether by one or more authors, more often than not has a basically consistent doctrinal thread. Occasional references to other opinions can be found, but they are usually presented as such (as, for instance, the frequent *ity apare* in the AKBh). Nothing of the kind is seen in the context of the two examples pointed out by Schmithausen and discussed by Suguro. In both cases, there is nothing in the text which would let us suspect that here an opinion different from the basic stance of the author is referred to. It is thus more plausible to hypothesise different textual strata and authors, which could not actually be harmonised in the later stages of the YoBh compilation, probably due to the fact that the earlier layers had already gained wide acceptance in this community. Of this, we shall speak more below.

42 Schmithausen (1969a, p. 21 and n. 20; 1987a, pp. 267-269, n. 124) also draws the attention to a stylistic peculartity which may indicate that the author(s) of the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* relied upon pre-existing materials in their compilation of the work. Each of the chapters dedicated to the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ* Books ends with a sentence declaring that 'no other text with clarifications [concerning the respective Bhūmi] is found'. E.g., the end of the *Sopadhika-nirupadhikabhūmiviniścaya* reads: *rnam par gtan la dbab pa'i gzhung de las gzhan ni mi snang ngo* (edited in Schmithausen 1969a, p. 70, ll. 9-10; cf. German tr. at p. 71, in which *gzhung de las gzhan ni* is reconstructed as Skt. *tadanyo viniścayagranthaḥ*) (also ZT vol. 74, p. 1046, ll. 11-12); corresponding Ch. reads: 於地中餘決擇文更不復現, T30.747c13-14. Similar

sentences are found at the end of the the *Śrāvakabhūmiviniścaya*: *rnam par gtan la dbab pa'i gzhung lhag ma ni mi snang ngo.* || (ZT vol. 74, p. 689, 17-18; cf. T30.694c15-16), the *Bodhisattvabhūmiviniścaya* (ZT vol. 74, p. 1034, ll. 1-2; T30.747b26); etc.

43 In his analysis of the *ālayavijñāna* development, Schmithausen (1987a, 14) distinguishes between three main layers of the YoBh: (1) the earliest strata which contain no reference to the *ālayavijñāna*, i.e. the ŚrBh, the BoBh, and the *Vastusaṁgrahaṇī*; (2) the rest of the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ* 'with sporadic occurrences of the ālayavijñāna but no reference to the Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra'; and (3) the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī*, which dicusses in detail the *ālayavijñāna* and cites or makes use of the Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra. Obviously, the main criterion here is the presence and treatment of the *ālayavijñāna*, but roughly speaking, this division of the text into three main strata does not conflict with my six-phase periodisation. Actually, the latter is a development of this three-strata model and also draws from many other of Schmithausen's findings and hypotheses (which will be referred to whenever appropriate).

The Japanese scholar Noritoshi Aramaki (2000, p. 39, n. 2) suggests another pattern which seems to imply six layers in the development of the YoBh. He expresses his view (actually called 'very provisional working-hypothesis') in the context of an examination of the *vijñaptimātratā* concept whose development is divided into 14 stages covering various Buddhist texts, the YoBh included. If we pick up only the parts belonging to the YoBh, then the stratification of the text appears to be as follows: (1) 'the three strata of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*'; (2) the *Vastusaṁgrahaṇī*; (3) 'the two strata of the *Bodhisattavabhūmi*'; (4) 'the so-called Proof, the Pravṛtti, and the Nirvṛtti portions of the *ālayavijñāna* treatise of the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī*' (the titles here are those suggested by Schmithausen 1987a; see note 165 below); (5) the Sacittikabhūmi of the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī*; and (6) 'the Maulībhūmi'. Aramaki also includes between stage (3) 'the two strata of the *Bodhisattavabhūmi*' and stage (4) 'the so-called Proof, the Pravṛtti, and the Nirvṛtti portions of the *ālayavijñāna* treatise of the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī*' a phase consisting of 'the Maitreya, the Viśalamati, the Paramārthasaṁbhava, and the Guṇākara chapter of the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* [...], in that order'. Unfortunately, no further details are given about the criteria, methodology, and textual evidence behind this remark. It is only hoped that Aramaki, one of the world's leading experts in the field of Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda Buddhism, will publish more on the subject and doubtless contribute to our understanding of the YoBh formation and early history of this school. See also notes 56 and 96 below.

44 The parallels and canonical sources of the Chapter on the Mundane Path will be pointed out in my notes to the English translation. Unfortunately, lack of space and time does not allow me to discuss the entire ŚrBh, but one may gain a good idea of such parallels in the first half of the text from the notes to the edition and translation of the ŚrBh Group.

45 Some of the canonical sources which appear to have served as the basis for the requisites of the spiritual practice in the ŚrBh are discussed in ŚrBh-Gr, Introduction, pp. VI-IX; Noguchi 1989; Yamabe 1997 (especially pp. 157-169); Yamabe, Fujitani and Harada 2002, 11-13; etc.

46 The latter reference will be found in passage 3.28.5.2.11. of my edition and translation of the Chapter on the Mundane Path.

47 Most of the passages are built with relative clauses, introduced by *yayā*, which indicate the effects of each ideation rather than give detailed definitions of their content. It is true we find passages like 3.28.5.2.9. which is not constructed with a relative clause and contains *pūrvavad* ('as previous[ly explained]'). The structure of our passage 3.28.5.2.11. is, however, different from the latter: it contains the phrase *pūrvavad veditavyā tadyathā Samāhitāyāṁ Bhūmau* inserted between the head and the regular *yayā* clause. This formal dissimilarity reinforces the impression that we have to deal with a later accretion.

48 See, for example, the four kinds of reasoning in the SaṁNirm which are discussed in Chapter Six below.

[49] The section is edited and translated in my edition of the Chapter on the Mundane Path.
[50] As argued by Schmithausen 1987a, 18ff., this is, most probably, the earliest reference to the *ālayavijñāna* in the YoBh. The introduction of this new concept proved a very convenient hermeneutical tool in explaining many other aspects of the psyche and was further developed and refined in the younger stages of the YoBh and later on in Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda literature. This implies that our passage in the ŚrBh is even older than the earliest occurrence of the *ālayavijñāna*.

It must be said here that the history of the *ālayavijñāna* has remained a very controversial isuue, and a few new attempts to discuss it have been published after Schmithausen's *magnum opus*. Time and space do not allow me to present them here, let alone discuss them in detail. It will suffice, I hope, to say that in my opinion, Schmithausen's analysis is the most plausible reconstruction of the history of this concept.
[51] The Chinese character 典 denotes a writing which can serve as a spiritual authority or offers a set of rules and prescriptions (legal, political, religious, etc.).
[52] The statement must be qualified. The primacy of spiritual cultivation is, first and foremost, a conclusion drawn from the letter and spirit of many early canonical texts, but monastic realities seem to have been much more complex and often disappointing (see Deleanu 2000, 81ff.).
[53] For an excellent survey of a large part of this literature, see Yamabe 1999a, 39-114. On the Chinese translations, see also the Introductions 解題 of Satō 1931; Demiéville 1954, 339-363; Ono Genmyō ed. 1964, s.vv.; Odani 2000, 175-203; etc. For the Sanskrit fragments, see Schlingloff ed. 1963-1964, Schlingloff ed. 1964, Seyfort Ruegg 1967, Hartmann ed. 1996, and Yamabe ed. 1997.
[54] In the Taishō Canon (T15.181c), the title of the *Xiuxing dao di jing* appears both in Chinese phonetic transcription and translation. The Chinese phonetic transcription of the title of the *Damoduoluo chan jing* is found in Huiyuan's 慧遠 Preface to the scripture (T15.301b22).

The role which is these sutras may have played in the proto-history of the YoBh as well as their similar titles is also pointed out by Ui (1965, vol. 1, pp. 370-372).
[55] We owe to Paul Demiéville (1954) an excellent study and detailed presentation of the work. See also Satō 1931, 1-10; Deleanu 1997.
[56] The similarity has already been pointed out by a number of scholars: Demiéville (1954, 340), Wayman (1961, 42), Takasaki (1982a, 109), Aramaki (1983, p. 120, n. 22; 2000, p. 39 and notes 2 and 3), Mizuo (1983, 27), Toyohira (1986, 88-90), Mōri (1987a, 72, and 1987b, 17-18, 24-26, 39), Odani (2000, 175-180), Yamabe, Fujitani, Harada (2002, 36-37); etc.

Aramaki seems to consider the *Xiuxing dao di jing* to be a more or less direct predecessor of the ŚrBh. His remark is unfortunately too brief to know how he conceives the details of the historical relation between the texts. The Japanese scholar says, '[...] the *Xiuxing dao di jing* [...] evolved into the oldest stratum of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* of the *Yogācārabhūmi*' [...] 『修行道地経』[...]が『瑜伽師地論』の中の「声聞地」の最古層部へと展開し (Aramaki 1983, p. 120, n. 22). In more recent contribution, Aramaki (2000, 39) mentions that 'it is fundamentally important to understand how the older Hīnayānistic tradition of the yogācāras' *mārga* (path-)system, starting with Saṁgharakṣa's *Yogācārabhūmi*, is "mahāyānized" into the newer Mahāyānistic version of the bodhisattva's *mārga*-system from around the fourth century onward'.

Based upon Demiéville's presentation's of the *Xiuxing dao di jing*, Wayman (1961, 42) concludes that apart from some general Buddhist practices, like the mindfulness of breathing (*ānāpānasmṛti*), the ŚrBh was not 'directly indebted to this work'. The only similarity which he mentions is the three levels of the ascetic, i.e., *ādikarmika, kṛtaparicaya*, and *atikrānta-*

manaskāra (which, by the way, seems to be only a remote source of the ŚrBh taxonomy; see note 28 to Chapter One above). I agree with Wayman's basic conclusion concerning the indirect indebtedness, but I think that we can find more than this rather remote parallel (see below).

[57] The meaning of 凡夫 in Saṅgharakṣa's **Yogācārabhūmi* seems to be that of a novice rather than a completely ignorant ordinary person. In contrast to it, 佛弟子 is not any Buddhist disciple but an adept or advanced practioner. See note 28 to Chapter One above.

[58] After the passage at T15.217a2-217b7, the text goes on with the presentation of the four roots of the wholesome [factors] [or: the four wholesome roots] (*catvāri kuśalamūlāni*), which can be seen as a continuation of the meditative practice of the Buddhist disciples.

[59] Mōri (1987a572-573; 1987b, 26) and Mizuo (1983, 27) argue or imply that in the ŚrBh, the mundane path is taken as a premise 前提 or preliminary step of the supramundane path. I think, however, that though the two paths share some technical similarities, they are different alternatives between which the ascetic must choose (see chapter 3.27. in my edition and translation below). (This is also the way in which Schmithausen (1982b, 62) construes the relation between the two paths: [...] *nach Wahl entweder der 'weltliche' oder 'überweltliche' Weg* [...].)

[60] The frequent references of the the AMVibh to the *yogācāra*s as well as their important role in Buddhist history is also pointed out by Yamada (1959, 128-129; 309-311), Ui (1965, vol. 1, pp. 370-372), Fukuhara (1975, 403-405), etc. The main Japanese studies on the early *yogācāra*s is surveyed in Kodama 1997.

[61] The AMVibh contains a total of 140 occurrences of the term 瑜伽師 (**yogācāra*).

[62] The AMVibh mentions 'Northern *yogācara*s' 北方諸瑜伽師, Southern *yogācāra*s 南方諸瑜伽師, and '*yogācāra*s everywhere' 一切處瑜伽師 (T27.704b27-c1), though it does not imply that they were doctrinally different. According to this AMVibh passage, the difference between these groups refers to a gloss of linguistic nature.

[63] The role which these *yogācāra*s may have played in the proto-history of the YoBh is also pointed out by Ui (1964, 370, 372); Fukuhara (1975, 335-337; 403-423); etc.

Yinshun (1968, p. 641) also considers that Kashimiri Sarvāstivādin yogis 罽賓說一切有部瑜伽 played a major role in the formation of what he calls 'the Mahāyāna yoga transmitted by Asaṅga' 無著所傳的大乘瑜伽, which the YoBh reflects. He also adds that these yogis mainly represent 'the tradition transmitted by Revata' 爲頡隸伐多 Reva<t>a 所傳. 'Upon this foundation, [they] synthesised [the practice of the] four types of meditative objects' 在這一基礎上，綜合為四種所緣境事 (ibid.) (these appear to refer to the four categories of meditative objects; see chapter 3.7. of the ŚrBh in Synoptic Presentation above). On the name Revata in canonical sources, see Malalasekera [1937] 1995-1998, vol. 2, pp. 751-755, and Akanuma [1931] 1984, pp. 545-547. Revata in Yinshun's study most probably refers to Revata Khadiravaniya, who was declared by the Buddha as 'foremost amongst forest-dwellers' (*āraññakānaṁ*) (see Malalasekera [1937] 1995-1998, vol. 2, pp. 752-754; Akanuma [1931] 1984, pp. 546-547). Teachings addressed by the Exalted One to Revata are also found in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* (ŚrBh-Gr (14) 38-48; Sh 197, 17-200, 17).

[64] The link between the SauNan and the YoBh had been pointed out by Matsunami Seiren in an article originally published in 1954 and entitled 'Aṣvaghoṣa as Patriarch of the Yogācāra School' 瑜伽行派の祖としての馬鳴 (later included in Matsunami 1981).

[65] For a similarity between Aśvaghoṣa's works and the ŚrBh, see note 85 to my English translation of the Chapter on the Mundane Path.

[66] This represents a study entitled 'Pūrvācārya-kō' Pūrvācārya 考, which was originally published in 1986 in the *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究 34 (2): 859-866.

The version included in Hakamaya 2001 (which is a collection of the author's contributions on the Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda School) contains endnotes as well as an addendum with the history of recent research 研究余史 (pp. 518-520).

[67] Yamabe 1999b (211-212) actually shows that one passage in the AKBh which is attributed to the *pūrvācārya* and can clearly be traced to the YoBh (*Manobhūmi*) has also parallels in the *Dao di jing* and *Xiuxing dao di jing*.

[68] Traces of Sautrāntika doctrinal elements continue to be seen in Vasubandhu's works even after his conversion to Mahāyāna. For Sautrāntika presuppositions in the *Viṁśikā* and *Triṁśikā*, see Schmithausen 1967.

[69] The relation between the Sautrāntikas and Dārṣṭāntikas is a much debated topic. See Przyluski 1940 (a 'classic' of this area of studies); Katō 1989, especially pp. 68-93; Honjō 1992b and 2003; Cox 1995, 37-41; Fukuda 2003; Kritzer 2003a (an excellent survey of the present knowledge concerning the Sautrāntikas).

I agree with most of Honjō's views, especially with his main thesis that Dārṣṭāntika and Sautrāntika represent basically the same philosophical orientation and scholastic group having a history going back long before Vasubandhu. Honjō also argues that we can speak of 'orthodox "Hīnayāna" Sautrāntikas [whose origin is] prior to the *Mahāvibhāṣāśāstra*' 『婆沙論』以前からのオーソドックスな「小乗」の経量部, on the one hand, and of 'Vasubandhu himself as a "Mahāyāna" Sautrāntika', on the other 「大乗」経量部としての世親個人 (1992b, 152). Though ingenious and not impossible, this hypothesis is rather problematic and certainly not the only way to explain the Sautrāntika elements in the work of Vasubandhu the *Kośakāra*. More on this will be said below.

Returning to the relation between the Sautrāntikas and Dārṣṭāntikas, my working hypothesis throughout this book will be that although differences in nuances in the usage of the two terms are possible, they constitute roughly the same scholastic and interpretative tradition which is already attested in the *Mahāvibhāṣāśāstra*. We should note that although the in the vast majority of cases, the *Mahāvibhāṣāśāstra* speaks of Dārṣṭāntikas (譬喩部師: T27.13b15; or far more often, 譬喩者: T27.27c17; 44b26; 79c8; etc.), the term Sautrāntika is also employed: 經部 (T27.8b6; 198c18) or 經部師 (T27.8b7; 198b3) (the occurrences at p. 198 are also pointed out in Mimaki 1972, p. 92, n. 1). These four occurrences do not permit a precise ascertainment of their similarities or differences (if any) between the Sautrāntikas and the Dārṣṭāntikas, but there is no doubt that a group of masters called Sautrāntikas already existed at the time of the *Mahāvibhāṣāśāstra*.

Another aspect which must be stressed here. By hypothesising one single Sautrāntika/Dārṣṭāntika tradition, I do not mean that this was a monolithic school with a strict orthodoxy or that it did not undergo historical development and even probably regional diversification. Actually, the existence of various groups within the Sautrāntika/Dārṣṭāntika tradition is hinted at by a passage in the *Karmasiddhiṭīkā* by Sumatīśīla. This passage mentions a view introduced in the *Karmasiddhiprakaraṇa* as 'some say' (*kha cig na re*) (KS 25, 2) and referring to a theory similar to the doctrine of the mind and the body containing their own seeds (*bīja*) as well as the seeds of each other (see Subsection 6 below). The Indian commentator says: '**some say** refers to some other different [group] of the Sautrāntika' (***kha cig na re zhes*** *bya ba ni mDo sde pa'i khyad par gzhan kha cig go* || ; cited after KS, p. 25, note (a)) (cf. also Yamabe 2000, 131).

In a very recent contribution, Harada (2006) re-visits the thesis (originally going back to Przyluski 1940) that the appellation of *Dārṣṭāntikāḥ* 譬喩者 may have been a pejorative term used by other schools. Harada believes that this is not the case and that the followers of this school also employed the term as a non-derogative appellation of their own tradition.

(Unfortunately, time constraints do not allow me to go into details concerning Harada's contribution, which came out press in the latest stages of my book.)

[70] It is difficult to ascertain whether 'Mūlasarvāstivāda' represented an independent school, an appellation of a sub-group within the Sarvāstivādin fold, or just a different name by which the latter was known in different ages or/and regions. According to a recent contribution of Fumio Enomoto (1998), these terms do not represent two different schools, and 'Mūlasarvāstivāda' was nothing more than a reverential appellation used by the Sarvāstivādins to refer to themselves. The different Vinayas which they produced were, the argument continues, no more than regional varieties, and the Vinaya together with other texts traditionally ascribed to the Mūlasarvāstivāda 'should probably be called as belonging to a sub-group inside the Sarvāstivāda' (ibid., p. 117). This, however, is not the only possibility of interpreting the data. Peter Skilling's insightful suggestions represent a very important contribution to the discussion of the problem (Skilling 1997, 96-105, especially p. 100 and p. 105). On the whole, the issue of Sarvāstivāda-Mūlasarvāstivāda relation still needs further research and reflection (and also, one hopes, the discovery of new relevant texts).

[71] References and discussions directly related with the ŚrBh in the latter study are found at p. 305, n. 5; p. 310, p. 312, n. 39; p. 313, n. 40; p. 328 and n. 109; p. 336 and n. 135.

[72] Cf. the definition of the term *Schule* in Schmithausen 1987b, 305.

[73] As far as I know, there is no Sautrāntika Vinaya or Canon. If such a thing exists or is one day discovered, my interpretations above should, no doubt, be revised.

[74] These are discussed in detail in my English translation, notes 87 and 141 respectively. See also note 257. Another similarity is pointed out by Hotori (1976, 157) who argues that the treatment of the four roots of the wholesome [factors] (*catvāri kuśalamūlāni*) in the ŚrBh differs from the Sarvāstivāda theory and this may have its roots in the Sautrāntika doctrine. Hotori only gives two references to the Chinese translation of the ŚrBh; the Sanskrit original dealing with the *nirvedhabhāgīyāni kuśalamūlāni* is found at ŚrBh-Gr (20), 34, 6-38, 6 = Sh ed. 324, 8-325, 17 (= T30.444c10-28) (see also *laukikakā agradharmāḥ* at Sh 502, 12-13 = T30.475c23-26).

[75] See note 170 to my English translation.

[76] See note 194 to my English translation.

[77] In his review of Wayman's monograph (1961), though not completely agreeing with the American scholar, Bareau is rather favourable to the idea that the Mahīśāsakas may have played a role in the formation of the ŚrBh. However, he remarks: '*D'autre part, la doctrine des Mahīśāsaka, comme celle des Dharmaguptaka, se laisse malaisément discerner dans un traité parce que ses thèses fondamentales et caractéristiques concernent davantage le* vinaya *que l'*abhidharma' (Bareau 1962, 150). This is a very important point (which actually reinforces doubts as to Wayman's attribution): we know too little about the Mahīśāsaka system, and when we have some relevant information, it is relatively seldom related to matters of philosophical nature or spiritual cultivation.

[78] Wayman (1997, 103) appears to accept at least part of these criticism. He says that Schmithausen (1970) 'makes clear why my arguments in that 1961 publication [i.e., Wayman 1961] are not sufficiently strong to command scholarly acceptance'. This stops, however, short of admitting that his arguments were basically wrong, and the implication is that new and 'stronger' evidence will actually prove that his thesis was correct.

[79] Wayman bases most of his statements concerning the Mahīśāsaka on Bareau 1955. Here, he refers to the so-called tenet No. 23 (see Bareau 1955, p. 186, § 23). In the Tibetan translation of Vasumitra's *Samayabhedoparacanacakra*, this reads: *'du byed thams cad skad cig ma dag go* | | (Teramoto and Hiramatsu ed. Appendix p. 15, ll. 12-13). See also Chinese translations, ibid. pp. 74.

[80] See Bareau 1955, p. 144, § 47; Vasumitra's *Samayabhedoparacanacakra*, Teramoto and Hiramatsu ed., Tibetan translation: Appendix p. 12, ll. 5-6; Chinese translations: p. 56. The Tibetan wording of this doctrinal stance (*'du byed thams cad ni skad cig ma dag go* | |) clearly suggests the Sanskrit phrase used above.

[81] See Bareau 1955, p. 116, § 4; *Samayabhedoparacanacakra*, Teramoto and Hiramatsu ed., Tibetan translation: Appendix p. 13, l. 11; Chinese translations: p. 64.

[82] See Bareau 1955, p. 203, § 5; *Samayabhedoparacanacakra*, Teramoto and Hiramatsu ed., only in the Chinese translations, p. 81.

[83] See Bareau 1955, p. 103, § 32.

[84] See Bareau 1955, p. 105, § 11.

[85] Wayman mentions this as tenet No. 17, which refers to Bareau 1955, p. 185, § 17. The latter is actually based upon Vasumitra's *Samayabhedoparacanacakra*. In Teramoto's and Hiramatsu's edition, the Tibetan translation reads: *rgyun du zhugs pa ni yongs su nyams pa'i chos can no* | | *dgra bcos pa ni yongs su mi nymas pa'i chos can no* | | (Appendix p. 15, ll. 2-3). 'The Stream-enterer has the nature of losing [his stage]. The Arhat has the nature of not losing [it]' (*yongs su nyams pa* most probably stands for Skt. **parihāṇi*; cf. also Bareau 1955, 185). The tenet is also found in the three extant Chinese translations of the text (see Teramoto and Hiramatsu ed. and tr., p. 72). Xuanzang's version reads: 預流有退，諸阿羅漢定無退者. Paramārtha's rendering is similar, but the anonymous translation entitled *Shi ba bu lun* 十八部論 has: 阿羅漢亦有退法 'The Arhat also has the nature of losing'. As remarked by Teramoto and Hiramatsu (p. 76), 亦 must be a scribal error for 無. Such a mistake is better explained if we suppose that 無 was written as 无, which is the allograph usually preferred in traditional Chinese (as well as Japanese) Buddhist manuscripts.

[86] For this distinction, see also ŚrBh Sh 182, 6-183, 2; ŚrBh-Gr (13) 102, 1-14.

[87] For the edition of the final portion, see Schmithausen [1982] 1984.

[88] Wayman actually continues his argumentation referring to the so-called tenet No. 9 (Bareau 1955, p. 184, § 9) which asserts that there is accumulation of merit (*puṇyopacaya*) even for Arhats. He seems to take this as being 'consistent' (Wayman 1997, 105) with the above distinction in the ŚrBh between the two types of Arhats. His interpretation seems to be as follws: since merit accumulation is possible, this would imply that the Mahīśāsakas admitted of the possibility of at least a group of Arhats for whom spiritual progression is further possible (i.e., an equivalent of the temporarirly emancipated Arhat in the ŚrBh). Such an interpretation, though logically possible, is unwarranted and is furthermore in clear conflict with the plain denial of the existence of Arhats who lose their attainment, a position which, as we have seen, was clearly espoused by the Mahīśāsakas. The Arhat's accumulation of merit, whatever its exact meaning was in this school, does not seem to have been interpreted in the way suggested by Wayman. The American scholar further continues with some examples from other parts of the YoBh, but these are completely irrelevant for his discussion of the issue in question here.

[89] Bareau (1962, 151), too, points out the similarity between the list of non-conditioned factors advocated by 'Vasubandhu and his disciples' (without giving, however, any precise textual reference) and that attributed to the Mahīśāsakas by Vasumitra. The French scholar discusses the list of non-conditioned factors in the YoBh in detail in his 1993 contribution. This list and its similarity with the Mahīśāsaka is also pointed out by Hakamaya (1985b, 198-199 and 1990, 254).

Bareau (1962, 151) also refers to the fact that Asaṅga mentions a *Prātimokṣa* containing 151 (*brgya lnga bcu rtsa gcig*) monastic rules (*śikṣāpada*). Out of the nine surviving *Prātimokṣa*s whose origin can be determined, Bareau adds, only the text attributed to the Mahīśāsakas has this number of rules. Bareau does not, however, indicate the exact place where Asaṅga

mentions this Prātimokṣa.

[90] See also Schmithausen 1987a, 13-14, and Schmithausen 2000.

[91] It should be reminded here that as apparent from Nishi's study (1975), the fact that these *yogācāra*s 瑜伽師 devoted their attention and energy mainly to spiritual practice does not mean that they were strangers to philosophical views and debates. In other words, they could and often did articulate their own doctrinal stance, becoming whenever necessary competent 'part-time Ābhidhārmikas'. It is also possible that some 'full-time Ābhidhārmikas' (with little or no meditative background) may have been attracted by this groups and joined their efforts to defend and systematise their positions.

[92] It is impossible to ascertain how these *yogācāra*s were organised. They may have been one single unitary group or loosely connected groups (what I call a 'cluster of groups'). I speak below of 'group' in singular but we should not forget that there may have been more than one single group.

[93] The role which contemplative experience probably played in the formation of the *vijñaptimātra* doctrine, as reflected in what appears to be its earliest occurrence *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* VIII.7, has been discussed by Schmithausen (1984), Takasaki (1982a), etc. The meditative techniques which were interpreted in an idealist key by the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* author(s) may actually be traced to the ŚrBh (see Schmithausen 1984, 434-435; Takasaki 1982a, 13-14).

[94] See Demiéville 1954, especially 352-359; Seyfort Ruegg 1967, especially 160-164; Deleanu 1993; Yamabe 1999a, 39-114; Odani 2000, 175-203; etc. On the so-called 'Mahāyanist appendix' of Saṅgharakṣa's *Xiuxing dao di jing* (i.e., its last three chapters 品), I think that it was, most likely, added in China (see also Demiéville 1954, 357-358). This, however, is a detail in the history of the Chinese translation of the text and does not affect the general conclusion that a rapprochement between the two Vehicles was under way in some ascetic milieus in India and Central Asia.

[95] Aramaki (1983, p. 120, n. 22) briefly remarks that 'by the time when the development of the *Śrāvakabūmi* came to an end, the doctrines of the *Daśabhūmika* [Section] of the *Avataṁsaka*[*sūtra*] were put into yogic practice and the earlier stratum [/strata] of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* were formed. And from this, the so-called Yogācāra *vijñaptimātra* philosophy developed [...]' 「声聞地」の発達が終わる頃に、「華厳十地」思想を瑜伽行実践化して、「菩薩地」の古層が成立し、そこからいわゆる瑜伽行唯識哲学が発展していく. See also notes 43 and 56 above.

[96] I should like to express my gratitude to Prof. Dr. Takasaki Jikidō who kindly shared with me some of his views on this subject at the Annual Meeting of the Society for Oriental Philosophy of Waseda University, 11 June 2005, when I gave paper on the formation of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*. According to him, the scenario of Śrāvakayānika followers becoming gradually converted to Mahāyāna, rather than the other way round, has the advantage of better explaining the differences and later rivalary between the Yogācāra-Vijñānavādins and Madhyāmikas. As stated above, I believe that we cannot completely exclude the other two alternatives, but Prof. Takasaki's remarks have encouraged me to give more attention to and look for more textual evidence for the first scenario.

[97] This is a rather free rendering of the Sanskrit ablative, but I fear that a more literal translation would have made the English sentence difficult to follow. In the sentence below, the ablative is also freely rendered as a conditional clause.

[98] The *sDe dge* edition reads on line 5: *stong pa nyid la log par zin pa* (my underlining). This is, obviously, is to be emended to: *stong pa nyid la legs par zin pa*. Cf. D Wi 27a3.

[99] Cf. also Frauwallner's German translation (1969, 278-279), Ruegg's rendering into French

(1969, 322-323), and Hotori's translation into Japanese (1984b, 55-56). Large parts of the passages are also translated by Ui Hakuju in BoBh Index (pp. 46-47). The English translation by Willis (1979, 162-163) is, unfortunately, not very reliable.

[100] Vasubandhu actually cites almost verbatim (without, however, mentiong the title of his source) the last part of the fragment above (beginning with *yatra nāsti*) and identifies it as the character of emptiness (*śūnyatālakṣaṇa*) (MadhVibh 18, 4-6; cf. MadhVibhṬ 14, 10-15, 3).

[101] On the way emptiness was interpreted in the Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda School, see Ruegg 1969, 319-346 (also dicussing Tathāgatagarbha texts and related developments of the *śūnyatā* concept in Tibetan Buddhism); Mukai 1974; Mukai 1976; Mizuo 1983; Hotori 1982; Hotori 1984b; Nagao 1991, 51-60. The latter study is an seminal contribution, which actually served as the basis for many of the contributions above. It is entitled '"What Remains" in Śūnyatā: A Yogācāra Interpretation of Emptiness' and was first published in English in Minoru Kiyota, ed., *Mahāyāna Buddhist Meditation: Theory and Practice* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1978). This actually represents a revised and enlarged version of the author's article 'Amareru mono' 余れるもの published in 1968 in the *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究 16 (2): 497-501. See also some pertinent remarks in Skilling 1997, 350-351 and 359. Wood (1994, 7-8) briefly presents the differences in the way the Madhyāmakas and the Vijñānavādins interpreted emptiness.

[102] Ruegg (1969) begins his discussion of *śūnyatā* in Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda and Tathāgatagarbha sources with a citation from the *Cūḷasuññatasutta* (pp. 319-320) but does not refer to this text in his translation of the BoBh passage (pp. 322-323).

[103] See Skilling 1997, 335. As far as I know, the sutra is not contained in the Buddhist manuscripts discovered in recent years.

For other bibliographical, philological, and historical information, see Peter Skilling's seminal contribution to the study of the *Mahāsūtra*s ('Introduction to Mahāsūtra 3 (*Śūnyatā-nāma-mahāsūtra*)', in Skilling 1994, 335-363). We also owe to Skilling an excellent edition of both the Tibetan and Pali versions (Skilling ed. 1994, 146-181).

[104] Skilling remarks that 'out of the several paraphrases of the passage in Sanskrit, that of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* is closest to our text [i.e., the *Cūḷasuññatasutta*]' (Skilling 1997, 350). The Tibetan translation of the *Śūnyatā-nāma-mahāsūtra* (Skilling ed. 1994, 154, §§ 3.5-3.6) is actually even closer to the BoBh passage as it defines the 'realisation [/penetration] of the emptiness' as *yang dag pa ji lta ba bzhin te | phin ci ma log pa = yathābhūtā aviparītā* (see Skilling 1997, 350; cf. also Mukai 1974, 369-370). So is the *Xiao kong jing* 小空經 (the Chinese equivalent of the *Cūḷasuññatasutta*) which reads: 'practising the true emptiness which is not perverted' 行眞實空不顛倒 (T1.737a11-12).

[105] The *Xiuxing dao di jing* dedicates a lengthy chapter to the practice of emptiness 行空品 (T15.205b-211c). This shows that emptiness, admittedly understood in a Śrāvakayānika vein, was for the proto-*yogācāra*s very important not only as a theoretical concept but also from the viewpoint of spiritual praxis. Cf. also Fukuhara 1975, 412. See also the *Vastusaṁgrahaṇī* passage on emptiness (T30.812b-c) discussed below.

[106] In the BoBh, *vastu* is a key philosophical concept used with two basic meanings, different and yet closely connected to each other. One is that of entity which exists objectively but is incorrectly reflected in or distorted by our ordinary linguistic conventions or designations (*prajñapti*). The other is the objective basis (*āśraya*) which remains (*avaśiṣṭa*) after all conceptual constructions have been eliminated (see BoBh Wogihara ed. 47, 20-48, 8). In its second sense, *vastu* is also used as a synonym of 'Suchness' (*tathatā*) (e.g., BoBh Wogihara ed. 41, 18).

The concept of *vastu* in the BoBh is discussed in Hotori 1982, 33-34, Hotori 1984a, 1984b;

Ikeda 1996b. The *vastu* dialectics in the BoBh and the way it contributed to the formation of the three natures theory is examined in Ikeda 1996a (especially pp. 6-9). For the meaning of *vastu* in the *Tattvārthapaṭala* and *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* and its relation with the *pañcavastu*-theory, see Takahashi 2001. On *vastu* and *nimitta* in the BoBh and the *Bodhisattvabhūmiviniścaya* ad *Tattvārthapaṭala*, see also Motomura 2005. Last but not least, mention must be made of Jowita Kramer's outstanding edition, translation, and study of the fragment on the five categories (*vastu*) in the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* (Kramer 2005).

[107] Frauwallner (1969, 279) also translates *vastumātra* as *Ding an sich* or 'thing-in-itself' (cf. Ruegg 1969, 323: *la simple chose réelle*). The rendering is, I think, both philologically and philosophically possible. This does not mean, of course, that such a translation of *vastu* implies the whole range of philosophical connotations carried by the concept of *Ding an sich* in the Kantian philosophy. Kant believes that 'objects in themselves are quite unknown to us, and that what we call outer objects are nothing but mere representations of our sensibility' (Immanuel Kant, *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*, Zweite hin und wieder verbesserte Auflage, Riga: Johann Friedrich Hartknoch, 1787, S. 46; here cited in the English translation of Norman Kemp Smith, *Immanuel Kant's Critique of Pure Reason*, London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1929, p. 74). The German philosopher also states that 'though we cannot *know* these objects as things in themselves, we must yet be in position at least to *think* them as things in themselves' (S. XXIV; p. 27). From the perspective of the BoBh, it is true that *vastu* remains unknown to the ordinary person (*pṛthagjana*), but the practioners who have reached advanced stages of spiritual cultivation, not to mention the Buddhas, come to know the 'thing-in-itself' as it really is (*yathābhūtam*), this actually being an essential part of the Awakening (at least, as expounded in this text).

[108] Dutt ed. reads with the Patna MS (32b4): *yathābhūtañ ca tathatāṁ*. The BoBh Nepalese MS photographed by the Nepalese-German Manuscript Cataloguing Project (No 3-681) has the same reading (folio 22a4R). (I am indebted to Prof. Schmithausen for his kindly checking this manuscript reading for me.) Wogihara's reading *yathābhūtāṁ ca tathatāṁ* seems, however, to be the correct one. It is supported Ch. 如實眞如. Tib. *yang dag pa ji lta ba de bzhin nyid* probably renders a similar reading (although a rendering like **yang dag pa ji lta ba'i* for the attributive usage of *yathābhūtāṁ* would have been clearer). A reading like *yathābhūtañ ca tathatāṁ* would raise semantical problems for the sentence. We have one adeverbial *yathābhūtaṁ* before *prajānāti*, and the presence of a second *yathābhūtaṁ* would hardly make sense.

Also note that Ch. suggests a different wording for the last part of the sentence: 如是名爲善取空者，於空法性能以正慧妙善通達 (T30.489a12-11).

[109] I translate *mahāyānapratisaṁprayuktāṁ* first in this series of attributes which in the original Sanskrit starts with *durvijñeyān*. The reason is to make the English sentence easier to follow. It must be also noted that *°pratisaṁprayuktāṁ* seems to refer here to the category to which these scriptures belong. Cf. Frauwallner 1969, 277: *zum Mahāyāna gehörigen*.

[110] The BoBh Nepalese MS photographed by the Nepalese-German Manuscript Cataloguing Project (No 3-681) also reads: *avijñāya°* (folio 21bM). (Here, too, I am indebted to Prof. Schmithausen for checking this reading.) Wogihara has: *anabhijñāyāyoniśo*. Tib. reads: *ma shes na*, for which it is more likely to suppose *avijñāya* than *anabhijñāya*. If the latter had been the reading of the Sanskrit manuscript rendered by the Tibetan team, one would have expected something like: **mngon par ma shes na*. Ch. similarly reads: 不 [...] 解, which can hardly be (at least, the usual) translation for *anabhijñāya*. Besides, we would have to assume that the BoBh authors employed *abhijñā* with its regular sense in Classical Sanskrit rather than with its meaning in the Buddhist technical vocabulary. Cf. also *tathāgatānām artham avijñāya* (Dutt ed.

180, 17) and *yathāvad artham avijñāyo°* (Dutt ed. 180, 19) (cf. Patna MS folio 180b7 and 181a1 respectively). Wogihara reads: *avijñāya* (p. 265, 5) and *avijñāyo°* (p. 265, 9), but these are actually his emendations on the basis of the Tib. *ma shes te* and *ma shes nas* respectively. In both cases, the Cambridge MS used by Wogihara reads: *abhijñ°* (see notes 1 and 2 to Wogihara, p. 265), which are anyway errors since here a negative form is required.

[111] Wogihara ed.: *etat tattvaṁ*.

[112] I follow Dutt's edition here.

[113] Skt. *abhilāptātmakaḥ* literally means 'having the nature of words [/expressions]'.

[114] Wogihara and Dutt read: *abhilāpyavastu*. Tib. *brjod pa'i dgos po* suggests, however, **abhilāpavastu* 'the thing[-in-itself] [which is expressed in] words'.

[115] Both Wogihara and Dutt have: *yady api*, but the Patna MS (folio 181a4-5) reading *yad api* is preferable.

[116] It must be noted that the phrase scriptures 'related to emptiness' (*śūnyatāpratisaṁyukta*) does not necessarily refer to Prajñāpāramitā texts. The collocation *suttantā tathagatabhāsitā gambhīrā gambhiratthā lokuttarā suññatapaṭisaṁyuttā* is also seen in the Pali Canon (e.g., SN II 267, 6-7; AN I 72, 26-27; etc.). The ŚrBh contains a similarly worded phrase: *dharmās tathāgatabhāṣitā gambhirā gambhirābhsāḥ śūnyatāpratisaṁyuktā* (ŚrBh-Gr 202, 5-6; Sh 126, 7-9). The epithet 'related to emptiness' is thus also used to describe the traditional canonical scriptures, but in the BoBh passage above the *mahāyānapratisaṁyuktān* 'belonging to the Great Vehicle' makes it clear that we have to deal with a different group of texts.

[117] A short presentation of the way in which the Madhyamaka conception of emptiness, (especially whether it implies a nihilist stance or not) was understood by traditional Indian philosophers as well as modern Buddhist scholars is found in Wood 1994, 1-13. Wood's own view is that Madhymaka represents a nihilist position and 'emptiness (śūnyatā) in Madhyamaka is simply sheer, unqualified, absolute nothingness' (p. X II) (see also pp. 278-280). The problem is also discussed by the Japanese scholar Hajime Nakamura (1994, 15-36), who considers that neither the Prajñāpāramitā thought nor the Madhyamaka philosophy can be described as nihilist (see p. 27 and p. 31). (This is, as far as I can say, a view widely supported in modern Japanese Buddhist studies.)

Very recently, a study dedicated to the problem of emptiness in the *Prajñāpāramitā* literature, also containing, an excellent Sanskrit edition of the *Śūnyatā* Chapter in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā* compared with all the other versions, has been published by Choong (2006). (I am most grateful to the author for having kindly send me a copy of the book; unfortunately, it has reached me too late to allow a detailed presentation and discussion of its findings and perspective.)

[118] To give only one example, in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā*, speaking of the way the follower of the Bodhisattvayāna (*bodhisattvayānikaḥ pudgalo*) should regard the objects, supports, and aspects of his meritorious deeds, Subhūti says: 'if he took the [actually] non-existing object, the [actually] non-exisiting support as if it were a [true] support, a [true] characteristic [of reality], then would he not have [i.e., be afflicted by] the perversion of ideation, the perversion of mind, and the perversion of view?' (*yadi so 'saṁvidyamānaṁ vastu asaṁvidyamānam ārambaṇam ārambaṇīkuryān nimittīkuryāt tat katham asya saṁjñāviparyāsaś cittaviparyāso dṛṣṭiviparyāso na bhavet*) (Aṣṭa 138, 17-139, 2; cf. AbhisamĀl 333, 12-15 and commentary 333, 16-334, 1, but the latter does not contain any gloss on *asaṁvidyamānam*). On the other hand, we also find passages which seem to hint that still something beyond words remains there (the verb 'remains' may not be appropriate from a true Śūnyatāvādin perspective which should refrain from all qualifications and predications; yet, *faute de mieux*, ordinary people like me have to use words...). E.g., 'the nature of all phenomena is inexpressible' (*sarvadharmānāṁ dharmatā anabhilāpyā*; Aṣṭa 348, 2-3; cf.

AbhisamĀl 710, 17 and commentary 710, 20-24, defining *dharmatā* as *nirvāṇarūpatā* 'having the nature of extinction').

[119] The Pali equivalent is at AN V 324-326; Chinese translations are found at T2.236a-b and T2.430c-431a.

[120] Hotori (1984b, 64ff.) is an enlarged version of Hotori 1984a. The Japanese scholar also discusses the spiritual praxis of the BoBh in his 1982 contribution (see especially, pp. 37-38).

[121] Wogihara ed., 728, 1, spells: *āninimitte*, which must be a mere typographical error. Cf. Mitra ed. 356, 14.

[122] Conze (1973 p. 375) translates Skt. *ānimitte parijayaṁ karoti* as 'surrenders himself completely to the Signless' (cf. Conze 1967, s.v. *parijayaṁ karoti*). But as argued by Edgerton (BHSD s.v.), *parijaya* means in BHS sources 'intense cultivation', etc. (see also Ch. and Tib. translations; cf. Kajiyama and Tanji 1975, modern Japanese translation: 充分に察している). Conze's rendering also fails to convey the purport of the passage: the bodhisattva is aware that the Absolute Truth implies a signless state, but his 'complete surrender' to it would mean the much dreaded Śrāvakayānika Awakening, which would de facto end his salvific career. This is precisely what he wishes to avoid, and accordingly, the bodhisattva's 'skill in means' as to the application of the perfection of wisdom (*upāyakauśalyaṁ*—a word used in the same sentence) must include paying attention to concrete images. (On this meaning of *upāyakauśalya* in the Aṣṭa, see Vetter 1984, 506; Breet 1992.) At the same time, he must also continue his own spiritual cultivation and train (no doubt, to a certain extent only!) in the imagelessness, which technically speaking must refer to the signless contemplation (*ānimittasamādhi*).

[123] Another aspect which shows that the BoBh presupposed Mahāyānika ideas but developed them in a unique way is its structuring of the bodhisattva career into seven stages (*bhūmi*) (BoBh 367ff.) coupled with the twelve dwellings (*vihāra*) (BoBh 317ff.). This is an original pattern peculiar to the BoBh (see Dayal [1932] 1978, 278-283). It is possible that the two sets may belong to different strata in the formation of the text, but even in this case, neither the seven-*bhūmi* path nor the twelve-*vihāra* pattern is found as such in earlier sources.

[124] The extent of reality (*yāvadbhāvikatā*) and the conformity to reality (*yathāvadbhāvikatā*) in early Yogācāra texts are dealt with in Kamata (1955), who also mentions some occurrences in the ŚrBh and BoBh but does not discuss the historical relation of dependence of the latter text upon the former. On the influence of these two concepts upon the SaṁNirm, see Subsection 5 below.

[125] For the sake of logical honesty, I must admit that in spite of my argumentation above, the reverse scenario cannot be completely excluded. One can imagine that a Mahāyānika group interested in and willing to become associated with the community Śrāvakyānika yogi may have borrowed concepts from the latter and tried to re-interpret their former doctrines in a new light. After all, proselytes are often prone to stress their new religious commitements at the expense of their old convictions.

[126] It is true that the title of *Śrāvakabhūmi* may seem to imply a 'level' which is contrasted to the bodhisattva's stage of practice, i.e., the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*. It may then be argued that judging from its title, the former text presupposes and therefore must have been written at the same time with (or even after!) the latter. We do not know, however, when the current title of *Śrāvakabhūmi* was given and what was the original meaning of *bhūmi* intended by the authors of our text. It is true that one could construe it (or should in the *present* context of the YoBh!) as a stage different from that of a *pratyekabuddha* and a *bodhisattva*. But *bhūmi* could also be understood as the 'ground' or 'foundation' upon which a Buddha's disciple (*śrāvaka*) (construed in its most general sense, not differentiated from other categories) practises spiritual cultivation. See also note 3 to Appendix of Chapter One above.

More importantly, we do not know if the *Śrāvakabhūmi* was the initial title of the text. It is

not excluded that what is now the *Śrāvakabhūmi* may have first been called *Yogācārabhūmi* in the sense of 'levels or ground or spiritual praxis' (just like the *Xiuxing dao di jing* and the *Damoduoluo chan jing*; see above), and as new related texts and parts kept on being compiled, the title of *Yogācārabhūmi* was employed for the whole corpus. It may have been at this intermediary level that the need was felt to distinguish our text from other parts (especially those dealing with levels/ground of different categories of persons) and the title of *Śrāvakabhūmi* started to be used.

[127] The last part in Wogihara's edition (pp. 411-414), the so-called *Anukramaḥ*, is obviously an appendix explaining the succession of main topics expounded in the BoBh. It must have been attached after the text assumed its more or less final shape or at least its basic structure.

[128] A complete examination of the formation of the BoBh must also take into consideration the Chinese translations, especially the earlier versions. Here I can only touch very briefly upon the subject (see note 191 below).

[129] I shall frequently refer below to the *Vastusaṁgrahaṇī*, *Paryāyasaṁgrahaṇī*, and *Vyākhyāsaṁgrahaṇī* as the 'three *Saṁgrahaṇī*s'.

[130] This occurrence was pointed out by Mukai (1981). It was also discussed in Schmithausen (1987a, p. 272-273, n. 132). In the latter study, Schmithausen concludes that it 'it is more probable that the passage was added only after the *Basic section* [i.e., *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ*] and the Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī were already there, i.e., added, e.g., by the final compiler or redactor of the Y[ogācārabhūmi] as a whole [...]'. In a later contribution, the author modifies his view about the date of the addition: 'I presume that they were added at a time when the compilation of the *MauBh* [i.e., *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ*] was already finished or at least in its very final stages, and some of the materials that were collected in the VinSg [i.e., *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī*] afterwards had already arisen and/or become known to the compiler(s) or redactor(s) of the *MauBh*' (Schmithausen 2002, 254). Schmithausen's reason for his re-thinking of the date for this addition is that the fivefold *mahābodhi* in the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* are introduced by a cross-reference concretely mentioning the occurrence in the *Śrutamayī bhūmiḥ* (ibid.). This modified scenario is, certainly, a possibility, but I find the hypothesis offered in Schmithausen 1987a more plausible. My reasons are: (1) The reference to the *trividhaḥ svabhāvaḥ* and the *trividhā niḥsvabhāvatā* shows that this passage in the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* must be rather late, i.e., after the latter incorporated (or at least came to know the doctrines of) the SaṁNirm. I assume that the latest parts of the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ* may have been contemporary with the first attempts to collect materials for the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* but not as late as those passages in which the latter is influenced by the SaṁNirm. Granted that my hypothetical scenario is correct, this would mean it would have been too late for the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ* compilers to know these developments belonging to the final stages of the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī*. (2) I believe that the cross-references throughout the YoBh have various dates ranging from early ones, probably added as the respective part was being composed, to very late ones which represent the final stage in the formation of the YoBh. I tentatively surmise that the latter type are more numerous and constitute an editorial attempt to give more coherence to what essentially was an encyclopaedic collection of various materials. If my conjectures are correct, then the cross-reference mentioning the occurrence in the *Śrutamayī bhūmiḥ* is more likely to be such a final editorial addition (as actually advocated by Schmithausen 1987a).

[131] A hint to the quasi-canonical status of the constitutive parts of the YoBh is found in the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī*. Speaking of the Buddha's teaching (**deśanā*; *bshad pa*; 教導), the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* says that it contains the *Piṭaka* and the *Mātṛkā*, and the latter consists of the **Saptadaśa bhūmayaḥ* (*Sa bcu bdun*; 十七地) and the **Catvāraḥ saṁgrahaṇyaḥ* (*bsDu ba bzhi*; 四種攝) (P Zi 195b7; T30.654b6). It is conceivable that if the historical process behind the YoBh formation had been different, these would have become texts belonging to the

Abhidharmapiṭaka of the new school.

[132] In its classification of the sacred scriptures, the *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī* mentions the sutras belonging to [/associated with] the Great Vehicle (*theg pa chen po dang ldan pa'i mdo ste*, P 'I 143a3; 大乘相應契經, T30.772b22) as well as the sutras whose meaning is implicit or needs interpretation (**neyārtha*; *bkri ba'i don*, P 'I 143a4; 不了義契經, T30.772b25-6) and those whose meaning is expicit or definitive (**nītārtha*; *nges pa'i don*, P 'I 143a4; 了義契經, T30.772b26). (Tib. *bkri ba'i don* is a rare rendering of the Skt. *neyārtha*, usually translated as *drang ba'i don*; see Seyfort-Ruegg 1998, p. 124 and n. 19).

[133] We see, for example, the *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī* using the notions of training [/acts] meant to benefit oneself 自利行 and the training [/acts] for benefiting others 利他行 (T30.863c29; 864a6-7; 864a20; etc.), the latter being a concept typical of the Great Vehicle. It is, however, essential to note that with the Buddha's exception, the training [/acts] for benefiting others is undertaken after attaining the Arhatship and does not seem to play the essential role which the concept has in Mahāyāna. From a soteriological viewpoint, the practice can hardly have any effect since the practioner has already become an Arhat. The passage ends with a cross-reference to the explanation of the ten powers as found in the BoBh, but no mention is made of the bodhisattva's mission and its superiority over the traditional Arhatship (T30.864a20-b2). The cross-reference may actually be an addition belonging to the final stages of the YoBh compilation.

The *Paryāyasaṃgrahaṇī* (T30.771c14) mentions the Tathāgata's Dharma-body (如來法身), but no further details are given about how it understands the concept. Besides, no mention is made of the other (one or two) bodies of the classical Mahāyāna Buddhology. (On the usage of the word 'Buddhology', see note 170 below.) See note 171 below for more details on the YoBh Buddhology.

The *Vyākhyāsaṃgrahaṇī* (T30.757c16-17) speaks of *śrāvaka*s 聲, *pratyekabuddha*s 獨覺, and *bodhisattva*s 菩薩, without, however, setting a hierarchy of these three categories.

[134] Tib. does not contain the equivalent of **satya* = 諦.

[135] Here and in the next two citations, I translate the Chinese version and briefly discuss in the notes the more important differences in the Tibetan rendering.

[136] Tib. renders as 'these very [conditioned factors]' (*Skt. *ta eva*).

[137] Tib. translates: 'has no self'.

[138] Ch. 畢竟 'ultimately' or 'in an absolute [sense]' is rendered in Tib. as 'by its nature' (or: 'by the nature [of things]') (*Skt. *svabhāvena*?).

[139] The equivalent Tibetan wording has here *thal bar 'gyur ro*, which suggests Skt. **prasajyate* 'it logically follows that [...]'. Tib. *thal bar 'gyur* usually translates Skt. *prasaṅga*, *prasajyate* (see TSD, s.v.).

[140] Tib. '*chos 'dul ba* and Ch. 法毘奈耶 clearly suggest Skt. **dharmavinaya*. As a compound, *dharmavinaya* refers to the to the totatlity of the Buddhist teachings or Buddhism in general (see Lamotte 1958, 156). We also find it in, for instance, the *Tattvārthapaṭala* of the BoBh (e.g., BoBh 45, 13). The meaning appears to be '[correct] teachings [guiding the spiritual practice] (*dharma*) and monastic discipline (*vinaya*)' or 'the principles (*vinaya*) [underlying] the [correct] Teachings (*dharma*)' (the latter being how Frauwallner (1969, p. 276) construes the word in the BoBh occurrence: *der Regel dieser Lehre*). See SWTF, fascicle 15, p. 531, s.v. *dharmavinaya = Dharma und Vinaya; Lehre und Ordensregel, (oder:) Gesetz und Vorschrif; (daher) gesamtes Lehrsystem, (oder:) Regelwerk.*

Ch. 佛所善說 ('well-preached by the Buddha') used here as well as 佛所說 ('preached by the Buddha') in the translation of BoBh 45, 13 (= T30.488b10) seem to have been added by Xuanzang in order to better explicate the compound.

[141] The fact that the *Vastusaṁgrahaṇī* presupposes and develops the position of the *Cūḷa-suññatasutta* is also pointed out by Mukai (1983, 301).

[142] The period from the end of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* formation to the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ* could be termed as the earliest phase of the Yogācāra School. Strictly speaking, one should speak of the textual units belonging to this period as Yogācāra not Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda. The process of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* compilation may still be seen as belonging to the proto-Yogācāra phase, which I think may go back as early as the activities of the Sarvāstivādin yogis in the 1st century C.E.

[143] Concerning the date of the SaṁNirm formation, different theories have been put forward. Lamotte (1935, 25) thinks that the text was gradually formed during the 2nd century C.E. and assumed its present form at the beginning of the 3rd century. The view is also cited with approval by May (1971, 276). Many scholars, however, suggest a later date, which I also find more in tune with the general historical development of Indian Buddhism. For example:

(1) Schmithausen (1973a, 167): around 300 C.E.

(2) Schmithausen (2001, 1058): first half of the 4th century (?) [author's question mark] (this is the date which I adopt in my present study).

(3) Katsumata Shunkyō 勝又俊教 (in Mizuno et. al. eds. 1977, p. 100): around 300 C.E.

(4) Hirakawa (1974-1979, vol. 2, pp. 79-84): the SaṁNirm is included in the category of second phase Mahāyāna sutras (post-Nāgārjuna), later than the (Mahāyāna) *Mahānirvāṇasūtra* and the *Śrīmālādevīsiṁhanādasūtra*, though some parts of the SaṁNirm may be fairly old.

(5) Suguro (1976, 24-25): the SaṁNirm was composed between the formation of the *Mauliyo Bhūmayaḥ* and the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī*.

(6) A similar view is expressed in Schmithausen 1969b, 822-823; 1987a, 12-14; and 2000, 245-246. In 1976c, Schmithausen states that the SaṁNirm 'must have been compiled before the completion or final redaction of the Yogācārabhūmi' (p. 240).

For more details on the textual history of the SaṁNirm, see Schmithausen 1969b 822-823; Schmithausen 1976c; Schmithausen 1984; Hakamaya 1982, 48-53; Ahn 2003, 6-8; etc.

[144] Fukaura also argues that in the initial stages the proto-SaṁNirm was conceived of as a *śāstra* text rather than a *sūtra*. It is true that quite a few passages in the SaṁNirm are highly philosophical and scholastic in nature and tone, but it seems to me rather unlikely (though not impossible either) that the proto-SaṁNirm could have had the stylistic pecularities of a *śāstra* and these were later transformed into a *sūtra* discourse. In order to make this *śāstric* proto-SaṁNirm into what the text is today (in all its versions!) it would have required much more than an introductory chapter. I, for one, believe that the basic intentions of the SaṁNirm authors was to present their theachings as having all the scriptural authority needed for gaining acceptance for this 'third turning of the Dharma-wheel' and this was much better guaranteed by a *sūtra* style.

[145] In Suguro's words, 'the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* was composed as part of the editorial process of the *Yogācārabhūmi*' 『解深密経』は『瑜伽論』編集の一環として作成された (1989, 293; see also Suguro 1976, 32).

[146] The actual monastic picture of the YoBh community (/communities) remains largely unknown. Did the ŚrBh and BoBh followers live together in the same monasteries? What about the SaṁNirm 'splinter group(s)'? Did (at least some of) these ascetics live as forest-dwelling monks? All these questions are very interesting, but as far as I can see, no accurate answers can be found in the present state of knowledge.

[147] References are made to Lamotte ed. (see Bibliography under SaṁNirm). Lamotte's edition is not a bad one, but we need a better critical edition which would take into account all textual witnesses, including the Dunhuang manuscript. This desideratum is also emphasised by

Kojiro Kato in a very recent contribution (2006). The Japanese scholar also edits one short fragment on the basis of all available versions proving that this can lead to a better reconstruction of the original. In this respect, one should also mention Kōichi Takahashi's recent contribution (2005, 57-58) which shows that the careful analysis of the Dunhuang manuscript of the SaṁNirm can recover of the original reading of the text and also lead to important conclusions concerning the history of ideas (see also note 174 below). (Unfortunately, time has not allowed me to check other Tibetan textual witnesses than Lamotte's edition.)

148 The same idea is also expressed in the *Pratyutpannabuddhasaṁmukhāvasthita-samādhisūtra*: *khams gsum pa 'di dag ni sems tsam mo* | | (PratBSS 36, 21-22). Cf. also PratBSS §§ 3M-3O. Section 3N appears only in the Chinese translation of the text. See also Harrison tr. 1990, 42-44.

149 Lamotte (SaṁNirm 98-99) reconstructs these two terms as *yāvattā* and *yathāvattā* respectively. There is little doubt, however, that the reconstruction should be: **yāvadbhāvikatā* **yathāvadbhāvikatā* respectively. The Tibetan translation of the ŚrBh uses absolutely identical terms to render the two words: *ji snyed yod pa nyid* (= *yāvadbhāvikatā*) and *ji lta ba bzhin du yod pa nyid* (= *yathāvadbhāvikatā*) (D Dzi 76a3) (see also YoBh-D, s.vv., for other very similar renderings as well). Cf. also Kamata 1955, 306.

150 Hotori (1983, 229) calls this passage in the SaṁNirm '不可言無二の章段'.

151 Tib. *rnam par sel bar byed* seems to presuppose something like Skt. **vinodayanti* (as reconstructed by Lamotte, p. 106; cf. also TSD, s.v.) or **vi-√sṛj* (see *rnam par bsal bar byed pa* = *visarjana* in TSD Supplement, vol. 4, p. 1107). Hotori (1984a, 93; 1984b, 71) reconstructs the verb here as *vibhāvayati*, which is not impossible but is not highly probable either. It is true that one of the Tibetan renderings of *vibhava* (as well as of *vibhūta*) in the YoBh is *bsal ba* (the perfect form of the verb *sel ba)*, but admittedly not the only one (see YoBh-D, pp. 254-255). Skt. *vibhāvayati* is usually rendered into Tibetan as *rnam par sgom par byed pa* (YoBh; see YoBh-D, s.v.), *rnam (par) 'jig pa* (MahSūt; see Nagao 1958-1961, s.v.), *rnam par 'jig par byed* (MadhVibh; see Nagao ed., p. 132), etc. It would thus appear that the SaṁNirm does use the same verb, i.e., *vibhāvayati*, as the BoBh. In the end, what matters is that although the Sanskrit original of the SaṁNirm may have employed a different verb from the BoBh, its basic meaning is the same, and even more importantly, the technique described in the two texts shares many similarities.

152 Lamotte correctly supplies **śrāvaka-* on the basis of 聲聞 in Xuanzang's translation of the SaṁNirm (T16.697a25). The addition is also confirmed by the fact that the Tibetan text of the SaṁNirm cited in the YoBh contains *nyan thos kyi sa* (P 'I 72a6).

153 The whole passage is found at Lamotte ed., p. 85, § 30. This corresponds to T16.697a23-b9 in Xuanzang's translation of the SaṁNirm. The three turnings of the Dharma-wheel (*dharmacakra*) in the SaṁNirm and some exegetical texts dedicated to it are discussed in Powers 1993, 102-137. We owe to the Japanese scholar Yoshimura Makoto a number of relevant contributions on the Third Turning of the Dharma-Wheel in the Eastern tradition of Vijñaptimātratā (Yoshimura 1999; 2004a; 2005a; 2005b).

154 According to this passage, during the second turning of the wheel, the Exalted One taught emptiness (**śūnyatā*; *stong pa nyid*) with reference to the lack of essence (**niḥsvabhātā*; *ngo bo nyid ma mchis pa nyid*), etc. of the phenomena. At the time of the third turning of the wheel, Bhagavat revealed a correctly differentiated (**suvibhakta*; *legs par rnam par phye ba dang ba ldan pa*) doctrine about the lack of essence, etc. of the phenomena. The implication seems to be that this teaching does not refer just to emptiness but to the threefold absence of nature (*trividhā niḥsvabhāvatā*). Lamotte reconstructs *legs par rnam par phye ba dang ba ldan pa* as **suvibhakta* (p. 86) but renders it as *parfaitement explicite* (p. 207). I think that the reconstruction is quite possible, but the meaning is that of 'correctly separated' or 'correctly

differentiated' (from the teachings of the second turning of the wheel).

[155] Xuanzang does not render with a nominal phrase. His translation is: 吾當爲汝説諸法相，謂諸法相略有三種。(T16.693a15). In the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* (T30.a703a28), these three characters are translated as: 三種自性.

[156] In Buddhist literature, these are better known as the three natures or the threefold nature (*trividhaḥ svabhāvaḥ*). Cf. also the Chinese translation 三性, which is frequently used in traditional sources as well as modern Buddhist studies.

[157] This proto-history does not include the so-called Chapter on Maitreya's Questions which is found in the revised version of the *Pañcaviṁśatisāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā* (see edited text in Conze and Iida eds., 1968, 233-242) and in the Tibetan translations of the *Pañcaviṁśatisāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā* and the *Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā* (see Conze and Iida eds., 1968, 229-230, and Hakamaya 1975). (The name of the chapter apparently comes from a reference in Tsong-kha-pa's *Legs bshad snying po* in which the Tibetan master calls it *Byams zhus kyi le'u* 'Chapter [Preached] at Maitreya's Request'; see Conze and Iida eds., 1968, 230.) This chapter speaks of *parikalpitaṁ rūpam*, *vikalpitaṁ rūpam*, and *dharmatārūpam* (Conze and Iida eds., 1968, 237-238, §§ 37-41), which are more or less a set similar to the three natures. Lamotte, following Obermiller's views, considers that the three characters in the SaṁNirm *se rencontre à l'état embryonnaire dans un passage du Pañcaviṁśatisāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* [referring to the passage pointed out above] (SaṁNirm, p. 15). As reasonably argued by Hakamaya (1975), Nagao (1982, 33-41), Takemura (1995, 52), this chapter seems to be a late addition to the Prajñāpāramitā corpus being most probably composed after the SaṁNirm. Nagao (1982, 39-40) suggests that it was probably formed under the influence of the MadhVibh (see also Takemura 1995, 52). This particular variant of the three natures theory is, however, also found in the AbhSam (p. 31, ll.6ff—passage preserved in Sanskrit manuscript), although here it is interpreted in a Śrāvakayānist way. It thus appears that this theory in the Chapter on Maitreya's Questions was most likely inspired by the SaṁNirm and cannot be much later than the latter. Conze and Iida do not commit themselves with regard to this problem but remark this chapter 'differs radically from the remainder of the *Prajñāpāramitā* in vocabulary, style, and doctrinal content' (1968, 233).

[158] The philosophical outlook of the BoBh in relation to the three natures theory is investigated in Ikeda 1996a. Ikeda also dicusses some of the contrversial points in the studies contributed by Hotori and Takemura (1995).

[159] The basic meaning of this mind which takes possession of a new body is defined at SaṁNirm 55, 23-24. On this concept, see Schmithausen 1987a, especially 12-13; cf. also 46ff; 71ff.; 167ff; and Schmithausen 1969b , 823.

[160] Matsumoto (2004, 219-497) advocates a different scenario. He argues that the *ādānavijñāna* (*len pa'i rnam par shes pa*) in the SaṁNirm actually precedes the *ālayavijñāna* doctrine in the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ*. Matsumoto admits, however, that the doctrines of the Chapter on the Aspects of *Citta*, *Manas*, and *Vijñāna* 心意識相品 in the SaṁNirm , especially the passages explaining the *sarvabījaṁ cittam*, may have been compiled on the basis of the similar theories in the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ* (see p. 411). Matsumoto's detailed examination of the *ālayavijñāna* contain many interesting and challenging views, but I find Schmithausen's (1987a) analysis of the history of the concept more much plausible.

[161] In Lamotte's own words (1935, 18), this is stated as: [...] *nous dirons qu'il* [i.e., the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra*] *est formé de trois apports successifs, les chapitres I-IV, V-VII et VIII-X*. Powers (1993, p. 128, n. 18) accepts Lamotte's view that the SaṁNirm 'may have been composed in stages' but stresses the internal coherence of the sutra.

[162] The *Pratyekabuddhabhūmi* has no *Viniścaya* (see Tib.: D Zhi 143a5-6; Ch.: T30.694c16).

[163] Various aspects of the seed (*bīja*) concept in the YoBh are dicussed in a series of outstanding contributions by Yamabe Nobuyoshi (1989; 1990a; 1990b; 1991; and 2000). The term *bīja* is also used in the ŚrBh to define the concept of lineage (*gotra*) (see Synoptic Presentation, p. 23 above; cf. Yamabe 1990a). For the history of the *bīja*-theory in general, see Yūki 1933. See also Cox 1995, 93-97 (focusing mainly on Vasubandhu and Saṅghabhadra).
[164] This is what Schmithausen 1987a calls the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī ālayavijñāna Treatise*. For a brief description of the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī ālayavijñāna Treatise*, see Schmithausen 1987a, p. 299-300, n. 226.
[165] P reads: *bzhag*.
[166] P reads: *gzhag*.
[167] The Tibetan version of this fragment is edited in Schmithausen 1987a, p. 344, n. 452. (Following his suggestions, I also adopt the sDe dGe readings.) Compared to the Tibetan rendering, the wording of the Chinese translation is more developed. The fragment has also been translated into Japanese in Yamabe (2000, 131-132).
[168] The theory is usually known in the Eastern Buddhist tradition as *se xin hu xun* (Chinese)/ *shiki shin go gun* (Japanese) 色心互熏. This appellation, which is still used in modern Japanese Buddhist studies, has roots in the old tradition of the Faxiang/Hossō scholastics. We find it, for instance, in the *Cheng wei shi lun liao yi deng* 成唯識論了義燈 (see T43.733a15) by Huizhao 惠沼 (650-714), the third patriarch of the Faxiang School in China.
[169] This is a close paraphrase of Yamabe's own conclusion: 「摂決択分」の「色心互熏」説は、首尾一貫したものではなく、むしろ諸要素の寄り集めという感が強かった (Yamabe 2000, 140-141; see also p. 142). Yamabe also shows that this YoBh theory seems to be the source of the roughly similar doctrine presented in the AKBh (72, 19-24) as being held by the 'old masters' (*pūrvācārya*) and later considered to be a Sautrāntika view (see Yamabe 2000, 128-133).
[170] I employ the term of 'Buddhology' here as well as in other similar contexts in the sense of the doctrinal elaborations on the body/bodies of the Buddha. This corresponds to what Japanese scholars call *budda-kan* 佛陀觀 and, *mutatis mutandis*, to the usage of 'Christology' in Western theology. A similar usage is also found in Silk 2006, 1: 'what we might, in a strict sense, call "Buddhology," the doctrine of Buddhahood'. As proved by Silk's excellent study (2006), Buddhology is also concerned with the physical dimensions of the Buddha's body as well as its remains, and these semantic ramifications had huge implications for the religious beliefs and practices of the Buddhist followers throughout the ages.
[171] As far as I know, the full-fledged theory of the three Buddha-bodies (*trikāya*) is not found in the YoBh. We only see a binomial Buddhology. The term of *dharmakāya* 法身, alone or sometimes contrasted to the physical body (*rūpakāya*) or the manifested body (*nirmāṇakāya*), appears in quite a few passages. For instance, the *Cintamayī bhūmiḥ* mentions Tathāgata's Dharma-body as being beyond thinking (*acintayas tahthāgatānāṁ dharmakāyāḥ*, CintBh 48, 3; *de bzhin gshegs pa rnams kyi chos kyi sku bsam gyis mi khyab pa* D 204b2; 如來法身不可思議 T30.363a3). In the commentary on the *Śarīrārthagāthā* in the same *Cintamayī bhūmiḥ*, Tahthāgata's Dharma-body (*dharmakāya*) is contrasted with his physical body (*rūpakāya*). (Skt. original of this part of the *Cintamayī bhūmiḥ* is found in the ŚrBh MS reproduced by Taishō University: MS 44a5L: *dharmmakāyena tathāgataṁ* and 44a5M: *rūpakāyena*; this corresponds to 如來法身 and 如來色身 at T30.382c20). See also *dharmmakāyena tathāgataṁ* at MS 44a3M and MS 44a6L-M (corresponding to 如來色身 at T30.382c11-12 and T30.382c24 respectively). The *Cintamayī bhūmiḥ* does not elaborate upon its Buddhology, but clearly no mention is made of the enjoyment body (*saṁbhogakāya*). In the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī*, we also find a few occurrences. Thus, the *Bodhisattvabhūmiviniścaya* says that 'the Tatāgata's

Dharma-body (*dharmakāya) emits the light of the Great Wisdom for various sentient beings and produces countless images of manifested bodies (*nirmāṇakāya), [but] the Liberation-body (*vimuktikāya) of the Disciples and Solitary Buddhas cannot do such a thing [lit., has no such a thing]'. 如來法身爲諸有情放大智光，及出無量化身影像，聲聞獨覺解脱之身無如是事。(T30.736b2-4). See also the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* occurrence at T30.738a5, discussed in Subsection 7 below, as well as the *Paryāyasaṁgrahaṇī* (T30.771c14) usage of the term presented in note 133 above.

172 See note 164 above.

173 We owe Jowita Kramer (2005) an excellent Tibetan edition, German translation, and introductory study of the passage in the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* which treats these five categories.

174 Takahashi's outstanding monograph contains a discussion of the concept *vastu* in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, an analysis of the *pañcavastu* and the *trisvabhāva* theories in the *Bodhisattvabhūmiviniścaya*, a critical Sanskrit edition of the *Tattvārthapaṭala* Chapter in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, a critical Tibetan edition of relevant fragments from the *Tattvārthapaṭala-viniścaya* Chapter in the *Bodhisattvabhūmiviniścaya* as well as Japanese translations of both editions. The monograph was apparently published in December 2005, but unfortunately, it came to my attention in the latter part of March 2006. It is now too late to try to incorporate all of its findings into my study and also to make use of its excellent edition of the *Tattvārthapaṭala* Chapter. Here I can only make a few brief remarks.

Takahashi also considers that the YoBh is a composite work consisting of several historical strata (pp. 4-5; see also English summary: p. 224). His examination of the concept of *vastu* and the formation of the *pañcavastu* theory also proves that we have to deal with a gradual process of philosophical evolution from the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* to the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī*. I still have to look in detail at the book, but as far as I can see, Takahashi's conclusions do not contradict the general picture of the formation of the *Yogācārabhūmi* which I try to depict in my study. There is only one detail which has a bearing on this scenario and needs a clarification.

The Japanese scholar concludes that 'the *trilakṣaṇa*s in the *Saṁdhinirmocana-sūtra* presuppose notions concerning the *pañcavastu* theory' (p. 227, in the English summary; the Japanese text treats this problem at pp. 55-60). As clearly stated by the author himself (p. 59-60), this does not mean, however, that the complete set and theory of the 'five entities' had already assumed the final shape before the formation of the *trilakṣaṇa* doctrine in the *Saṁdhi-nirmocanasūtra*. It rather implies that constitutive elements which would be later put together as the *pañcavastu* theory were also presupposed by the *trilakṣaṇa* doctrine.

This actually tallies with the scenario which I put forward here: the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* relied upon concepts in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, and the full *pañcavastu* theory seems to belong to the late layers of the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī*, i.e., after the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra*, including its *trilakṣaṇa* doctrine, had been formed. One thing which I should add in the light of Takahashi's findings is that the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* authors may have been aware and borrowed concepts which were developed in parallel by the compilers of the early parts of the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī*. (Cf. the Hypothetical Chronological Table below which allows for such a possibility.) And if the thesis advanced by the Japanese scholar is correct, which I believe to be, then we can deduce that there existed some exchanges between the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* circles and the authors of the early parts of the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī*. These exchanges would actually culminate in the citation of almost the entire text of the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* in the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* (see below).

Finally, I should also note that Takahashi has recently published another article which touches upon the same problem (Takahashi 2006). (This study, which was released at the end of March 2006, has also come too late to allow me to discuss it in detail.)

175 In the *Bodhisattvaguṇapaṭala*, the Absolute Truth is briefly mentioned in a list alongside

the conventional truth (*saṁvṛtisatya*) (BoBh Wogihara ed. 292, 18-19; T30.547b27).

[176] The Chinese rendering also omits 爾時 'at that time', which begins the second chapter of Xuanzang's translation of the SaṁNirm, 摩訶薩, which accompanies the two bodhisattvas' names, and the phrase 即於佛前 '[asked] before the Buddha' (T16.688c19-20). The Tibetan translation omits *de nas* and *kyis brjod du med pa dang | gnyis su med pa'i mtshan nyid don dam pa las brtams te* | (see SaṁNirm Lamotte ed., p. 34, ll. 29-31).

[177] Suguro (1989, 297) is correct to remark that the first four chapters in the Tibetan translation basically deal with the same theme and could be put grouped together as one single chapter, which is what Xuanzang probably decided to do in his rendering.

[178] P reads: *byung*.

[179] There is no explanation at the end of the citation of the SaṁNirm either. In the Chinese translation of the YoBh, the sutra simply comes to an end (with more or less the same wording as Xuanzang's rendering of the SaṁNirm; see T16.711b) and closes *juan* 78 without any further commentarial elaboration. The next scroll just says: 'Thus has the **Bodhisattvaguṇapaṭala-viniścaya* been expounded' 如是已說功德品決擇 (T30.736c21). The Tibetan version similarly ends with what corresponds roughly to SaṁNirm, Lamotte ed., p. 165, l. 31, and declares that the **Bodhisattvaguṇapaṭalaviniścaya* is over (*Yon tan gyi le'u rnam par gtan la dbab pa rdzogs so* | | (P 'I 108b8-109a1; D Zi 97b6).

[180] For instance, the citation of Chapter V of the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra*, which deals with 'the aspects of *citta*, *manas*, and *vijñāna*', would have thematically fit much better in the *Pañcavijñānakāyamanobhūmiviniścaya* or in the *Sacittikabhūmiviniścaya*. One might, however, surmise that these Books of the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* may have already been editorially closed and the inseration of such a long quotation may have been impossible.

[181] In the SaṁNirm, the bodhisattva realises or penetrates (*pratisaṁ√vid*) the *Dharmakāya* at the tenth stage of his messianic career, i.e. the so-called 'Dharma Cloud' (*dharmamegha*). This passage, as it appears cited in the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī*, has also survived in a Sanskrit manuscript preserved in National Archives in Kathmandu. We owe its identification, a diplomatical and critical edition as welll as a translation into the Japanese to the Matsuda Kazunobu (ed. and tr. 1995; for the description of this stage, see p. 64, ll. 20-25, and p. 68, §3-10; see also Lamotte ed., p. 124, ll. 29-32, and T16.704a2-5).

[182] Suguro (1989, 297-316 and 316-318) dicusses a few other possible similarities between the two texts.

[183] The term appears twice in the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* citation of the SaṁNirm: (1) 我說識所緣，唯識所現故 (T30.724a6), which corresponds to Xuanzang's rendering of the SaṁNirm at T16.698a2 (cf. Tibetan version, Lamotte ed. 91, 3-5); and (2) 唯識相及勝義相 (T30.726c25), which is equivalent to T16.701a23 (cf. Lamotte ed. 108, 24-25).

[184] It is also noteworthy that concepts such as the three Buddha-bodies (*trikāya*), the Buddha's *apratiṣṭhitanirvāṇa*, the *abhūtaparikalpa*, etc. which will come to play an important role in the Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda School, are also absent in the YoBh (Schmithausen 1969b, 820).

[185] Out of the examples discussed above, only the concepts of bondage consisting in images [/characteristics] (**nimittabandhana*) and bondage consisting in noxiousness (**dauṣṭhulya-bandhana*) occur in the *Pañcavijñānakāyasaṁprayuktamanobhūmiviniścaya* (T30.580c11; 581c1-2). The rest are confined to the *Bodhisattvabhūmiviniścaya*.

[186] Speaking of the few Mahāyāna pasages in this text, Schmithausen (1972, 158) concludes: 'However, such passages are rather rare in the AS [i.e., *Abhidharmasamuccaya*]; they remain, so to speak, in the background. Most parts of the text are obviously written from the standpoint of traditional realistic Hīnayāna ontology [...]'.

[187] By the time of the composition of Jinaputra **Yogācārabhūmivyākhyā* (middle or second half of the 6th century; see Chapter Six below), the *Yogācārabhūmi* was clearly considered to be a Mahāyāna text. According to Jinaputra, one of the purposes why the *Yogācārabhūmi* had been expounded was to help the heretics and Hīnayāna believers renounce their perverted views and kindle faith in the Great Vehicle (復有二緣故說此論。一者或有宿習，無知猶豫顛倒，執著外道小乘邪教，故於大乘不能信解。爲善分別大乘法相，令其信解了達，決定離顛倒故。T30.883b10-13).

[188] On his date, see Hypothetical Chronological Chart below.

[189] The cross-refences to the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, *Manobhūmi*, *Vastusaṁgrahaṇī*, *Paryāyasaṁgrahaṇī* in the Sanskrit text of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* have been also pointed out by Wogihara (see *Allgemeines über die Bodhisattvabhūmi* in the Introduction to his edition of the text, pp. 11-12).

[190] For the eventful life of Dharmakṣema 曇無讖 (*var. lec.*: 曇摩讖, 曇謨讖), see the *Biographies of Eminent Monks* (T50.335c-337b) (cf. Shih tr. 1968, 98ff.). See also note 198 below.

[191] Sengyou 僧祐 (445-518), the compiler of the *Chu san zang ji ji* 出三藏集記, the oldest extant Chinese scriptural catalogue which is generally considered a reliable historical source, gives the translation date as 'year 7 of the Xuanshi 玄始 Era' (i.e., 418 C.E.). (It must be noted, however, that this date appears only in the text of the Zifu, Puning and Jingshan Canons; see T55.11b19 and note 14). The *Chu san zang ji ji* also registers the following variants of the Chinese title of the text: *Pusa jie jing* 菩薩戒經 and *Pusa di jing* 菩薩地經. Sengyou has also left a note on the relation between this text and Guṇavarman's 求那跋摩 closely related translation, the *Pusa shan jie jing* 菩薩善戒經 (T55.62c-63a). On the relation between these two renderings, see also Tokiwa 1973, 948-951, and Demiéville 1973, 301. Though some matters of detail are not certain, there is, however, no doubt that both these two translations were done at the beginning of the 5th century.

In terms of textual history, the *Pusa shan jie jing* seems to be the oldest version of the BoBh. Its revised and amplified version is the *Pusa di chi jing*, and the latest stage is represented by the BoBh rendered by Xuanzang, the Tibetan translation and the extant Sanskrit original which constitutes Book XV of the present YoBh (see Sueki 1980b). It is quite possible that the BoBh also circulated as an independent work in India, and some variants may have kept older forms of the text. The *Pusa shan jie jing* and the *Pusa di chi jing* may actually reflect such versions, and in the first centuries after the formation of the text, they may have been transmitted in parallel with the developed BoBh, i.e, which was more or less similar to the extant Sanskrit original. A careful analysis should also take into consideration the role of the Chinese translator(s). Differences in translation style, abbreviations or explanatory additions, editorial interventions, imperfections in communicating the exact sense of the text to the Chinese assistants responsible for wording the rendering, failure to understand nuances or difficult readings in the original (which may have happened even with learned Indian scholars....), etc., all these may also produce enough variants to make one think of a distinct Indian version which served as the basis of the Chinese translation in question. Unfortunately, time and space do no allow me to tackle all these aspects in detail.

[192] The references to the *Vastusaṁgrahaṇī* are also found in the extant Sanskrit text of the BoBh: *tadyathā Vastusaṁgrahaṇyām* (Wogihara ed. 103, 11 and 182, 15 respectively). So is the mention of the *Manobhūmi* (ibid., 295, 2-3). The Sanskrit text as well as Xuanzang's translation of the BoBh also contains a reference to the *Paryāyasaṁgrahaṇī* but this is absent in Dharmakṣema's version (see Suguro 1976, 6; 1989, 252).

Guṇavarman's *Pusa shan jie jing* contains only one reference to the ŚrBh: 如聲聞地

(T30.1018a14). No other reference to the ŚrBh, *Manobhūmi*, *Paryāyasaṃgrahaṇī* and *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī* is seen, but we find the equivalent of some the above cross-references without actually mentioning the title of the respective textual unit (see Suguro 1989, 250-252). This aspect is also discussed by Suguro (1989, 253-254).

[193] If this was the case, we could speculate that an early version of the ŚrBh included a larger fragment dedicated to the adornments of virtue, which was later either trimmed down or incorporated into another section under a different name. A possible candidate for the latter would be the ten benefits of morality (*śīlānuśaṃsa*) (ŚrBh-Gr 92-99).

[194] By 'early', I mean that the reference in question was included not later than the end of the BoBh compilation. Amongst these early-references, some may have been written together with the passage in which they occur, some may have been added in the later stages of the formation of the BoBh. By contrast, 'late' cross-references imply editorial additions after the BoBh compilation had more or less come to an end. Many, if not most, of the latter type of cross-references were probably included in the final stages of the process of putting together and editing the various parts which make up the present YoBh.

[195] The BoBh often presupposes or relies upon the technical details of the meditative training expounded in the ŚrBh. As pointed out by Shimizu (1997), the BoBh devotes much space and energy to the description of the bodhisattva practices, which is of course the very raison d'être of the text, but no details are given about such praxis-related categories as the thirty-seven factors of Awakening. For the latter, the authors of the BoBh presuppose or plainly state (as in the passage examined here) that these technical aspects should be known in accordance to the ŚrBh.

[196] We also find a reference to the ŚrBh in the *Pusa shan jie jing youboli wen pusa shou jie fa* 菩薩善戒經優波離問菩薩受戒法 translated by Guṇavarman (T30.1018a14-15). On the relations of this text with the *Pusa shan jie jing* 菩薩善戒經 in nine scrolls, see Tokiwa 1973, 950-951.

[197] The BoBh actually contains quite a few other references to the Śrāvakayāna and its literature, but no mention of the ŚrBh is made in any other context apart from the five occurrences examined above. For example, speaking of the classification of the Buddhist texts, the BoBh speaks of the *Bodhisattvapiṭka* and the *Śrāvakapiṭaka* (BoBh Wogihara ed. 96, 2-7), but nothing is said of the ŚrBh.

[198] We can actually determine with more precision the date when the BoBh was in circulation in India. According to the *Biographies of Eminent Monks* 高僧傳, when Dharmakṣema (385-433) left Central India 中天竺, his native region, for Kashmir, one of the texts which he took with him was *The Sutra on the Bodhisattva's Discipline* 菩薩戒律經 (T50.336a12). This is actually one of the titles by which the *Pusa di chi jing* 菩薩地持經 or **Bodhisattvabhūmyādhāra*, which Dharmakṣema would later render into Chinese, was known (see note 191 above).

According to Mukai (1981, 203), Dharmakṣema must have come to know the BoBh sometime between 405 and 410. On this basis, Mukai affirms that Asaṅga must have composed the YoBh around 405. The Japanese scholar also argues that Guṇavarman (377-431) must have obtained the text of the *Pusa shan jie jing* 菩薩善戒經 sometime between 381 and 397 in Kashmir or Gandhāra. He regards this as a basic source 基本素材 or 種本 (ibid., p. 202), i.e., a prototype which was later used by Asaṅga to compose the BoBh Book in his YoBh. Takasaki (1982a, 33), on the other hand, concludes that the present form of the BoBh must have taken shape between 396 (the year when Guṇavarman left Northern India in 396) and 410 (the *terminus ante quem* suggested by Mukai for Dharmakṣema's taking the BoBh text with him to Kashmir). Furthemore, Takasaki adds, the BoBh seems to presuppose the existence of all the

five main parts of the YoBh.

As far as I can see, there is nothing in the *Gao seng zhuan* to suggest that Guṇavarman knew or obtained the text of his translation while in India. The Chinese source simply says that Guṇavarman 'translated the *Pusa shan jie* [*jing*] at the request of Huiyi of Qiyuan [Temple]' 祇洹慧義請出菩薩善戒 (T50.341a20), without specifying what was the provenience of the work. It is not excluded that the Indian master had memorised it or brought it in manuscript, but it is equally possible that, as in many other instances recorded in the *Gao seng zhuan* and other similar sources, Guṇavarman translated the text brought by someone else to China. I think that it is much safer to limit ourselves to the clear information found in Dharmakṣema's biography and conclude that according to Chinese historical materials, the BoBh appears to have already circulated in Central India in the first decade of the 5th century.

[199] Another example which could be adduced here is a cross-reference to the ŚrBh in the *Bhāvanāmayī bhūmiḥ* (see Suguro 1989, 258). Here it is said that the five defects associated with bedding should be known according to the ŚrBh (*gnas mal gyi nyes pa lnga 'di lta ste | nyan thos kyi sa las 'byung ba bzhin du rig par bya'o* ||; D Tshi 269a4; 五失相應臥具應知如聲聞地當說; T30.391b9-10). The extant text of the ŚrBh does not, however, contain any explanation of these defects. The five defects associated with bedding also appear in the same *Bhāvanāmayībhūmi* (D Tshi 276a6; T30.394b7-8), but no details about these are given here either. Actually, nowhere in the YoBh are these five defects listed or defined (my own search for this set of five defects in the YoBh has failed to yield positive results; the same conclusion is reached by Suguro 1989, 262). Suguro (1989, p. 284, n. 16) mentions in this context a list of five defects of bedding which appears in the **Vinayamātṛkā* 毘尼母經 (T24.824b), but it is impossible to know whether this was the same set which the *Bhāvanāmayī bhūmiḥ* authors had in mind.

Actually, Suguro (1989, 268-270) points out two other examples in the *Śrutamayī bhūmiḥ* and the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* of such cross-references for which there are no corresponding explanations in the Bhūmis where they should be found. The Japanese scholar thinks that such imperfections come from the failure of editor(s?) to collate carefully the entire text (編集者は統一編集において厳密な照合を行なわなかったという事になろう; p. 270). In my opinion, these cases raise further questions as to the the possibility of one single author responsible for the whole YoBh. Speaking of the *Bhāvanāmayī bhūmiḥ* example cited above, I find it less likely that an author, especially a spiritually accomplished genius like Asaṅga, would have forgetten to add this simple detail in the ŚrBh, which is the next Book of his presumably well-planned treatise (based upon Maitreya's revelation!). After all, it would have been much simpler for both the author and readers to have these five defects explained right there in the passage where they first occur, a passage which is actually dedicated to the discussion of various obstacles in the ascetic's spiritual life. It is more plausible to suppose that the *Bhāvanāmayī bhūmiḥ* was composed after the ŚrBh and the authors of this passage simply considered that their audience and/or readers must be familiar with the set of defects was from the ŚrBh, a text which was already circulating in the community. As for the reason of the absence of the this set of five defects in the extant ŚrBh, it can be explained as probably a defective transmission of its text which resulted in the loss of the respective passage. At any rate, supposing a multi-stratigraphical formation of the text accounts much better for such irregularities. (But if one wishes to stick by all means to Asaṅga as the sole author of the YoBh and attribute him all redactional details (and imperfections!), then *honi soit quit mal y pense....*)

[200] The occurrence at P Zi 25b4 is edited in Muroji 1993, p. 116, l. 11 (see also German translation, ibid., p. 196). Here, the PratVy mentions the fact that the *ālayavijñāna* is also taught in the YoBh as well as in the SaṁNirm.

The occurrence at P.Zi 13a1 may contain an extra hint concerning the history of the YoBh. In discussing the problem of ignorance, Vasubandhu mentions that 'here, too, the commentators say that this is ignorance [concerning] time as it appears [explained] in the *Yogācārabhūmi*' (*de la yang 'chad par byed pa dag de* [P is hardly legible here] *ltar rNyal 'byor spyod pa'i sa las byung ba bzhin du dus mi shes pa yin no zhes brjod do* ||). No further details are given about these 'commentators', or literally, 'those who explain' (*'chad par byed pa dag*). Matsuda (1984, 84) refers to this passage and reconstructs the word as **vaktāraḥ*, translating it as *katarite-tachi* 語り手たち 'those who tell [/transmit]'. He surmises that if these *'chad par byed pa dag* refer to the transmitters of the YoBh, then this would raise an important question concerning the formation of this text. It is not excluded that the *'chad par byed pa dag* denote the group of scholar-monks transmitting and expounding the teachings of the YoBh, but the sentence is too short to give any definitive clue. The word could also refer to 'commentators' or 'scholastics' in general who deal with such matters and adopt in this particular case the view expressed in the YoBh. (The conjectural reconstruction *'chad par byed pa dag* is not easy; one could think of several other possibilities (see TSD, s.v. and TSD Supplement, vol. 2, p. 634), such as **ākhyātāraḥ*, **deśikāḥ*, etc.) No matter to what scholastic group the word refers, the sentence shows that the teachings of the YoBh had already gained some recognition and this detail was for Vasubandhu important enough to be mentioned.

[201] We also find references to the YoBh in the *Mahāyānasaṁgrahabhāṣya*. Its introductory verses say that the *Mahāyānasaṁgraha* will be elucidated on the basis of the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* (Paramārtha's translation: 披閱決定藏，以釋攝大乘。T31.154a11; Xuanzang's translation: 從廣決擇集少分，以言略釋攝大乘。T31.321b19; Tibetan translation: *bsdu ba gtan la dbab par shin tu rgyas par bstan las cung zhig brjod par bya* | | D Ri 122a3). (The complete title of the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* in Paramārtha's translation is 決定藏論, but *lun* 論 is omitted *causa metri*, i.e., the 5-syllable pattern required in the Chinese verse. For the same reason, 攝大乘論 is abbreviated to 攝大乘.) Paramārtha's translation of *Mahāyānasaṁgrahabhāṣya* also mentions the **Saptadaśabhūmiśāstra* 十七地論 three times (T31.224b19; 225c3; 236c1-2) (Paramārtha's translation: T31.225c3; 236c1-2) and the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* 決定藏論 two times (T31.159c28; 162b7) (see Ui 1965, vol. 6, p. 56).

It must be said, however, that the attribution of the *Mahāyānasaṁgrahabhāṣya* to Vasubandhu the Kośakāra (see note 134 below) is not certain (see Schmithausen 1987a, pp. 262-263, n. 101). Besides, as usual, caution is required when basing one's arguments upon Paramārtha's translations, especially those related to the Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda (see more in Section III below). It is not excluded that his translation of the *Mahāyānasaṁgrahabhāṣya* might represent a parallel recension of the original text, influenced by the Tathāgarbha current, but it is even more likely that it includes Paramārtha's own interpretations. The differences between his translation and Xuanzang's rendering of the same text actually fuelled disputes between the school formed in China around Paramārtha's version of Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda and Xuanzang's followers (see Ono ed., vol. 5, p. 410-411).

[202] According Matsuda (1984), the *Pratītyasamutpādavyākhyā* seems to have been written after the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, the *Vyākhyāyukti*, and the *Karmasiddhi* (see also note 206 below).

[203] The *Biography of Dharmācārya Vasubandhu* mentions that before the composition of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, Vasubandhu wrote the *Treatise of the Seventy Verses on the Truth* 七十眞實論 (**Paramārthasaptati*) to refute a work by a Sāṁkhyā master (T50.190a27-30). The work is no longer extant (if it ever existed at all). It does not, however, seem to have been a major work, and it certainly did not achieve the historical prestige and philosophical importance of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*.

[204] I think that Vasubandhu was one of the most creative Buddhist philosophers. This, of course, does not mean that he did not belong to a Vinaya lineage or had no basic doctrinal orientation, but these do not seem to have prevented him from tirelessly looking for original interpretations. This effort was probably conceived by Vasubandhu himself not as a creative activity *per se* but as a legitimate systematisation and necessary elucidation of the sacred teachings. (Most probably, creativity as a value in itself is an exception rather than a rule in all traditional cultures; the worldly vanity of originality at all costs is more typical of modern times.) In trying to find the best explanation for the Buddha's word, he used not only his erudite knowledge of the Buddhist literature but also an important dose of original and eclectic thinking. The *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* does show that sometimes Vasubandhu attempts his own solutions which are divergent from all other traditions. These attempts must have been based upon pious intentions and earnest convinction that only what is doctrinally and logically sound should be viewed as the correct interpretation.

Actually, a part of the traditional exegesis in East Asia has regarded Vasubandhu as a scholar who was more of an eclectic than a strict sectarian. In the *Abidatsuma kusha ron shiyō shō* 阿毘達磨倶舎論指要鈔, the Japanese scholar-monk Tan'e 湛慧 (1675-1747) describes Vasubandhu's position with the phrase 理長爲宗 'making [one's] doctrine the principle which surpasses [all others]'. The phrase has actually become well-known in the Japanese circles of traditional Buddhist learning for which the *Kośa* has continued to be the basic treatise for doctrinal education. The origins of the phrase go back to the Tang scholarship. We find, for instance, the phrase 理長即取 'if a principle surpasses [all others], then adopt [it]' (T41.605c1) in the *Jushe lun shu* 倶舎論疏 by Fabao 法寶, one of the famous exegetes and disciples of Xuanzang (see DKWJ, s.v., vol. 10, pp. 1152-1153).

[205] Much has been written upon this topic. Here it will suffice to mention only a very few of them, especially those which I have found the most useful for the present part of my study: Péri 1911; Frauwallner 1951; Jaini 1958; Shukla 1973 (in Sh, Introduction, pp. ＬＸＸⅨ－ＬＸＸＸⅥ); Hirakawa et al. 1973 (Introduction to AKBh Index, pp. Ｉ-Ｘ); Hirakawa 1974-1979 (vol. 2, pp. 101-106), Matsuda 1984; Anacker, 'Vasubandhu, His Life and Times' (in Anacker tr. 1984, pp. 7-28), Griffiths [1986] 1999 (pp. 164-165, n. 9); Schmithausen 1987a (pp. 262-263, n. 101); Katō 1989 (pp. 58-68), Mejor 1991 (especially pp. 3-7, 42-49); Schmithausen 1992; and Skilling 2000. A survey of the main studies in Western languages in recent decades is found in Skilling 2000, p. 298, n. 2. Frauwallner's bibliography (1951, 67-69) lists most of the earlier contributions. See also Nakamura [1980] 1989, 269. For the studies pertinent to Vasubandhu's date, see below.

[206] With all due respect for the *pūrvācārya*, I must say that I disagree with Frauwallner's argumentation concerning the existence of two Vasubandhus. This does not mean, however, that I rule out the possibility that a part of the works traditionally attributed to 'Vasubandhu' might have been written by another person or even persons (bearing or not the same name). Thus, it is (at least theoretically) possible that there existed two (or even more) Vasubandhus. It is also important to note here that according to Mejor (1991, 42-49), the data yielded by his analysis of Yaśomitra's *Sphutārthā* offers a picture of two Vasubandhus rather different from the one depicted by Frauwallner.

Unless new historical evidence is found, the possibility of one or two (or more!) Vasubandhus remains to be proved or disproved by the historico-philological study of the traditional 'Vasubandhu corpus'. By carefully examining the coherence of this corpus, we might be in a better position to determine whether the doctrinal and stylistic differences existing between various texts can be explained as the philosophical evolution of Vasubandhu the author of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (the so-called, *kośakāra*) or as supporting the hypothesis of two

or more Vasubandhus. This fruitful direction of research has been undertaken or pointed out by Matsuda (1984), Schmithausen (1987a, pp. 262-263, n. 101) and Skilling (2000, 297-299), and one hopes that it will be continued with more extensive studies.

In the present context, it suffices to say that my dating refers to Vasubandhu the Kośakāra. I follow Schmithausen (1987a, pp. 262-263, n. 101) and limit his corpus to the following works: *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, *Vyākkyāyukti*, *Karmasiddhi*, *Pratītyasamutpādavyākhyā*, *Pañca-skandhaka*, *Viṁśatikā*, and *Triṁśatikā*. Schmithausen (1987a, pp. 262-263, n. 101) also touches here upon some other works whose attribution to Vasubandhu may be problematic. See also notes 201 and 202 above. On the full list of works attributed to Vasubandhu in different traditions, see Mejor 1991, 7-13.

207 These parallels have been noticed and discussed by a number of Western and Japanese scholars (see Schmithausen 1992, p. 392, n. 1.) Interpretations concerning this similarity vary. Funahashi (1976, 371-373), for instance, takes this as a proof that the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* was compiled before Vasubandhu's *Triṁśikā*, which actually borrowed the passages from the former. As convincingly argued by Schmithausen (1992, 393-394), there are clear structural and stylistic details which make this interpretation as well as the hypothesis of a third source on which both texts relied quite unlikely. Takasaki 1982b (pp. 553-554) first admits the possibility that these passages may have been borrowed by the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* from the *Triṁśikā*. However, a little later in the same contribution, he suggests that since the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* 'was not acquainted with the developed Vijñānavāda established by Vasubandhu', it was probably 'located a bit earlier than Vasubandhu' (ibid., 564). With all due respect for Prof. Takasaki, one of my *ācārya*s from whom I have had to learn so much, I am afraid that the two statements are contradictory. The lack of agreement of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* with 'the developed Vijñānavāda established by Vasubandhu' can be easily explained along the lines actually suggested by Prof. Takasaki himself: the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* must have been a text which was formed 'on the peripheries of the Yogācāra' (ibid., 565) and this, I think, accounts for most of its pecularities, whether unique creations or conspicuous divergences. This is not, however, the place to go into a detailed discussion concerning the history of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*. Apart from the reservation expressed above, I think that Takasaki 1982b is a brilliant examination of the sources and formation of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*.

208 There seems to be little doubt as to the date of this translation. See Tokiwa [1938] 1973, 961; Schmithausen 1992, p. 393 and note 6.

209 The sentence must be a gloss added by the Chinese translation team. 袟底也 (**drit-tɛj'-jia'* in Early Middle Chinese; see Pulleyblank 1991, s.vv.) transcribes *ditya* rather than *āditya* ('Sun'). The absence of *ā*- (*阿, etc.) could be a careless gloss or, even more likely, might represent a linguistically non-refined manner of transcribing long vowels: the preceding 婆羅 was loosely meant to convey *-ā-* (*bāla+āditya*). Adding an extra 阿 would have been puzzling since the name is given as 婆羅袟底也 and not as *婆羅阿袟底也. It is only around mid-Tang that 引 'to draw' placed after a character starts to be consistently used to mark long Sanskrit vowels. (I am grateful to Professors Junkichi Imanishi and Toshinori Ochiai who have kindly pointed out this historical detail to me.) The reconstruction of 'Vikramāditya' can be ascertained from 國王馝柯羅摩阿袟多, 譯為 "正勤日" (T50.189c21-22) (together with Chongning, Zifu, Puning, and Jingshan, I read 正勤日 instead 正勒日, used by the other Canons, Taishō included). Cf. also Xuanzang's transcription 婆羅阿迭王 and note 219 below.

210 The character 令 also means 'to order'.

211 It is possible that the Queen was a devout Buddhist believer. It should not be forgotten, however, that the Gupta kings were devout Vaiṣaṇavas and their support of Buddhism was part of the general policy of protecting all religions (see Dandekar 1982, 78ff.). The actual

involvement in the patronage of the Buddhist institutions may have varied with each member of royal family, but some doubt remains as to whether the Queen did actually become a nun.

[212] The identification had also been suggested before by Liebich and Takakusu (see Frauwallner 1951a, 26). See also Sh, Introduction, p. LXXXIII, n. 4, for other scholars who opted for the same identification.

[213] Frauwallner spells 'Puragupta'. The spelling 'Pura' (most likely standing for 'Puragupta') is seen, for instance, on some of the coins issued by the King (see Allan 1914, 134). Bhandarkar (ed. and tr. 1981, 82; 357), argues on the basis of epigraphical evidence that the correct name is 'Purugupta' or 'Pūrugupta'. In what follows, I spell 'Purugupta'. However, it seems that 'Puragupta' was an alternative spelling.

[214] Both seals contain damaged parts (they are reproduced in Bhandarkar ed. and tr. 1981, Plate XLV and XLVI), but the information concerning Kumāragupta's grandfather and father is almost certain. Goyal 1966 refers also dicusses the Bhitarī seal. The text of the latter seal is also reproduced in Sircar ed. 1986, 329-330. See also Hoernle 1889, 89-90.

[215] Indian kings often adopted one or more laudatory epithets or titles (*biruda*, also spelled *viruda*). As a literary genre, the basic meaning of *biruda* is that of a panegyric dedicated to a king. The *Sāhityadarpana* defines it as: *gadyapadyamayī rājasutir birudam ucyate* (cited after Bhandarkar ed. and tr. 1981, p. 160). See also below on some laudatory epithets of the Gupta monarchs.

[216] The reconstruction of the Chinese transcription 婆羅阿迭王 as 'Bālāditya' is also supported by the fact that Xuanzang also refers to the king using the translation of his name, i.e., 幼日 'Young-Sun' (T51.888c7; 9; etc.). See also note 209 above.

[217] Several theories concerning the date of Mihirakula have been put forward. Fleet (1886, 252) concludes his examination of the dating of the Hūṇa kings as follows: '[...] we shall probably be very near the mark indeed, if we select A. D. 515 for the commencement of his career'. The date 515 as the beginning of Mihirakula's reign is also adopted by Majumdar 1977, 248, and Kulke and Rothermund 1990, 95. Bhandarkar (ed. and tr. 1981, 89) dates Mihirakula's between 500 and 515. Frauwallner (1951a, p. 26, n. 1) mentions that his rule started from 502 (see note 221 below).

[218] I rely on Goyal 1966 for the presentation of Mookerji's study. Goyal's article more often than not uses abbreviations to refer to primary and secondary sources but contains no list which would allow their precise identification. This has made it impossible for me to consult Mookerji's contributions and a few other studies directly.

[219] The existence of Kumāragupta III has been accepted by other historians, too (e.g., Goyal 1966, 101-103; Majumdar 1977, 250-251; Bhandarkar ed. and tr. 1981, 84-89; etc.).

[220] Frauwallner (1951a, p. 26, n. 1) also hyothesises the existence of a 'second Bālāditya, because Narasiṁha Bālāditya (c. 467-473) can hardly have been the adversary of Mihiragula (reigning since 502)'. The German scholar conjecturally identifies this second Bālāditya with Bhānugupta (about 510) and considers that he 'is so late, that he is wholly out of question as protector of Vasubandhu' (ibid.).

[221] We should mention in this context that Goyal (1966, 107) agrees with Frauwallner's theory and considers that Vasubandhu the Younger was a contemporary of Skandagupta Vikramāditya and the tutor of Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya I.

[222] Goyal (1966, 102-104; 108) also discusses in detail the numismatic evidence. According to the Indian scholar, the existence of two distinct classes of coins also supports the theory of two Narasiṁhagupta Bālādityas. Admittedly, I am not competent to pass a professional judgemnt on numismatic evidence, but commonsensically speaking, I see no reason to assume that two types of coins *necessarily* suggest two different kings. Unless clearly stated on the

legend or corroborated by other historical records, they may also be interpreted as reflecting two different periods during the reign of the same ruler, each with a potentially different economic and technical background.

It must be also added that Goyal's conviction that there are two classes of coins associated with Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya is not shared by all historians. Majumdar and and Altekar (1967, 192) assert that 'Narasiṁha-gupta issued gold coins of a single type which show that he assumed the title of Bālāditya'.

[223] This is actually hinted in Skandagupta's Junāgaḍh rock inscription (Gupta year 136, 137, 138) which states that 'the Goddess of Fortune has of her own accord selected him [i.e., Skandagupta] as her husband, having discarded all [the other] sons of the king' (*vyap[e]tya sarvān manujendrapūtraṁl Lakṣmīḥ [svayaṁ] yaṁ varayāṁ cakāra*) (Bhandarkar ed. and tr. 1981, Skt. text: p. 299, verse 5; English translation: 302; cf. also Fleet ed. and tr. [1888] 1970, p. 59 and p. 62). See also Majumdar 1977, 245.

[224] Bhandarkar (ed. and tr. 1981, 79-84) believes that Skandagupta and Purugupta were 'two names of one and the same Gupta king' (p. 82). This is not entirely impossible but is not very likely either. At any rate, it is far from being a generally accepted view.

[225] Majumdar (1977, 246) affirms that Kumāragupta II may have been either the son of Skandagupta or Budhagupta's elder brother.

[226] The chronology suggested by Xuanzang's *Records of the Western Regions* (T51.923b-c), i.e., Śakrāditya, Buddhagupta, Tathāgatagupta, and Bālāditya, must also be mentioned in this context. Although not a contemporary document and also containing some new and problematic names, it suggests that Bālādityagupta reigned after a few other rulers. And as shown above, Xuanzang clearly considers that Bālādityagupta fought with Mihirakula.

[227] Frauwallner's identification raises three more questions. They do not invalidate the hypothesis completely but are nevertheless worth asking.

(1) If Skandagupta was not a king recognised by the official dynastic genealogies, how can we explain the fact that the Buddhist biographer was willing to link Vasubandhu's name with him? One could reply that he may have been less 'fussy' about caste details and the legimate royal lineage. However, as often proved by Buddhist literature in general and the *Vinaya* in particular, the Buddhists do care about respectability and the way society regards them. It may be argued, probably with more reason, that he did not know about such dynastic genealogies. Maybe the name of Skandagupta lived in the general memory as a de facto and actually competent ruler (about his achievements, see Majumdar 1977, 244-247; Kulke and Rothermund 1990, 94). This is a possibility, but nonetheless it is equally possible that the Buddhist historiographer was aware of the fact that Skandagupta was of low extraction as well as of the events leading to his to accession to power. One would imagine that a careful historiographer would have simply omitted the potentially less honourable figure of Skandagupta and concentrated upon Bālāditya only. In our passage from the *Biography of Dharmācārya Vasubandhu*, Vikramāditya does not play an important role like Bālāditya, and one could conceive basically the same story even without the former's name. One solution to this puzzling aspect may be that 'Vikramāditya' here cannot be identified with Skandagupta. But logically speaking, it cannot be excluded that our particular Buddhist historiographer was not interested in the reputation factor or was simply unware or even careless concerning the historical background of Skandagupta (if he was the monarch implied by the title 'Vikramāditya'!).

(2) What could have been the reasons for Skandagupta's urging his *nephew* to receive the Buddhist moral precepts? One could imagine a father wishing that his son and future king would receive a solid moral education (even if coming from a non-Hinduist background). But why should an usurper care about the son of his half-brother who was actually the main contender to the throne? Maybe, one could say, relations between them were not so bad. Or

maybe Skandagupta thought that the Buddhist emphasis on friendliness, compassion, and forgiveness would prevent the young man from attempting a future coup d'etat or rebellion. But was this sensible in a world governed by *Arthaśāstric* realities more than *Jātaka* tales and bodhisattvic ideals?

Or should 受戒 be construed in the sense of 'taking full ordination'? (Cf. the rendering by Dalia (tr. 2002, p. 49): 'to receive Vinaya'.) Semantically, this is not impossible, but it is hard to draw definitive conclusions from 受戒 alone. The compound can mean in Buddhist Chinese any ceremony, from receiving the lay precepts to the full monastic ordination, the latter known as 具足戒 (see BDJ, s.v.). However, the wording of the biography does not seem to support the latter reading. The text says: 'The King originally had [/ordered] the Crown Prince follow *Dharmācārya* [Vasubandhu] and receive the [Buddhist] precepts [from him]. The Queen went forth and also became *Dharmācārya*'s disciple.' 王本令太子就法師受戒。王妃出家，亦爲法師弟子. The place of 亦 is significant. It does not occur in the first part of the sentence: *王妃亦出家 'the Queen also went forth', which one would expect if the Crown-Prince had become a fully ordained monk. It is true that 王妃出家 is a four-syllable phrase, so pleasing to the Chinese sense of rhythm, but the latter part of the sentence (亦爲法師弟子) has six syllables. The sentence is not patterned on four-syllable sequences, and therefore two phrases of five-syllable each would not have disturbed the style too much: *王妃亦出家，爲法師弟子. But one can never exclude the possibility that the sentence was not written or translated very carefully, and therefore taking 受戒 as 'full ordination' cannot be completely ruled out.

If the latter was the meaning intended by our author(s), then the King may have obliged his nephew (the causative co-verb 令 allows for such an interpretation) to become a monk in order to keep him away from such 'worldly affairs' as court intrigues which could have been so 'harmful' for the tranquillity of a legitimate heir to the throne and, more than anything else, disastrous for the usurper! But if he was supposed to become ordained for life, why then call him 'crown prince' 太子? Was this done in retrospective since eventually the prince did become a king? Or out of respect for the legitimate lineage of the Gupta Dynasty?

(3) Finally, there is another possible disadvantage for placing Vasubandhu's activity during the reigns of Skandagupta and Narasiṁhagupta. In his biography translated by Paramārtha, there is no mention of any turbulent historical events. The last part of the Gupta Age was actually beset by the invasions of the Hephthalite Huns which start from around 460 (see Majumdar 1977, 246-250; Majumdar and Altekar 1967, 193-201; Kulke and Rothermund 1990, 94-96). According to the *Biography of Dharmācārya Vasubandhu*, Asaṅga was in Puruṣapura 丈夫國 when he succeeded in converting Vasubandhu to Mahāyāna (T50.190c15-16). The biography continues with Vasubandhu's composition of many Mahāyāna treatises, but no further detail is given about his whereabouts until the end of its account which says that the Master died at the age of eighty in Ayodhyā (T50.191a12). If Vasubandhu kept on staying in Puruṣapura, then he must have witnessed the first Hūṇa attacks on Northwestern India. The exact place where Skandagupta defeated the Huns is not known, but Gandhāra is the likely location (see Majumdar 1977, 246). At any rate, the Hephthalite Huns seem to have continued their pressure on India and seriously affected the international commerce in Northwestern India (see Kulke and Rothermund 1990, 94-95). I, for one, would have expected some mention or echo of such historical *duḥkha* if the last two decades of the Master's life had been spent under deteriorating conditions.

I must, however, admit that this is not a strong argument, at least not strong enough to invalidate *eo ipso* Frauwallner's identification. After all, its supporters could reply that it may have been due to this turmoil that Vasubandhu moved to Ayodhyā. Or maybe he simply had done so before the dark events clouded the Gāndhāri skies. Or perhaps, the life of the general

population, Buddhist inistitutions included, had not been so much affected by the first waves of attacks. If Vasubandhu died in ca. 480, then the worst was still to come, and these relatively limited military campaigns of a *mleccha* tribe were not considered important enough to be recorded in the Master's biography. In spite of all these possible answers, I would dare to think that this and the other doubts expressed above are nevertheless worth mentioning.

[228] It is true that Indian literary and historiographical records and information should be read with more than a grain of salt. (On the reliability of Indian historical materials, see Fleet 1907, 3-24; especially pp. 17-19, for literary souces). Nonetheless, a priori discarding all data from such sources does not appear a methodologically wise approach. Potentially, 'factual kernels' might exist here and there, and a prudent examination can discover them. The much more serious doubt cast by Vāmana's testimony is the fact that its extant text has been transmitted with a few variant readings, an aspect also noted by Frauwallner (1951a, 28). Apart from *Vasubandhu*, it also contains the readings *ca Subandhu-*, *Subandhu-*, and *Budha-*. Frauwallner (ibid.) concludes, however, that *Vasubandhu* was probably the original reading. Although many other also scholars adopt *Vasubandhu* as the best reading, others prefer *Subandhu* (Shukla, in Sh Introduction LXXXIII, n. 3). Bhandarkar (ed. and tr. 1981, 45-46), who reads *Subandhu*, thinks that *Vasubandhu* is not likely since a Buddhist mendicant 'could not have been spoken of with favour by a Brahmanical Hindu on rhetoric' (p. 46). I must admit that this argument makes a good point. One could, nevertheless, imagine that Vaubandhu's importance for the young prince was so great and famous that even a Hindu writer had to note it as such. This is, however, a speculative line of inference, and admittedly, my discussion below is based on this rather shaky premise. On Vāmana, see Winternitz [1925] 1985, vol. 3, p. 18-19, etc.

[229] Anacker is not the first scholar to have made this identification. D. R. Bhandarkar already made this suggestion in 1912. However, the same author (Bhandarkar ed. and tr. 1981, p. 45, n. 4) later abandoned this view and came to regard *Candraguptatanaya* as referring to Samudragupta, the son of Candragupta I. The view that Vikramāditya was Candragupta II and Bālāditya was Govinda was also expressed by Salatore (see Shukla, in Sh Introduction, p. LXXXIII, n. 4).

[230] On Candragupta II, see Pandey 1982. The date of his accession to power in 375 can be determined on the basis of the so-called Mathura Pillar Inscription (see Pandey 1982, 84-85). The Mathura Pillar Inscription is found in Bhandarkar ed. and tr. 1981, 234-242; cf. also Sircar ed. 1986, 277-279. His death seems to have occurred sometime between 413 and 415. A detailed discussion of Candragupta II mainly as reflected in epigraphical records is found in Bhandarkar ed. and tr. 1981, 52-72.

The laudatory epithet (*biruda*) of 'Vikramāditya' can be ascertained on the basis of epigraphical and numismatic evidence. See the Supiā pillar inscription in Bhandarkar ed. and tr., 1981, p. 318, Text: line 3 (Plate XXXII). See also legends of the coins reproduced in original script in Allan, 1914: *MahārājādhirājaŚrī-Candraguptaḥ* (obverse), *Vikramādityaḥ* (reverse) (p. 34); *kṣitim avajitya sucaritair divaṁ jayati Vikramādityaḥ* (obverse), *Vikramādityaḥ* (reverse) (p. 35); *Paramabhāga[va*]ta-mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Candragupta-Vikrmāditya[ḥ*]* (reverse) (p. 49) (for the latter, cf. also Sircar ed. 1986, 282), etc. See also Fleet 1885, 66. 'Vikramāditya' was not, however, the only laudatory title assumed by Candragupta II (see Bhandarkar ed. and tr. 1981, 62-64; see also numismatic evidence in Allan 1914, 44, 45, 51; etc.).

[231] This is only one possible dating. Pandey (1982, 243) places Govindagupta around 413. Furthermore, it must be mentioned here that Bhandarkar (ed. and tr. 1981, 72-73) considers that Govindagupta and Kumāragupta were different names used by the same king. This is not impossible, but unless supported by hard evidence, I shall adopt the common view that the two names represent different persons. The Basārh clay seal (Bhandarkar ed. and tr. 1981, 260-261)

clearly proves that the *Yuvarāja* Govindagupta, son of Candragupta, was living with his mother Dhruvasvāminī in Vaiśālī. See also Smith 1905, 153.

[232] Anacker sticks to Govindagupta because he dates Vasubandhu between 316-396 (Anacker tr. 1984, 10).

[233] Kumāragupta I 's precise date of accesion to the throne is not known (see note 230 above). The earliest known date about him as a ruling monarch appears to be 415 (see Majumdar 1977, 243) or 414-415 (Bhandarkar ed. and tr. 1981, 73). He seems to have died in 455 (Majumdar 1977, 243). The latest known inscription concerning him is dated 454-455 (Bhandarkar ed. and tr. 1981, 73). On the life and activity of Kumāragupta I as ascertainable from epigraphical evidence, see Bhandarkar ed. and tr. 1981, 72-79.

[234] In the footnote to this statement, Shukla (Sh p. LXXXV, n. 1) actually refers to Goyal 1966. (The pages indicated by Shukla are 215-216, which seems to be an error; at least in the edition which I have consulted, Goyal's study is found between pp. 100-114).

[235] See also Sh, Introduction, p. LXXXIII, n. 4, for bibliographical information concerning other Indian scholars who adopted the identification of Vikramāditya and Bālāditya with Candragupta II and Kumāragupta I /Govindagupta respectively.

[236] Anacker only refers to a typescripted study in Vietnamese by Le Manh That (Anacker tr. 1984, p. 24, n. 6), but no mention is made of any primary or other secondary source. Schmithausen (396, p. 396, n. 21) also stresses that the identification rests upon conjectural inference.

[237] Bhandarkar ed. and tr. 1981, 69-70, discusses the meaning of *-āditya* occurring in the laudatory epithets of most of the Gupta kings.

In this context, it must be said that *bālāditya* does not appear to have been a Gupta administrative title either (see Bhandarkar ed. and tr. 1981, 90-108; Dandekar 1982, 18-19). Epigraphical evidence does show that the title of 'young king' (*yuvarāja*) was officially bestowed on the heir to the throne while the sovereign was still ruling (see Dandekar 1982, 11; cf. also Majumdar and Altekar 1967, 165), but this does not seem to have been accompanied by a common *biruda*. It is possible that the crown princes may have adopted a special laudatory epithet to mark their official consecration, but as far as I know, there is no document to prove that this actually happened and, more importantly, that their *biruda* would have regularly been 'Bālāditya'.

[238] See the coins catalogued in Smith [1906] 1972, 119-120; Allan 1914, 137-139.

[239] Kumāragupta I 's main *biruda*s were 'Mahendra' or 'Mahendrāditya'. For 'Mahendra', see the legends found at Allan 1914, 61, 62, 63; etc. 'Mahendrāditya' is seen at ibid. p. 94, 96, 98, etc. See also Fleet 1985, 66; Smith [1906] 1972, 111-116; Brown 1920, 26-32; Altekar 1954, 211-307. The laudatory epithet of 'Mahendra' appears to have been adopted after his performance of the *aśvamedha* sacrifice (see Majumdar 1977, 243; see also the coin reverse reading: *Śrī Aśvamedhamahendraḥ* at Allan 1914, 68). For this as well as other epithets, see Bhandarkar 1981 ed. and tr., 77-78. 'Bālāditya' as a clearly attested title of Kumāragupta I is not found in any of the sources, primary or secondary, mentioned here.

[240] The inscription is also edited in Agrawala ed. 1983, 120-121 with some slight modifications (see also photographic reproduction, Plate 60). None of these affect, however, the substance of the information presented below on the basis of Fleet's edition.

[241] I have followed Fleet's decipherment but I have modernised the romanisation. It must be noted that as also apparent from the passage cited here, one orthographic peculiarity of the inscription is that *v* is regularly used instead *b* (see Fleet ed. and tr., 1888 [1970], p. 285). Agrawala ed. 1983, 120, also deciphers *b-* and emends to *v-*.

[242] The title of 'Bālāditya' was also used by Dhruvasena II, younger brother of Śīlāditya VII,

who was a Valabhi King. This appears in the so-called Alina copper-plate dated 766-767 (see Fleet ed. and tr. [1888] 1970, p. 175, l. 28). The record has, however, has no relevance for the Gupta age.

243 In his brief remark, Mishra (1971, 8) also mentions *Bhandarkar's List*, p. 252, notes 4 and 5, where apparently a similar view is expressed. Unfortunately, the latter work has not been available to me.

244 Agrawala (ed. 1983, 120), speaks of Bhānugupta of Inscription 'No. 57 above' (in his book). The latter number is, however, the Guṇaighar inscription of Vainyagupta. Bhānagupta's inscription (to which Agrawala probably refers) is actually number 59 (pp. 118-119).

245 Unfortunately, Mishra only notes in connection with this document: '*Vaishṇava* Inscr[iption] of a king Prakaṭāditya or Prakāśāditya [...]' without mentioning the basis of this suggestion. As far as the Sārnāth inscription itself is concerned, the king's name which appears on line 6 reads, in all likelihood, 'Prakaṭāditya'. Although the photographic reproduction is not very clear, the third *akṣara* in the name appears to be *ṭā* and could hardly be taken as *śā*. Agrawala ed. 1983, 121, also deciphes as *ṭā*.

246 It should be noticed that both Hoernle's and Smith's statements are conjectural and neither author gives solid reasons for the identification. Hoernle seems to have later changed his view (1909) and attributed 'Prakāśāditya' coins to Yaśodharman (see Allan 1914, L I – L II).

247 Allan actually mentions a possible argument in support of this identification: 'the Bharsar hoard contained coins of Samudragupta, Candragupta II, Kumāragupta I, Skandagupta, and Prakāśāditya; the natural deduction would be that Prakāśāditya succeeded Skandagupta, and that the hoard was buried in his reign' (Allan 19194, L I). However, Allan adds, 'only two-thirds of the hoard was recovered for examination, so that it is hardly safe to say that it did not contain coins of Purugupta'.

Allan (1914, L II) further brings an argument in favour of his theory that Purugupta and Prakāśāditya cannot be identified: since the laudatory title appearing on the coins which can be attributed to Purugupta is *Śrī-Vikramaḥ* (see coins recorded in Allan 1914, 134-135), it is quite unlikely that he also used another *biruda*, i.e., 'Prakāśāditya'. Yet, some Gupta kings seem to have used more than one *biruda*. E.g., Kumāragupta I's title of *Siṁhamahendraḥ* on the coin no. 242 at Allan 1914, 81, or *Śrīmāṁ Vyāghrabalaparākkramaḥ* on the 'tiger-slayer' type of coins at ibid., 81-83.

We must notice, however, that the same Allan writes in his catalogue of coin legends under the name of Prakāśāditya 'perhaps identical with Puragupta' (1914, 135).

248 I follow Smith's translation. As remarked by Smith (ibid., p. 135, n. 1), *devaṁ* in the inscription must be a Prakrit nominative used instead of the regular Sanskrit *devo*. See also Allan 1914, CXXII.

249 Allan 1914, CVII–CXXIV presents and discusses the main legends of the Gupta Kings. Cf. *Kumāragupto vijayī siṁhamahendro divaṁ jayati* (Allan 1914, p. 79).

250 This also creates some complications because Prakāśāditya seems to have minted more coins than Purugupta himself (see Allan 1914, 134-136). Actually, Alterkar (1954, XXXVII) affirms that Purugupta's reign was so short that he left no coins at all. He rejects the earlier attributions to Purugupta as being Budhagupta's coins. As far as I can see on the legends reproduced in Allan 1914, 134-135, the name 'Pura' is clearly seen. Alterkar's view would further imply that a mere contender to the throne (as he regards Prakāśāditya) was in a position to mint quite a few coins of high gold purity. This is not impossible but does not seem very likely either, and this 'contender' must have been a de facto king of a large or rich region.

251 After presenting this argument, Allan (1914, L II) adds, 'the purity of the metal may, however, only be evidence that the Prakāśāditya coins belong to a different region from the

debased coinage of these later rulers'.
[252] Fleet conjectures that this 'other Bālāditya' was probably mentioned in the destroyed passages on lines 2 and 3 of the Sārnāth inscription.
[253] It must be stressed, however, that Gupta history is a large and difficult area of studies. (Apart from the studies above, see also Mishra 1971, 49-60 for a select bibliography on the Gupta kings.) My attempt here to deal with it is based on very limited research. I hope that in the future I could tackle the problem based on more data.
[254] It must be said that if one wishes to stick to 400-480 as Vasubandhu's date, it would be logically possible to argue that he wrote the *Triṁśikā* when he was in his twenties or thirties. This is, however, quite unlikely from the viewpoint of his philosophical development, which clearly suggests that the *Triṁśikā* is a late work in his career. Such a reasoning would also contradict the traditional accounts of Vasubandhu's life which depict the first part of his activity as being within the Śrāvakayānika framework. See also Schmithausen 1992, 395-396.
[255] 殆 is a conjectural emendation. The main text of Taishō reads: 始. Although 始 is not impossible to construe ('from the beginning, it [took]...'), I think that the Taishō editors (T vol. 25, p. 874, n. 33) are right in conjecturing that 殆 makes a better reading.
[256] This lineage is also examined by Péri (1911, 341-344).
[257] Strictly speaking, other details of this part of the lineage should also be rectified. As stated above, I do not believe that Maitreya was a historical figure, so ca. 350 should probably be taken as an indication of the formation of the proto-*Vajracchedikāprajñāpāramitāśāstra*. Asaṅga may have then worked on the text two or three decades later.
[258] Unfortuanately, lack of time and space does not allow me to dicuss other sources concerning Vasubandhu's life. I should also like to add here that placing Vasubandhu between ca. 350 and 430 does not seem to create major problems with accommodating these dates in the general chronology of the Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda in India, as far as the latter can be conjectured (see, for instance, Frauwallner 1961; Hirakawa 1974-1979, vol. 2, pp. 228ff.; etc.).
[259] Admittedly, the span of 50 to 70 years is purely speculative. There is no textual or historical evidence to suggest that this was the rough period of time actually required for the compilation of the textual units of the YoBh. My guess (and only my guess!) is that a span of about two generations would not be so much off the mark. This span basically starts the more of less conscious effort to put together traditional materials and/or add new interpretations in the form of an independent piece within an oral and/or written tradition. In the case of the ŚrBh, this would coincide with the beginnings of the proto-*Śrāvakabhūmi*. The end of the compilation period coincides with the formation of a work more or less similar to the extant one, but this does not rule out some minor editorial additions or compositional arrangements even after this point in time.

In the Hypothetical Chronological Chart below, I have tentatively assumed that the compilation of the SaṁNirm took about 50 years, that of the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* around 60 years, and the rest of the textual units approximately 70 years. Once again, it must be stressed that there is no evidence whatsoever to support such differences. In this case, too, I have simply relied on entirely conjectural judgement. I have surmised a shorter period of time for a relatively small text like the SaṁNirm (5 scrolls in Xuanzang's translation). Then around 70 years for the longer textual units of the ŚrBh (14 scrolls in the Chinese translation), BoBh (16 scrolls), the rest of the *Maulyo Bhūmayaḥ* (20 scrolls) as well as the three *Saṁgrahaṇī*s (20 scrolls) would be a rough guess. It must be recalled that the compilation periods of these units are conjectured to have partially overlapped and more than one group of authors and editors worked on each text. As far as the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* (30 scrolls including the SaṁNirm citation) is regarded, 60 years (30 years for Phase V and 30 years for Phase VI) would seem appropriate since towards the end of the formation of the YoBh, the process was probably

accelerated. I conjecture that the awareness of compiling a single work increased and supposedly a larger 'team' of authors and editors concerted their efforts. On the other hand, I imagine that the earlier periods, especially the beginning of the ŚrBh, were characterised by relatively small groups of spiritual masters and disciples who slowly and gradually gathered and systematised their theory and praxis. Probably, starting with Phase III (the *Maulyo Bhūmayaḥ* and the three *Saṁgrahaṇīs*), larger groups of followers and growingly specialised 'teams' of authors and editors made the compilation a more professional project, so to speak. This would explain why in this phase, althogether about 40 scrolls of text could be produced. I think that this process of increasing scholastic professionalism (not necessarily excluding ascetic practice) as well as the clear awareness of producing a single book sped up the rhythm even more in Phases V and VI.

260 I should like to conclude this part of our discussion with a methodological remark. No matter what view is taken, one should, I think, strive to avoid the fallacy of linearity, unless, of course, corroborated by textual, epigraphical, numismatic, or archaeological evidence. By 'fallacy of linearity', I mean a tendency to see historical development as a more or less uninterrupted genealogy of masters and disciples stretching back to the Buddha himself. To be sure, there is a long tradition of fondness of lineages, starting with Indian Buddhist sacred historiography and continuing in all local traditions from the ubiquitous Tibetan holy pedigrees to the Chan/Zen fascination with orthodox transmission of the Dharma-Lamp 法燈. Modern historical research has done much to eliminate this fallacy of linearity, but we are still not completely free from it, especially in those cultural milieux where Buddhist faith and tradition form an integral part of the historian's background. I do not deny the importance of transmission from master to disciple, but this is not a simple, unequivocal flow of Dharma from ancient times to modern days. There is much more to this. Both masters and disciples are complex human beings. Although their spiritual and historical paradigm was different from ours, factors like individuality and creativity should not be completely ruled out. Being part of a Saṅgha community obviously meant sharing a Vinaya lineage and a sacred canonical intertextuality as well as an interpretative perspective (for the latter, the role of the *ācārya* was admittedly very important). But many other influences must have been at work. Genuine inquisitiveness, the wish to push further the explanatory coherence of the system, personal background, spiritual experiences, historical situations needing answers not readily found in the tradition, encounter with other scholar-monks and ascetics, discussions with fellow monks, lay followers, or even heretics, browsing the temple manuscript collection on a dull afternoon and finding an unexpectedly stimulating text not necessarily belonging to one's school. All these have made many, if not most, genealogies anything but straight lines of development. And this, coupled with other internal and external historical factors, can account for the transformation of early Buddhism (itself perhaps not a monolithic teaching) into the later 'Buddhisms' (the plural is deliberate).

261 Since Saṅgharakṣa appears to have been active around the end of the 1st century and the beginning of the 2nd century (see Subsection 2 above) and his **Yogācārabhūmi* (compiled ca. 100) reflects an already developed stage in the codification of the yogic theory and practice, it would seem that the ascetic tradition crystalised in this work had already existed for at least one century. It is not excluded, however, that the roots of the Sarvāstivādin yogic tradition might go even further back in time.

262 The date of the *Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣā* compilation has been surmised as ca. 200 C.E. (Bareau 1955, 132) or after King Kaniṣka and before Nāgārjuna (the latter being placed in the 3rd century) (see Hirakawa Akira, in Mizuno et al. 1977, 116-117, s.v.). Cf. also Nakamura [1980] 1989, pp. 107-108, especially n. 43. The *Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣā* seems to have been compiled after King Kaniṣka's reign. The exact dating of the latter has been a very controversial

issue. I shall adopt here the dates of ca. 103-123 suggested by A. K. Narain (1968, see especially pp. 220-221). Supposing that the compilation of the *Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣā* began two or three decades after the King's death, I have surmised that its formation period can be palced approximately between 150 and 200 C.E.

[263] On Saṅgharakṣa, see Subsection 2 as well as note 261 above.

[264] Few trustworthy things are known about Aśvaghoṣa's life. One of the few (relatively) certain details is that he appears to have been a contemporary of King Kaniṣka and therefore active around 100 C.E. (see Saigusa ed. 1987, 7-9, s.v.).

[265] The phases in brackets obviously refer to the stages in the YoBh compilation which I have distinguished above (see Subsection 1).

[266] Concerning Asaṅga's lifespan, Tāranātha's account contains the most concrete and plausible data. He says that Vasubandhu was born one year after his brother Asaṅga became a monk (*sLob dpon 'Phgas pa Thogs med rab tu byung ba'i phyi rol 'khrung te | Chos 'byung* 92, 22-93, 1; cf. *Chos 'byung* tr. 167). It is very likely that *rab tu byung ba* refers her to the full 'ordination' (*upasaṁpadā*). Tāranātha does not say anything about Asaṅga's age when he was ordained, but he tells us that in his first year after he went forth (*rab tu byung ba*), he attented to his precepter (*mkhan po*; *upādhyāya*), master (*slob dpon*; *ācārya*), and the holy community (*dge 'dun*; *saṅgha*) and also that he spent five years studying after his full ordination (*bsnyen par rdzogs*; *upasaṁpadā*) (*Chos 'byung*; 85, 8-10; cf. *Chos 'byung* tr. 156). Tāranātha does not mention Asaṅga's lineage, but supposing that he was ordained in the Mahīśāsaka tradition, as Xuanzang tells us (T51.896b28), we would have to conclude that he was ordained at or after the age of 20. The Mahīśāsaka monastic rules surviving in Chinese translation (彌沙塞五分戒本, T No. 1422) clearly stipulate that ordination cannot be granted before the age of 20 (e.g., 若比丘知不滿二十歲與受具足戒, 波逸提; T22.198a7-8; 'if a monk knows that he has not attained the age of twenty and [yet] receives the full ordination, [this is] an offense of expiation (波逸提 **pācattika*; there a few other possible reconstructions for the Chinese transcription (see BCSD, s.v.); here I adopt *pācattika* as seen in, for example, the BhikVin *pacattikā dharmāḥ* (pp. 186-291); cf. Pali, *pācittiya*).'). (Even if we suppose that Vasubandhu belonged to another lineage, this age remains the most likely since in many other traditions, too, the full ordination was not allowed before the aspirant was 20 years old.) So if Tāranātha's account has a kernel of truth, then Asaṅga was born 20 years earlier than his half-brother.

Concerning Asaṅga's death, Tāranātha mentions a prediction according to which the Indian master would live 150 years, but he tries to harmonise this with a more commonsensical figure and says that here each year should be counted as half a year, which makes a lifespan of 75 years (*Chos 'byung* 98, 10-14; cf. Schiefner tr. 125-126; Chimpa and Alaka Chattopadhyaya tr. 175).

[267] According to the *Biography of Dharmācārya Vasubandhu* translated by Paramārtha, Vasubandhu died at the age of eighty (T50.191a12). No matter what the dates assigned to the great Master are, modern scholars usually adopt eighty years as his lifespan.

Tāranātha's biographical account of Vasubandhu is, however, rather confusuing. On the one hand, he says that Vasubandhu lived up to nearly 100 years (*Chos 'byung* 98, 14-15), but on the other hand, he also records that his activity continued 25 years after Asaṅga's death (*Chos 'byung* 98, 15-17; cf. Schiefner tr. 126; Chimpa and Alaka Chattopadhyaya tr. 175). But if Asaṅga lived 75 years and Vasubandhu was 20 years younger than his half-brother, as Tāranātha himself says (see note above), then Vasubandhu was 55 years old when Asaṅga died. Adding 25 more years of activity (as also recorded by Tāranātha himself!) makes his lifespan 80 years! There is no doubt that *lo brgyar nye ba tsam* in the *Chos 'byung* (p. 98, l. 15) means 'nearly one hundred years', but the word 'nearly' (*nye ba*) must have been employed here with an unusually long semantic range if the approximate age of 80 was what it meant (?!). It may,

however, be just a careless juxtaposition of a less precise tradition which spoke of 'nearly 100 years' with biographical details wich de facto amount to the figure of 80.

It is interesting to mention here that Tāranātha states that Vasubandhu was the contemporary of the Tibetan King Lha-tho-tho-ri-gnyan-grtsan (*Chos 'byung* 98, 17-18). Chattopaddhyaya (cited in the *Chos 'byung*, Chimpa and Alaka Chattopadhyaya tr., p. 175, n. 126) asserts that this is 'the fifth of the earlier successive kings before Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po Therefore, he would have lived not earlier than A.D.450'. Even granted that this detail in Tāranātha's biography is historically correct, the chronology of the earlier Tibetan kings is far from certain.

268 This appears to have been an alternative title which is also seen in, for example, the *Cien zhuan* (T50.214c9; 222c5; 278c18), etc. Paramārtha clearly preferred the title of **Śaptadaśabhūmiśāstra* 十七地論 or **Śaptadaśabhūmisūtra* 十七地經. (Concerning the latter Chinese title, we must note that 經 does not necessarily stand for the technical term of *sūtra* and can refer to any kind of sacred writing in general; it is thus quite possible that both 十七地論 and 十七地經 are variant Chinese names for the same **Śaptadaśabhūmiśāstra*.) In his translation of the *Biography of Vasubandhu Dharmācārya*, Paramārtha uses the same title of **Śaptadaśabhūmiśāstra* 十七地經 when describing the famous episode in which Maitreya descends every night to Jambudvīpa during four months to expound the *Yogācārabhūmi* to Asaṅga (T50.188c16-17). On the title *Saptadaśa bhūmayaḥ*, see also the Appendix to Chapter One above.

The few details which we know about Paramārtha's translation of the *Śaptadaśabhūmiśāstra* are also discussed in Ui 1958, 36-42.

269 There also some other references, but they are less detailed or later than Junzheng's work. See note 6 to Chapter Four above.

270 There is only one other work written by Junzheng, the *Sanlun guan zhang* 三論廣章, in 12 scrolls 十二卷, which appears recorded in the Japanese Catalogue *Tōiki dentō mokuroku* 東域傳燈目録 (T55.1159b29) (compiled in 1094), but the text does not survive and no details are known about it.

271 The extant text reads: 十七經, but in the preceding line (*Manji zokuzō*, vol. 46, p. 569b25), it has: 問十七地行者. Furthermore, in the following lines, each of these Bhūmis is given as ...地. Though the *Manji zokuzō* does not register any *var. lec.*, I think we have here a scribal omission or an abridged fashion of referring to Paramārtha's translation and, therefore, the title can be reconstructed as 十七地經.

272 This is how the *Manji zokuzō* (vol. 46, p. 569c9) reads, but this Bhūmi is explained as consisting of 無想定心 and 滅盡定.

273 The order of the Books in the Sanskrit original is known from opening passage of the YoBh (Bhattacharya ed., p. 3), and this agrees with both the Tibetan and the Chinese translations. See Appendix to Chapter One above.

274 Ui (1965, vol. 6, p. 56) also argues that these parts may have corresponded to the BoBh. He is somehow hesitant about its end, suggesting that it could have been either 十地 or 佛地. Though 十地 is also a possibility, I think that the latter alternative is more likely since otherwise 佛地 would be left out without any actual equivalent in the extant YoBh.

275 On the reconstruction of its title, see Ui 1965, vol. 6, p. 104 and pp. 713-714.

276 The catalogue testimony concerning this translation raises some problems, but on the whole, historical data supports its attribution to Paramārtha (see Ui 1965, vol. 6, pp. 103-105; Kamata 1990, 66-67). Kamata (1990, 67) surmises that the translation of *Jueding zang lun* must have been done around the same date when the **Śaptadaśabhūmiśāstra* was produced, i.e., 550.

The fact that Paramārtha translated the *Shiqi di lun* 十七地論 and the *Jueding zang lun* 決

定藏論 as two separate texts may reflect a mere peculiarity of his frequently chaotic activity as a translator in China (often due to circumstances beyond his own control) or the fact that the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ* and the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* may have circulated as (semi-)independent works. (Let us remember here the Tibetan practice of counting in their *Tanjur* and catalogues not only the five main parts of the YoBh but also the ŚrBh, the BoBh, and the rest of the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ* as separate textual units.) I think, however, that the former is the most likely explanation. Ui (1965, vol. 6, p. 56-57) considers that the YoBh comprising five divisions 五分 (as later translated by Xuanzang) was not yet known or accepted at that time in India. We have, seen, however, that already in the earliest Chinese translation references are made to the *Vastusaṁgrahaṇī* and the four main parts of the YoBh 如四攝品說 (see above). Ui further adds (ibid, p. 57-58) that the last three divisions, i.e., the *Vyākhyāsaṁgrahaṇī, Paryāya-saṁgrahaṇī,* and *Vastusaṁgrahaṇī*, which constitute appendices without a vital importance for the understanding of the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ* and the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī*, did not exist in the Sanskrit original brought by Paramārtha. But this is something which we obviously cannot check. Besides, it is clear from Paramārtha's translations that neither the *Shiqi di lun* nor the *Jueding zang lun* are complete translations and that he chose to or could render only fragments of these parts of the YoBh. Therefore, we cannot rule out the possibility that Paramārtha was familiar with the complete YoBh containing all its main parts. In my opinion, it is more likely that he lacked the opportunity or did not find the time to translate the entire text into Chinese.

[277] See Ui 1965, vol. 6, pp. 541-790, for an analysis and critical edition of the corresponding parts in Xuanzang's translation and Paramārtha's rendering of the *Yogācārabhūmi* (see also pp. 103-105); cf. also Ono 1964, vol. 3, p. 138-139.

[278] In the places where Paramārtha reads **amala(vi)jñāna*, Xuanzang's translation of the YoBh usually has 轉依 (**āśrayaparivṛtti*) (see note below). According to Iwata Ryōzō (1971, 55), it also corresponds to 轉依力 (*āśrayaparivṛttibalādhāna*) and 浄識 (*viśuddhavijñāna*). On the *āśrayaparivṛtti* in the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī*, see Sakuma 1990, vol. 1, 89-150.

[279] On the concept of *amala(vi)jñāna*, see Frauwallner (1951b); Ui (1965, vol. 6), Ruegg (1969, 439-444), Iwata Ryōzō (1971), Paul (1984); etc. The most recent contribution is found in Iwata Taijō 2004, 131-225 (actually collecting the author's previous contributions, some of them with revisions and additions). In the *Jue ding zang lun,* the concept of *amala(vi)jñāna* is discussed in six passages, where it is occurs for a total of nineteen times (see Paul 142-145).

[280] Another way to construe the last sentence is: 'because of the path which has attained Suchness as its object'. Ui (1965, vol. 6, 563-564), who edits and adds the *kundoku* markings, suggests: 眞如ノ境ヲ得ル道ノ故ニ. Paul (1984, 142-143), on the other hand, renders the last sentence as: 'Consequently, realizing the path in which the object is Suchness (*tathāviśaya mārgaḥ*) is the attainment of the *amala-vijñāna*' (p. 143).

[281] In his *Commentary on the Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* 解深密經疏, Wŏn-ch'ŭk clearly says: 'Paramārtha *Tripiṭaka*[*ācārya*] relied upon the *Jueding zang* to establish the doctrine of the nine consciousnesses' 眞諦三藏依決定藏論立九識義 (the original text of the entire passage is found in Kamata 1990, 409; see also ibid., p. 67; cf. also Ono 1964, vol. 3, p. 139).

[282] See the examples pointed out by Ui (1965, vol. 6, pp. 433-435).

[283] Paramārtha was often accused by Xuanzang's disciples and his school that he misunderstood the subtleties of the Yogācāra-Vijñānavādin doctrines. This is a possibility which cannot be denied a priori, but it seems more likely that strong partisan feelings for upholding the orthodoxy of Xuanzang's lineage played a major role (see Ui 1933, 3-6).

[284] The order of the *Saṃgrahaṇīs* in the Chinese translation of the YoBh is different from the Tibetan version, but this does not affect the basic content of the text (see Appendix to Chapter One).

ADDITIONAL NOTE CONCERNING VASUBANDHU'S DATE

The following article came to my attention too late to be included into the main text of this chapter. It is a short study by the Indian scholar G. V. Rao (1952) dedicated the 'Problem of the Bālādityas in the Gupta Period'. Since it suggests a rather different scenario, a few remarks seem necessary. Although I do not agree with some of Rao's conclusions, I think that the contribution is helpful in that it collects the main information known from numismatic, epigraphical, and historical sources concerning the name 'Bālāditya'. Part of the information collected by Rao has already been discussed above, and the other data presented by the Indian historian is, I think, not conclusive. Most, if not all, discussions regarding this period in Indian history (my own remarks included) have more to do with interpretation than with historical facts. Unfortunately, I have not been able to check thoroughly this field, especially the most recent contributions, but I believe that until new clear *evidence* is discovered, the attempts to solve the puzzles of this age will have to remain within the bounds of conjecture.

Rao's main conclusions are as follows. After Purugupta, 'the Gupta throne was successively occupied by his sons—Kumāra Gupta II, Budha Gupta, Vainya Gupta, and Narasimha [sic] Gupta' (p. 55). It was the latter who was called 'Bālāditya'. Rao argues that 'among the *imperial* Guptas there was only one Bālāditya, the patron of Vasubandhu, the victor of Mihirakula, and the builder of the fourth monastery at Nālandā, and this was no other person than Narasimha [sic] Gupta Bālāditya, the youngest son of of Puru Gupta Vikramāditya' (p. 56) (Rao's italicisation). As far as Prakaṭāditya's inscription of Sārnāth is concerned, Rao dates this testimony to the 7th century (together with Fleet) (p. 51; p. 56) and considers that 'the second of the Bālādityas had nothing to do with the *imperial* Guptas' (p. 56) (Rao's italicisation).

Rao is not the only historian to have identified 'Vikramāditya' with Purugupta and 'Bālāditya' with Narasiṁhagupta (other names include Allan, B. P. Sinha, etc.; see Shukla, in Sh Introduction, p. LXXXIII, n 4). It is true that the title *Śrī-Vikramaḥ* appears on coins which can be attributed to Purugupta (see Allan 1914, pp. 134-135), and the identification is not without reason. Equating Vikramāditya' with Purugupta and 'Bālāditya' with Narasiṁhagupta is actually a better hypothesis than Frauwallner's theory, according to which the former name should be identified with Skandagupta. It would admittedly answer some of the doubts and critical remarks expressed in note 227 above. The problem with this identification is, however, that it contradicts the evidence connected to Guṇabhadra's translation of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* as well as Vāmana's testimony.

Last but not least, it should be stressed that as in the case of Frauwallner's theory, the identification of 'Vikramāditya' with Purugupta and of 'Bālāditya' with Narasiṁhagupta does not account for the three decades and few other reigns intervening between these two monarchs. And similarly, it would require placing Vasubandhu later than 400-480 since the master would have presumably been alive around 500 when Narasiṁhagupta became king. The only way to solve these difficulties is to postulate the existence of two Narasiṁhaguptas, as Frauwallner and Goyal did. As argued above, this, however, does not seem to be a likely scenario.

All in all, I hope that the hypothesis which I have tried to argue above has some advantages in spite of its speculative links and shortcomings.

CHAPTER SIX

Historical Legacy

I Exegetical Literature Dedicated to the *Yogācārabhūmi*

The *Yogācārabhūmi* has been the subject of an impressive number of exegetical works.[1] Unfortunately, no Indian commentary in its original Sanskrit has survived to this day. The exegetical treatises authored in its country of origin are now available mostly in Tibetan translations and in one summary rendered into Chinese. East Asian Buddhism has produced a very large number of commentaries, whose full survey would doubtless require a monograph in its own. This Section is dedicated to a very a succinct presentation of the commentaries believed to have been written by Indian exegetes as well as of the most representative commentarial works composed in China, Korea, and Japan.

The Tibetan Canon contains the following translations of Indian commentaries on the *Yogācārabhūmi*:[2]

(1) **Yogācārabhūmivyākhyā* (*rNal 'byor spyod pa'i sa'i rnam par bshad pa*) (P No. 5544; D No. 4043). No traditional records have survived concerning the author and the translator(s) of the text. It seems to be a fragment of a larger commentary upon the *Yogācārabhūmi*, which at least in the Tibetan version, covers the initial Books up to the *Ātmavāda* section of the *Savitarkādi Bhūmiḥ*.[3] The text may be a part of the huge exegetical opus authored by Jinaputra (a scroll of which was rendered by Xuanzang into Chinese) or, anyway, a work closely related to it. It must be noted, however, that no detailed study and comparison of the two translations have been undertaken so far, and a conclusion (even provisional) regarding their relation and author remains a desideratum.[4] More about Jinaputra and his commentary will be said below.

(2) **Bodhisattvabhūmivṛtti* (*Byang chub sems dpa'i sa'i 'grel pa*) (P No. 5545; D No. 4044) by Guṇaprabha (Tib., Yon-tan-'od), translated by Dīpaṁkaraśrījñāna and Tshul-khrims-rgyal-ba. This is a commentary on the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* up to the Chapter on Charity (*Dānapaṭala*) and appears to form a set with the following text.[5] The title of this work seems to be registered in Bu-ston's Catalogue as *Byang sa'i 'grel pa* (Nishioka 1981, p. 56, # 700).

(3) **Bodhisattvaśīlaparivartabhāṣya* (*Byang chub sems dpa'i tshul khrims kyi le'u bshad pa*) (P No. 5546; D No. 4045) by Guṇaprabha, translated by Prajñāvarman and Ye-shes-sde. This is a commentary upon the Chapter on Morality (*Śīlapaṭala*) in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*. It appears registered in the *lDan-dkar-ma* Catalogue (Lalou 1953, p. 334, # 624) as having 900 *śloka*s and 3 *bam pos*.[6] The title *Byang sa'i tshul khrims le'u'i 'grel pa* is also found in Bu-ston's *Chos 'byung* (tr. p. 160) as well as in his Catalogue (Nishioka 1981, p. 56-57, # 703). Bu-ston (*Chos 'byung* folio 857 (Chandra's number) = Ya 113a1 (traditional number), ll. 1ff.; cf. *Chos 'byung* tr. 160-161) and Tārnātha (*Chos 'byung*, p. 100, ll. 8ff.; cf. *Chos 'byung* tr., p. 179; see also *Chos 'byung*, p. 99, ll. 1-2; cf. *Chos 'byung* tr., p. 176) describe Guṇaprabha as Vasubandhu's disciple and add that he excelled in Vinaya. Indeed, many of his commentaries surviving in

Tibetan and Chinese translations, including the **Bodhisattvaśīlaparivartabhāṣya*, are exegetical treatises testifying to this area of expertise.[7] It is not clear whether he is identical with the Śāstra master Guṇaprabha (瞿拏鉢剌婆 (唐言: 德光) 論師) whose biography is found in the *Records of the Western Regions* 西域記 (T51.891b28-c16) and the *Cien zhuan* (T50.232c14-21) (cf. also Saigusa 1987, 75-76).

(4) **Bodhisattvaśīlaparivartaṭīkā* (*Byang chub sems dpa'i tshul khrims kyi le'u'i rgya cher 'grel pa*) (P No. 5547; D No. 4046) by Jinaputra (Tib., Rgyal-ba'i-sras), translated by Jinamitra, Prajñāvarman and Ye-shes-sde. This is a sub-commentary upon the same Chapter on Morality in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*. It is found in the *lDan-dkar-ma* Catalogue (Lalou 1953, p. 334, # 625) registered as having 1500 *śloka*s and 5 *bam pos*.[8] Bu-ston also records the commentary in his Catalogue as *Byang sa'i tshul khrims le'u'i 'grel pa* in 5 *bam pos* (Nishioka 1981, p. 56, # 702).

(5) **Yogācārabhūmau bodhisattvabhūmivyākhyā* (*rNal 'byor spyod pa'i sa la byang chub sems dpa'i sa'i rnam par bshad pa* ; also known as *rNal 'byor spyod pa'i sa'i dngos gzhi las | Byang chub sems dpa'i sa'i rgya cher 'grel ba*) (P No. 5548; D No. 4047)[9] by *Sāgaramegha (or *Samudramegha) (Tib., Rgya-mtsho-sprin), translated by Śāntibhadra and Tshul-khrims-rgyal-ba. This is by far the largest extant commentary upon the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (amounting to about 338 folios in the sDe-dge Canon). According to Tāranātha (*Chos 'byung*, p. 166, ll. 17-18; cf. *Chos 'byung* tr. 276), *Sāgaramegha lived during Dharmapāla's reign, which, the same author says, coincided with the rule of King Khri-srong-lde-btsan. The latter is known to have reigned between ca. 756-797.[10] Tāranātha (*Chos 'byung* 167, 10ff.; cf. *Chos 'byung* tr. 277) adds that *Sāgaramegha also composed a commentary upon all five main divisions of the *Yogācārabhūmi* (*rNal 'byor spyod pa'i sa sde lnga*), but that the exegetical opus dedicated to the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (*Byang sa'i 'grel pa*) remains the most famous one. We actually find the the title of *Byang chub sems dpa' sa'i 'grel pa* in 6000 *śloka*s and 20 *bam pos* in the *lDan-dkar-ma* Catalogue (Lalou 1953, p. 334, # 622). It also appears in Bu-ston's Catalogue under the same abbreviated title of *Byang sa'i 'grel pa*, similarly recorded as having 20 *bam pos* (Nishioka 1981, p. 56, # 701).[11]

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In the *Cheng weishi lun shuji* 成唯識述記 (T43.231c6-232a12), Ji 基 lists the ten Śāstra masters 十論師 who wrote commentaries on Vasubandhu's *Triṁśikā* and adds some biographic and bibliographic details about each of them. The following four *ācārya*s are presented as having authored exegetical works on the *Yogācārabhūmi*.

1. Nanda 難陀. He studied under Master *Jayasena 勝軍 and expounded the doctrine of the seeds (*bīja*) creating new impressions (*vāsanā*) 新熏種子. Nanda is said to have composed a work entitled **Yogācārabhūmivyākhyā* 瑜伽師地論釋 (T43.231c26-28). His dates are not specified, but the name appears after Dharmapāla (530-561), Guṇamati (ca. 490), Sthiramati (ca. 510-570), and Bandhuśrī. The latter is said to have been contemporary with Vasubandhu (ca. 350-430).[12] Judging from the fact that Nanda's teacher was Jayasena and that he propounded a doctrinal innovation, we could tentatively place him two generations later than Vasubandhu (as Hirakawa 1974-1979, vol. 2, p. 229, also does). We could thus roughly date him as being active at

the end of the 5th century and beginning of the 6th century.

2. Viśeṣamitra 毘世沙蜜多羅 / 勝友 (T43.232a3-4)

3. Jinaputra 辰那弗多羅 / 勝子 (T43.232a4-5)

4. Jñānacandra 若那戰達羅 / 智月 (T43.232a5-6)

After giving their names in phonetic transcription and Chinese translation, Ji continues: 'These last three Śāstra masters were the disciples of Bodhisattva Dharmapāla. They either composed commenteries upon the *Yogā[cārabhūmi]* or glossed and expounded [on it] otherwise' (此後三論師並護法菩薩之門人也。或釋瑜伽，或別注述。T43.232a6-7). Ji probably means that not all of them have left full commentaries upon the *Yogācārabhūmi* but may have only written shorter exegetical pieces or orally expounded upon this treatise.[13] Judging from Dharmpāla's dates, i.e., 530-561, it appears that the three masters were active in the second half of the 6th century.

Jinaputra[14] appears to have been the main compiler of the **Yogācārabhūmi-vyākhyā* 瑜伽師地論釋, from which Xuanzang rendered one *juan* 卷 (T No. 1580; ZC No. 625).[15] As indicated in the Chinese translation, i.e., 最勝子等諸菩薩造 (T30.883a5) 'composed by Jinaputra and other Bodhisattvas', this seems to be a collective work (or exegetical collection?).[16] The Korean scholar-monk To-ryun tells us that the original opus was huge: 'According to the words of the Tripiṭaka [Master] [i.e., Xuanzang][17], if [Jinaputra's] [**Yogācārabhūmi*]*vyākhyā*[18] had been translated in an abridged form, it would have [amounted to] 500 scrolls. If translated in its entirety, it would have about 800 scrolls.' (依三藏言，釋論略譯，應五百卷，總譯，有八百許。T42.318c1-2).[19] In his *Records of the Western Regions* 西域記, Xuanzang mentions a monastery in the country of Parvata 鉢伐多國, in Northern India,[20] where Jinaputra[21] composed the **Yogācārabhūmivyākhyā* 瑜伽師地釋論 (T51.937c3-12).[22]

According to the *Kaiyuan lu* 開元録, Jinaputra's **Yogācārabhūmivyākhyā* was translated on the first day of the second month of year 1 of the Yonghui Era 永徽元年二月一日[23] at the Dacien Monastery 大慈恩寺 with the Śramaṇa Dachenghui 沙門大乘暉 'receiving [the text] with his pen' 筆受 (T55.556c10-12). The scroll rendered into Chinese appears to be a general introduction to the *Yogācārabhūmi*. Unable to translate the huge opus in its entirety, Xuanzang probably chose the introductory part (or relevant fragments from it?) as a handy bird's-eye view of the *Yogācārabhūmi*. The Chinese translation consists of the following six main parts:

(1) The purposes 所爲 of expounding the *Yogācārabhūmi* to the world (T30.883a20-c3)

(2) The reasons 所因 for the compilation of the *Yogācārabhūmi* (T30.883c4-22)

(3) The explanation of the title 名義 *Yogācārabhūmi*:
   - (a) various meanings of *yoga*° 瑜伽 (T30.883c23-884c23);
   - (b) various meanings of °*bhūmi* 地 (T30.884c23-885a7);

(4) The elucidation of its general structure 論體:
   - (a) the five main parts 五分 (T30.885a8-13)
   - (b) the chief theme 宗要 of the *Yogācārabhūmi*, which is the exposition of the seventeen Levels/Books (*Bhūmi*) 十七地 (T30.885a13-18)

(5) The determination of the canonical category to which the *Yogācārabhūmi*

belongs 藏攝. This is identified as the *Abhidharma* of the *Bodhisattvapiṭaka* 菩薩藏阿毘達磨 (T30.885a18-22)

(6) The succinct presentation of each of the seventeen Levels/Books (T30.885a23-888a3)

Most probably, the original Sanskrit text continued with the actual commentary and glosses 釋文, which supposedly amounted to 800 scrolls.[24]

The only passage treating the *Śrāvakabhūmi* in the Chinese translation of the **Yogācārabhūmivyākhyā* is the following brief description which occurs in Part (6):

> '*The Disciples' Level* (*Śrāvakabhūmi*) [in Chinese, literally meaning: 'the level of listening [or: of one listening] to the voice']: [As for] the Buddha's Holy Teaching, the voice [expounding it] is foremost[25] [to the follower of this level]. [Such a follower] listens to the voice of this Teaching from [his] master,[26] gradually practises and realises [it],[27] [and thus] leaves the [conditioned] world [i.e., the cycle of rebirths] for ever. Because of being a low (*hīna*) practice [with a] low fruit, it is called 'voice-hearing' (*śrāvaka*). The lineage, the generation of aspiration, the spiritual practice, [and] the obtainment of the fruit of such a disciple [or: of such listening to the voice] —all these together are called *The Disciples' Level*'.
>
> (《聲聞地》者謂：佛聖教聲爲上首。[28] 從師友所聞此教聲，展轉修證，永出世間。[29] 小行小果，故名聲聞。[30] 如是聲聞種性、發心、修行、得果、一切總説爲《聲聞地》。T30.887b20-23)[31]

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The Eastern Buddhist tradition produced an impressive number of commentarial works dedicated to the *Yogācārabhūmi*: fifty-nine in China and Korea, nineteen in Japan.[32] Two of them, both composed in the second half of the 7th century, are seminal treatises in the doctrinal history of the Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda in Eastern Asia and remain to this day essential tools for the clarification of the *Yogācārabhūmi* itself.[33] They are:

(1) *A Summary Concise Compendium of the Yogācārabhūmi* (*Yuqie shi di lun lüezuan* 瑜伽師地論略纂) (T No. 1829; ZC No. 1891) in 16 *juan*s 十六巻 by Ji 基 (632-682).[34] Ji was one of Xuanzang's most prominent disciples and became the actual founder of the Faxiang School 法相宗.[35] Though doctrinally less important than the *Cheng weishi lun shuji* 成唯識論述記 and the *Dacheng fa yuan yi lin zhang* 大乘法苑義林章, the two fundamental treatises of this tradition, the *Yuqie shi di lun lüezuan* represents a major exegetical and philosophical achievement. Ji states in the opening lines of the *Yuqie shi di lun lüezuan* (T43.1a20-23) that the *Yogācārabhūmi* is a treatise too complex and vast 繁廣 to be easily comprehended and that his aim is to offer a condensed elucidation of its content. He borrows the general structure of Jinaputra's **Yogācārabhūmivyākhyā* and dedicates the last and largest part to the commentary proper.[36] The extant text of Ji's work covers only the *Maulyo bhūmayaḥ* and part of the *Viniścayasaṁgrahaṇī* (up to *juan* 66 in Xuanzang's translation). The rest of the commentary seems to have been lost (see Ono 1964, vol. 11, p. 77).

(2) *Notes on the Yogācārabhūmi* (*Yuga ron gi* 瑜伽論記)[37] (T No. 1828; ZC No.

1893)[38] in 24 *juans* 二十四巻[39] by To-ryun 道倫.[40] We know very little about the life and activity of this Korean scholar-monk. He appears to have been a monk at the famous Hŭng-ryun Temple 興輪寺 in Silla and probably studied in China under Ji (Yang 1984a, 292-293; Katō, KIK *Ronsho-bu*, vol. 9, Introduction, p. 2). Yang (1984a, 293) places his life between ca. 650 and 730. The *Yuga ron gi* is actually a compilation of extracts from different commentaries on the *Yogācārabhūmi*. It takes Ji's *Yuqie shi di lun lüezuan* as its basic source up to scroll 66 (where the latter ends) and then relies chiefly upon the exegetical works of Huijing 惠景 and Shentai 神泰[41] (see below). These form the skeleton, so to speak, of the *Yuga ron gi*, and to this To-ryun adds citations from or references to about 50 other masters. According to Katō (ibid., p. 3), the most frequently quoted ones are Huijing (1271 times), Ji (950 times), Shentai (627 times), Wŏn-ch'ŭk 圓測[42] (269 times), the *Cien zhuan* (referred to as 三藏傳) (223 times), Wenbi 文備 (187 times), and Huida 惠達 (97 times). All these scholar-monks are known to have written commentaries upon the *Yogācārabhūmi* (cf. Yūki [1962] 1985, 247-287; Katō, Introduction, pp. 3-4), but with the exception of Ji's *Yuqie shi di lun lüezuan*, none has survived to our day. Therefore, To-ryun's *Yuga ron gi* is not only a detailed and complete exegetical work covering all the 100 scrolls of the *Yogācārabhūmi* but also a thesaurus of commentarial literature otherwise no longer available. Its structure, being patterned upon Ji's work, follows the same division into six parts which originates with Jinaputra.[43]

The most representative commentary written by a Japanese author is the *Yuga ron mondō* 瑜伽論問答 (T No. 2259) in 7 scrolls 七巻. The work was composed sometime between 981 and 984 by the Japanese Tendai 天台 scholar-monk Zōga 増賀 (917-1003) (see Katō Seishin, in Ono 1964, vol. 11, pp. 82-83; Yūki [1962] 1985, 568-569).[44] As suggested by the title, the text is redacted in the style of a catechism (*mondō* 問答). The original appears to have contained 400 topics 四百條, covering the *Yogācārabhūmi* up to scroll 62. The first 99 topics, dealing with *juans* 1 to 12, have been lost. The extant text of the *Yuga ron mondō* starts with the 100th topic 第百條 (T 65.269a8) (see Katō Seishin, in Ono 1964, vol. 11, pp. 82-83).[45]

Though less influential, mention should also be made of two other commentaries compiled in Dunhuang in the 9th century: (1) the *Yuqie shi di lun fen men ji* 瑜伽師地論分門記 (T No. 2801) in 6 scrolls 六巻 expounded by Facheng (法成述) and noted by Zhi Huishan (智慧山記);[46] and (2) the *Yuqie lun shouji* 瑜伽論手記 (T No. 2802) in 4 scrolls 四巻 expounded by Facheng (法成述) and noted by Fuhui (福慧記).[47] Their commentarial value is not of the highest quality, but they doubtless represent important materials for study of the *Yogācārabhūmi* as well as the way it was recieved and understood by the Dunhuang Buddhists.[48]

II The Place of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* in the History of Indian Buddhism

By becoming part of one of the fundamental sources of textual authority in the Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda School, the destiny of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* as a spiritual ideal was sealed in two ways. On the one hand, it was saved from oblivion, a fate which many

traditions of Buddhist spiritual cultivation have presumably met over the centuries. On the other hand, it gained the status of *the* classical example of a Hīnayāna path towards an incontestably achievable but morally low ideal of Liberation. The fragment from Jinaputra's **Yogācārabhūmivyākhyā* cited above bears testimony to the assessment of our text in a full-fledged Vijñāvādin milieu.

In my opinion, there is little doubt that in the beginning, the core of the meditative methods and spiritual aims expounded in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* represented a living reality and were treated as the highest ideals of the ascetic life. The text of the present *Śrāvakabhūmi* represents more or less this actual praxis and the philosophical reflection which grew around it. It is hard to know what happened with the whole lot of Śrāvakayānika practitioners associated with the *Śrāvakabhūmi* meditative system during the genesis and in the early stages of the Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda. As suggested in the preceding chapter, some of these Śrāvakayānika *yogācāra*s probably were at the centre of this process. There is, however, no cogent reason to believe that *all* these Śrāvakayānika yogis became converted to the newly emerging movement.[49] The meditation tradition of the 'Lesser Vehicle' in general continued into the next centuries,[50] but we do not know whether and how the core of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* system managed to survive independent of the Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda fold which it had once helped to take shape.

Neither do we know how the *Śrāvakabhūmi* meditative path survived in the real life of the Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda community. The *Śrāvakabhūmi* as a text, though clearly relegated to an inferior position, was probably taught and studied for the purpose of gaining information about the conservative Buddhist teachings and practices in general. But was spiritual cultivation à la *Śrāvakabhūmi* actually taught and practised in Vijñānavādin circles? I am aware of no clear evidence which would allow us to answer the question in a definitive way. There are some hints in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* that its meditative way may have been recommended and taught as a method temporarily suitable even to Mahāyāna followers. For instance, one of the categories which are said to practise the mundane path (*laukikamārga*) are 'bodhisattvas wishing to attain awakening not in the present life but in the future' (*bodhisattvaś cāyatyām bodhim anuprāptukāmaḥ, no tu dṛṣṭa eva dharme*) (passage 3.28.1.1.).[51]

On the whole, however, I see it hardly probable that a Vijñāvādin ascetic would have fully embarked upon the *Śrāvakabhūmi* contemplative path and would have had his or her *bodhisattva* career compromised by the hazard of a soteriologically too rapid and epistemologically inferior Liberation. The evolution of the Yogācāra-Vijñānavādin philosophy brought about substantial changes in the ideals and structure of the spiritual path, too,[52] and the influence of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* as a meditative *system* on this process was negligible.[53] The *Śrāvakabhūmi* continued, however, to make its presence felt both within and without the frame of the Vijñānavāda school as a source of mainly technical and occasionally doctrinal material, more often than not, re-interpreted in a Mahāyānist key. It is noteworthy that the Chapter on the Mundane Path (*laukikamārga*) proved better suited for borrowings than the Chapter on the Supramundane Path (*lokottaramārga*). This should come as no surprise: the former does not represent a way to Liberation even in the *Śrāvakabhūmi*. Therefore, when contemplative techniques were necessary, the *Laukikamārga* Chapter offered a less 'hazardous' context—its methods, even if realised as prescribed by the letter of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, did not lead to the much dreaded Śrāvakayānika Nirvana.

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Let us first see the influence of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* upon the Yogācāra-Vijñāvāda corpus. We have already mentioned that the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra*, whose formation seems to have been closely related to the *Yogācārabhūmi*, clearly shows signs of relying upon the *Śrāvakabhūmi*.[54] We thus find a close parallelism between meditative categories found in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* and the spiritual concepts and praxis described in the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra*, chapter VIII, § 2 (Lamotte ed., p. 88) and § 36 (ibid. pp. 114-116).[55] In the latter section, the yogi first reaches tranquillity (**śamatha*; *zhi gnas*) and insight (**vipaśyanā*; *lhag mthong*) and contemplates Suchness (**tathatā*; *de bzhin nyid*), paying no attention to any other image (**nimitta*; *mtshan ma*), whether subtle or coarse. He thus attains the path of vision (**darśanamārga*; *mthong ba'i lam*) which consists in the seven penetrating cognitions into the sevenfold suchness[56] ([...] *de bzhin nyid rnam pa bdun so sor rtogs pa'i shes pa rnam pa bdun skye bar 'gyur te* |; ibid., p. 115, ll. 16-17). 'By having first attained tranquillity and insight, he obtains two meditative objects, [i.e.,] with images[57] accompanied by reflection and images unaccompanied by reflection [respectively]. Having thus attained the path of vision represents obtaining the meditative object which constitutes the phenomenal limit [lit., boundary of things]' (*des sngar zhi gnas dang* | *lhag mthong thob pas ni rnam par rtog pa dang bcas pa'i gzugs brnyan dang* | *rnam par mi rtog pa'i gzugs brnyan gyi dmigs pa rnam pa gnyis thob pa yin no* | *de ltar na mthong ba'i lam thob pa dngos po'i mtha'i dmigs pa thob pa yin te* | ibid., p. 115, ll. 21-25).

The ascetic then reaches the path of cultivation (**bhāvanāmārga*; *bsgom pa'i lam*), and fixing his attention on these three meditative objects, he continues to eliminate all images and noxiousness (**dauṣṭhulya*; *gnas ngan len*). He thus 'finally achieves the Supreme Perfect Awakening (**anuttarā samyaksaṁbodhiḥ*) and also obtains the meditative object which constitutes the perfection of the [contemplative] act' (*bla ma med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang chub kyi bar du mngon par rdzogs par 'tshang rgya zhing dgos pa yongs su grub pa'i dmigs pa 'ang 'thob ste* | ibid., p. 115, l. 35- p. 116, l. 1). The four meditative objects mentioned here actually appear in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* (ŚrBh-Gr (14) 28-38) as the category of the four universal meditative objects (*vyāpy ālambanam*), i.e., *savikalpaṁ pratibimbam, nirvikalpaṁ pratibimbam,*[58] *vastuparantatā*, and *kāryapariniṣpatti*.[59] Furthermore, in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* definition of the *kāryapariniṣpatti*, one important element is that 'all noxiousness is completely removed' (*sarvadauṣṭhulyāni ca pratipraśrabhyante*) (ŚrBh-Gr (14) 36, 18-19; cf. also ibid., p. 46, l. 12) by perfecting the contemplation (*manaskāra*).[60] This is roughly similar to the final part of the meditative process described above in the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra*. One notes, however, that while the universal meditative objetcts are described in detail in the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* simply employs them without any further elaboration. It thus appears that the latter text presupposes that these concepts are already known to its audience/readers. This suggests that the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* must have relied here upon the *Śrāvakabhūmi* (see Schmithausen 1969b, p. 823, n. 52).[61]

In a series of seminal contributions to this field, Lambert Schmithausen (1973a, 167; 1976c, 239-240; 1984, 434) has shown that the *Śrāvakabhūmi* also contains a passage which may have constituted one of the preliminary steps eventually leading to

the formation of the representation-only (*vijñāptimātra*) doctrine in the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* (ch. VIII, § 7; Lamotte ed. pp. 90-91). The passage in question actually occurs in a sutra, otherwise unknown from canonical sources, which is cited by the *Śrāvakabhūmi* immediately after the explanation of the four meditative objects discussed above. Speaking to Revata, the Exalted One declares:[62]

> It is not the case that the very same real object [which the Yogin saw before and which he is now visualizing] has actually come near to him and become perceptible so that he were able to see it really. Rather there arises for him a counterfeit of that object, or a reflected image of it, or merely a cognition or perception or recollection [of it]. (I follow the translation of Schmithausen 1976c, 239-240)[63]
>
> (*sa na tad eva jñeyaṁ vastu samavahitaṁ saṁmukhībhūtaṁ paśyati, api tu tatpratirūpakam asyotpadyate, tatpratibhāsaṁ vā, jñānamātraṁ vā, darśanamātraṁ vā, pratismṛtimātraṁ*[64] *vā*. ŚrBh-Gr (14), 44, 7-10; Sh 199, 15-18)[65]

Of course, here it is only the meditative image which is regarded as mere cognition, but in the long run and combined with other influences, such a hermeneutic paradigm may have set the tone for an idealistic interpretation of all phenomena.[66]

Furthermore, the American scholar Alex Wayman (1961, 30) has pointed out the parallelism between the set of the four kinds of reasoning (*yukti*; *rigs pa*; 道理) expounded in both the *Śrāvakabhūmi* and the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra*. The reasoning with regard to dependence (*apekṣāyukti*; *bltos pa'i rigs pa*;[67] 觀待道理), the reasoning with regard to [the suitability of] producing [a certain] effect (*kāryakaraṇayukti*; *bya ba byed pa'i rigs pa*; 作用道理), the reasoning on the basis of proof by [logical] demonstration (*upapattisādhanayukti*; *'thad pa sgrub pa'i rigs pa*; 證成道理), and the reasoning on the basis of the nature of things (*dharmatāyukti*; *chos nyid kyi rigs pa*; 法爾道理) which are set forth in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* (ŚrBh-Gr 236-240; cf. P Wi 68a2-69a4; D Dzi 57b2-58b1; T 419b8-c10) are similar to the equivalent concepts explained in chapter X, § 7 of the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra*, i.e., *bltos pa'i rigs pa*, *bya ba byed pa'i rigs pa*, *'thad pas sgrub pa'i rigs pa*, and *chos nyid kyi rigs pa* (Lamotte ed., pp. 155-158).[68]

The influence of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* can be seen to an even larger extent in the exegetical works dedicated to the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra*. For example, in the **Saṁdhinirmocanasūtre Āryamaitreyakevalaparivartabhāṣya*, the Mādhyamika thinker Jñānagarbha (ca. 700-760),[69] commenting upon *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* VIII.2, proves great familiarity with the original definitions given by the *Śrāvakabhūmi* (text preserved only in Tibetan translation; see edition in Nozawa 1957, 9-11).[70]

Many passages in the *Xianyang shengjiao lun* 顯揚聖教論 (**Āryadeśanāvikhyāpanaśāstra* or **Śāsanaprakāśanaśāstra*) also rely heavily upon the *Śrāvakabhūmi*.[71] This is not surprising at all since about two thirds of the former work directly quote or are inspired by the *Yogācārabhūmi* (see Choi 2001, 10-11).[72] The **Āryadeśanāvikhyāpanaśāstra* is not a mere replica or summary of the *Yogācārabhūmi*, displaying its own structural and doctrinal peculiarities (Choi 2001, 11-16), but the dependence upon the *Yogācārabhūmi* is undeniable. This can also be seen from its usage of the seven contemplations described in the Chapter on the Mundane Path of the

Śrāvakabhūmi.[73] Choi's edition of *juan* VII of the **Āryadeśanāvikhyāpanaśāstra*, carefully collated with parallel passages from the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, gives a clear idea of the former text's indebtedness to the *Yogācārabhūmi*.

Other early Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda texts which make use of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* are the *Abhidharmasamuccaya* and the *Abhidharmasamuccayabhāṣya*. The attainment of the eight meditative absorptions, for instance, is explained as being obtained through the practice of the seven contemplations. The definition of the latter is, in all likelihood, an abridgement of the corresponding passage in the Chapter on the Mundane Path in the *Śrāvakabhūmi.*[74] The four universal meditative objects (*vyāpy ālambanam*), discussed in the *Abhidharmasamuccaya* (AbhSam 80, 10-81, 14) and the *Abhidharmasamuccayabhāṣya* (AbhSamBh 98, 8-99, 6), must also be based upon the *Śrāvakabhūmi* (ŚrBh-Gr (14) 28, 6-39, 19; Sh 193, 4-197, 16).[75] The *Abhidharmasamuccaya* has its own interpretative peculiarities, but there is no doubt that the basic concepts are similar with those expounded in our text.[76]

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We also find traces, direct or indirect, of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* praxis and doctrines in late Buddhist literature. In his famous treatise on spiritual cultivation, the *Bhāvanākrama*, Kamalaśīla (ca. 740-797) deals with the four universal meditative objects (*vyāpy ālambanam*) (BhKr III 1, 14-3, 2).[77] As we have seen above, these are expounded not only in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* but also in the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* and the *Abhidharmasamuccaya.*[78] Kamalaśīla does not cite, paraphrase, or follow closely any of these texts, but he seems to be familiar with all their explanations. And though the basic conceptual framework of the four concepts is that of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, it is clear that Kamalaśīla re-interprets them in a Mahāyānika vein. A full account of this is not possible here, and it will suffice to cite only the definition of the last of the *vyāpy ālambanam*, i.e., the meditative object which constitutes the perfection of the [contemplative] act (*kāryapariniṣpatti*). This is how the *Śrāvakabhūmi* conceives it: *sarvadauṣṭhulyāni ca pratipraśrabhyante | āśrayaparivṛtteś ca pratibimbam atikramya tasmin eva jñeye vastuni nirvikalpaṁ pratyakṣaṁ jñānadarśanam utpadyate |* (ŚrBh-Gr (14) 36, 18-38, 2) 'And [thus] all noxiousness is completely removed. And due to the transformation of the basis, the image is transcended and the non-conceptual [/trans-conceptual], perceptual wisdom and vision arise with respect to this very cognitive object'.[79] And this is immediately followed by a description of the yogi's attainment of the eight meditative levels from the first *dhyāna* to the state of neither ideation nor non-ideation (*naivasmjñānāsaṁjñāyatana*). Kamalaśīla's explanation, on the other hand, is as follows: *tato bhāvanāmārgeṇa* [...] *krameṇa viśuddhataratamakṣaṇodayād, āśrayaparāvṛttau satyām, āvaraṇaprahānalakṣanā kāryaparisamāptir yadā bhavati, tadā buddhabhūmau tad eva kāryapariniṣpatty-ālambanam ucyate* | (BhKr III 2, 11-15) 'Thereupon, with the basis being transformed,[80] as the accomplishment of the [contemplative] goal characterised by the abandonment of the obstacles[81] manifests itself due to the gradual arising of ever purer moments through the path of cultivation [...],[82] precisely this [elimination occurring] at the Buddha-stage is called the meditative object which constitutes the perfection of the [contemplative] goal'.[83] The spiritual progression is clearly set in terms of the stages

(*bhūmi*) peculiar to the bodhisattva path,[84] and the final moment naturally becomes identified with the attainment of Buddhahood.

We also meet with two citations from the *Śrāvakabhūmi* in the **Mahāsūtra-samuccaya*, an anthology of canonical texts compiled by Dīpaṁkaraśrījñāna, also known by the honorific title of Atīśa, (982-1054).[85] The text, which has survived only in Tibetan translation (*mDo kun las btus pa chen po*), quotes (1) a long fragment dedicated to the endowment with the qualities of the purified man[86] (*dhutaguṇasamanvāgata*) (cited at **Mahāsūtrasamuccaya*, Mochizuki ed. pp. 167-170, § 17.5, and corresponding to ŚrBh-Gr 274, 4-286, 1; Sh 157, 14-162, 6); and (2) a short passage on the five places which a monk cannot frequent (*pañca bhikṣor agocarāḥ*) (**Mahāsūtrasamuccaya*, Mochizuki ed. p. 183, § 18.1. = ŚrBh-Gr 66, 16-18; Sh 40, 5-8[87]).[88] Although Atīśa does not comment upon his citations (see also Mochizuki 2002, 5) and we do not know the way he assessed each text included in the anthology, there can be little doubt that the *Śrāvakabhūmi* continued to be read and used for reference, at least in scholarly and spiritual circles, even during the late periods of Indian Buddhism.

III The Influence of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* upon Buddhist Thought in Tibet, China, and Japan

Given that the Great Vehicle has reigned supreme in Tibet and East Asia, the fact that the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, a treatise 'Hīnayānika' in its content, managed to exert some influence at all is quite remarkable. It was mainly in the Land of Snows that its marks are most noticeable. The students of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* would perhaps like to see this presence more conspicuous, especially when taking into account the profound interest shown by Tibetan Buddhists in spiritual cultivation and the numerous sub-genres which grew out of it (see Jackson 1996a, Sweet 1996, Levinson 1996, Kapstein 1996). It is actually even more surprising to learn that the *Yogācārabhūmi* in general did not appear to have played an important role in the native texts dedicated to the description of the stages (*sa*) and the path (*lam*) (Levinson 1996, 263).[89]

Yet, unmistakable imprints of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* are seen in the works of some of the most representative figures in the history of Tibetan Buddhism. One of the earliest can be found in Sa-skya Paṇḍita's *Elucidating the Intention of the Sage* (*Thub pa'i dgongs pa rab tu gsal ba*).[90] This is a treatise on the stages of the bodhisattva's spiritual path whose exposition follows the topical order of verses 61-62 in Chapter 19 of the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṁkāra*.[91] The *Thub pa'i dgongs pa rab tu gsal ba* is one of the last major works written by Sa-skya Paṇḍita, representing 'the fruit of a whole lifetime of scholarship and religious contemplation' (Jackson 1983, 4).[92] In discussing the practice of superior concentration (*ting nge 'dzin khyad par can kyi 'jug ngos*), Sa-skya Paṇḍita distinguishes between the mundane and the supramundane meditative paths (*'jig rten dang 'jig rten las 'das pa'i sgom lam*) (*Thub pa'i dgongs pa rab tu gsal ba*, vol. Tha, fol. 78a3-4).[93] One of the four aspects which must be ascertained in relation to the nature (*rang bzhin nges par bya ba*) of the latter is the method of contemplation (*yid la byed pa'i tshul*) (fol. 78a5).[94] The practice of this contemplation is explained in full detail (fol. 78b3-80b3) closely following the path of *manaskāra* as set forth in

Yogasthāna IV of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*. Sa-skya Paṇḍita does not mention the title *Śrāvakabhūmi* at all, but the resemblance is too obvious to leave any doubt as to his source. Although the main purport of the passage is to expound the essence of the supramundane meditation, the first part of this fragment is actually a summary of the mundane path as described in the *Laukikamārga* Chapter of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*. The names and basic understanding of the seven contemplations are more or less similar to the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, but the Tibetan scholar appears to deliberately avoid many of the technical Abhidarmic intricacies present in the Indian original. This has resulted in a concise and largely non-technical description which masterfully conveys the gist of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* practice.

Briefly stated, here is Sa-skya Paṇḍita's explanation of the seven contemplations. The first one, called the contemplation analysing [/discriminating] the characteristics (*mtshan nyid rab tu byed pa'i yid la 'byed pa*),[95] consists in two aspects: (1) realising that the mental states pertaining to the realm of sensual pleasures (*'dod khams kyi sems*) are pestered with numerous afflictions (*nyon mongs pa mang*); and (2) cleansing the mind by understanding this fact through the wisdom of listening and reflection (*thos bsam gyi shes rab gyis shes pas sems shin tu sbyangs*) (fol. 78b3-4). The mental state of tranquillity associated with the first absorption is thus experienced (*bsam gtan dang po'i sems zhi bar rig pa yin no*). (fol. 78b5). The contemplation born of conviction (*mos pa las byung ba*)[96] refers to generating the pure concentration of the first absorption which has transcended the wisdom of listening and reflection and is effected through the wisdom of meditative cultivation (*bsgoms byung gi shes rab kyis thos bsam las 'das pa'i bsam gtan dang po'i ting nge 'dzin rkyang ba skye'o*) (fol. 78b5). The contemplation engendering separation (*rab tu dben pa*)[97] is the abandonment of the manifested afflictions pertaining to the realm of sensual pleasures (*'dod khams kyi nyon mongs pa mngon gyur spong ba'o*) (fol. 78b6). The contemplation comprising delight (*dga' ba sdud pa*) implies a repeated purification on a large scale (*dus dus su dang ba chen po*) occasioned by the delight born of separation (*rab tu dben pa las byung ba'i dga' ba*), by the delight at this abandonment (coarse as it may still be), and by seeing its merit (*rags pa spong ba la dga' zhing de la phan yon du mthong*) (fol. 78b6-fol. 79a1). As the ascetic has largely eliminated the afflictions (*nyon mongs pa phal cher spangs pas*), he examines again whether there remain any afflictions which may actually arise or not (*slar nyon mongs pa skye mi skye brtag*). This process is called the investigating contemplation (*dpyod pa*)[98] (fol. 79a1-2). The contemplation representing the culmination of the practice (*sbyor ba'i mtha'*)[99] refers to the stage when the antidote for even the subtlest afflictions arises in the yogi's mental continuum by ascertaining the coarse nature of the sensual pleasures and the serenity inherent to the first absorption (*zhi rags kyi rnam par bsgoms pas nyon mong pa chung ngu'i gnyen po rgyud la skyes pa'o*) (fol. 79b2-3). The final contemplation, the fruit of the culmination of the practice (*sbyor ba'i mtha' 'bras bu yid la byed pa*),[100] is the enjoyment of the result of the full meditative state which follows the preceding stages (*de'i rjes la bsgoms pa de thams cad kyi 'bras bu nyams su myong ba*)[101] (fol. 79b3).[102]

Another instance of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* influence is seen in Tshong-kha-pa's famous opus dedicated to spiritual cultivation, *The Great Treatise on the Stages of the Path* (*Lam rim chen mo*). In the Chapter on Tranquillity (*zhi gnas* = *śamatha*), Tshong-kha-pa (1357-1419)[103] makes extensive use of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* (which is

referred to by its abbreviated title *Nyan sa*).[104] I have counted about 45 citations from or direct references to the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, with quite a few other places which draw heavily upon it.[105] This makes the *Śrāvakabhūmi* the main source of this chapter, ahead of other texts used by Tshong-kha-pa here, such as the *Bhāvanākrama*, *Abhidharmasamuccaya*, *Saṁdhinirmocana*, etc. Some of these references are of considerable length and importance in the overall structure of the chapter. Thus, the explanation of the four categories of meditative objects (Kelsang and Odani 1991, p. 43, l. 16-p. 46, 16) is borrowed from Chapter 3.7. of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*. Moreover, the four types of attention (*manaskāra*), i.e., effortful functioning [lit., flowing by force] (*balavāhana*), interrupted functioning (*sacchidravāhana*), uninterrupted functioning (*niśchidravāhana*), and effortless functioning (*anābhogavāhana*), expounded in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* (ŚrBh Sh 366, 11-19), is commented and elaborated upon in detail by Tsong-kha-pa (Kelsang and Odani 1991, p. 88, l. 10-p. 89, 18). The detachment from the realm of sensual pleasures by means of the seven contemplations, described in Subsection 3.28.2.1. of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, is also cited as a representative form of training for the mundane path (Kelsang and Odani 1991, p. 111, ll. 11-18).

Tsong-kha-pa's interest in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* was not limited to meditative techniques. In his *Legs bshad gser gyi phreng ba* (Peking Canon, Otani University reproduction, vol. 155 [Extra], *bTsong-kha-pa bKaḥ-ḥbum* IV; Ja 190a5-6),[106] a commentarial opus on Haribhadra's *Abhisamayālaṁkāravṛtti*, the Tibetan master cites the *Śrāvakabhūmi* definition of the nature of the lineage (*rigs de'i rang bzhin*) (ŚrBh-Gr 2, 22-4, 1).[107] The seed (*sa bon*) is described as a single continuum (*rgyud cig*) functioning from beginingless times (*thog ma med pa'i dus nas*) (Ja 190b2-3[108] = ŚrBh-Gr 4, 15-20), and the aspects of the lineage are distinguished into two kinds, i.e., subtle (*phra ba*) or non-manifested and coarse (*rags pa*) or manifested (Ja 191b1-2[109] = ŚrBh-Gr 4, 5-9).

Another text frequently citing the *Śrāvakabhūmi* is the *Phyag rgya chen po zla ba'i 'od zer* by the great bKa'-brgyud-pa scholar bKra-shis rNam-rgyal (1512-1587). This encyclopaedic treatise on spiritual cultivation is divided into two main parts. The first one deals with the basic heritage of meditation as expounded in Śrāvakayāna and exoteric Mahāyāna works. This tradition is regarded as being the gradual path to Awakening. The second part describes the spiritual praxis according to the Mahāmudrā (Phyag rgya chen po) system, which represents the sudden path. At the beginning of Book One, bKra-shis rNam-rgyal states that one of the clearest expositions on meditation as well as one of his main sources in elucidating tranquillity and insight is Asaṅga's *Sa sde*, i.e., the *Yogācārabhūmi* (*Phyag rgya chen po zla ba'i 'od zer*, fol. 5b2-3; cf. Lhalungpa tr. 1986, p. 15).[110] The *Śrāvakabhūmi* is cited or directly referred to 9 times in both parts of the text. bKra-shis rNam-rgyal quotes, for example, the *Śrāvakabhūmi* definition of equanimity (*upekṣā*) (*Phyag rgya chen po zla ba'i 'od zer*, fol. 10a2-3 and 4-5; cf. Lhalungpa tr. 1986, p. 23),[111] the six aspects (*ṣaḍ vastūni*) (*Phyag rgya chen po zla ba'i 'od zer*, fol. 14b1-3; cf. Lhalungpa tr. 1986, p. 31),[112] the path of the conjoined functioning of tranquillity and insight (*śamathavipaśyanā-yuganaddhavāhī mārgaḥ*) (*Phyag rgya chen po zla ba'i 'od zer*, fol. 16b3-6; cf. Lhalungpa tr. 1986, p. 35),[113] etc.

Another genre in which the *Śrāvakabhūmi* received some attention is the exegetical literature dedicated to the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra*. In commenting upon

Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra VIII.2,[114] the *'Phags pa dgongs pa nges par 'grel pa'i mdo'i rnam par bshad pa* by Byang-chub-rdzu-'phrul[115] gives a very detailed explanation of the four meditative objects, which, as we know, were first set forth in the *Śrāvakabhūmi*. Furthermore, in order to elucidate them, it employs categories like the six aspects (*ṣaḍ vastūni*),[116] the seven contemplations (*sapta manaskārāḥ*),[117] the nine aspects of mental dwelling (*navākārā cittasthitiḥ*) or tranquillity (*śamatha*),[118] etc. (D Cho 137a5-149a1).[119] All these concepts and practices also originate in the *Śrāvakabhūmi*. Furthermore, in glossing upon 'he thus contemplates Suchness, etc.' (*de de ltar de bzhin nyid yid la byed pa na zhes bya ba la sogs pa ni*), which occurs in the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* (VIII.36), Byang-chub-rdzu-'phrul says, '[this] indicates the generation of the conjoined path of the first level [attained after] having transcended the contemplation [which represents the] path of the culmination of the practice and [also indicates] the stage of the meditative object which constitutes the phenomenal limit' (*sbyor ba mthar thug pa'i lam gyi yid la byed pa las 'da' zhing | sa dang po zung du 'brel ba'i lam skye ba dang | dngos po'i mtha'i dmigs pa'i rim pa ston to* | | D Cho 203a6-7). We can once again recognise here categories peculiar or similar to the *Śrāvakabhūmi*. Byang-chub-rdzu-'phrul also employs an interpretative pattern which includes the characteristic of the conformity to reality (*yathāvadbhāvikatālakṣaṇa*) of the object of cognition (*jñeyaṁ vastu*) into the notion of sevenfold Suchness (*shes bya'i dgnos po'i ji lta ba bzhin du yod pa nyid kyi mtshan nyid ni de bdun du 'dus pa'i phyir ro* | | D Cho 205b3).[120] The *yathāvadbhāvikatā* is actually one of the two concepts which make up the category of phenomenal limit (*vastuparyantatā*) in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* (ŚrBh-Gr (14) 34-36).[121]

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The presence of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* in East Asian Buddhist literature is usually connected to the commentarial texts dedicated to the *Yogācārabhūmi* by scholars belonging to the Faxiang School 法相宗.[122] Meditative categories peculiar to the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, like, for instance, the seven contemplations (七種作意 or 七作意), are occasionally seen in more general works such as Ji's *Dacheng fa yuan yi lin zhang* 大乘法苑義林章 (T45.283b16; 283c22; 286a25-26; 308c22-309a4; etc.).[123] The fate of the Faxiang lineage was, however, not a glorious one, and this, no doubt, must have contributed to the limited impact which the *Śrāvakabhūmi* had on Chinese Buddhism. After Xuanzang and Ji 基 (632-682), its actual founder, the school rapidly began to lose its support and appeal to the Tang clergy and litterati.[124]

One of the main reasons for this decline was the rise of the rival schools of Huayan 華嚴 and Chan 禪, which were better suited to the philosophical tastes and spiritual affinities of the cultured elite. The orthodox Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda system, attractive as it may have been to Xuanzang and his close disciples, was handicapped by its doctrinal complexity as well as by a discriminatory soteriology. Its theory of the five different lineages 五姓各別, which ruled out the possibility of one category of persons to attain Nirvana for ever, was the target of fierce criticism of being non- or quasi-Mahāyāna.[125] On the other hand, leaving aside the genuine respect which Xuanzang inspired at all levels of the society, the Vijñānavāda was anything but a

system answering the religious needs of the masses. The teachings of the Pure Land 浄土 and, later on, of Chan Buddhism were far better designed to perform this role. Political events also helped this adverse trend. An important part was played by Empress Wu Zetian 則天武后 (624-705), notorious in traditional Chinese historiography for her active involvement in the state affairs culminating with the proclamation of the new Zhou 周 Dynasty. The Empress was a devout Buddhist follower and generous supporter of the Saṅgha, but her official patronage was mainly given to the new schools of Huayan and Chan (see Weinstein 1987, 44-47; Kamata 1994, 84-85). In spite of the Empress's devotion to Xuanzang in her youth, the Faxiang School had little to benefit from her political and institutional support (see Weinstein 1987, 38-39).

In a form or another, the Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda doctrines re-asserted themselves in the history of the Chinese Buddhism two more times. Although it never reached the institutional and philosophical stature which it had attained in its heyday of early Tang, the Cien School 慈恩宗, as the tradition was often called, continued to be active and produce some important contributions throughout the Liao 遼 (907-1125), Song 宋 (960-1279), Jin 金 (1115-1234), and Yuan 元 (1279-1367) Dynasties (see Tsukamoto 1975, 142-164; Chikusa 2000a, 3-57).[126] Later, at the end of the Ming 明 Dynasty (ca. 16th-17th century), we witness a genuine burst of interest in Vijñaptimātrā philosophy. The hermeneutical paradigm of this non-institutionalised movement was often synchretic, and one cannot speak of a true revival of the Faxiang School. However, the result was an impressive output of exegetical works dedicated to the scriptural authorities of this tradition (see Shi 1987, 185-236).[127]

Furthermore, themes like 萬法唯識 'all phenomena are consciousness-only' or 萬法唯心 'all phenomena are mind-only'[128] continued to influence not only the Chan Buddhism (Kamata 1999, 657)[129] but also later Pure Land thought (ibid., 790).[130] Last but not least, the impressive Huayan 華嚴 philosophical edifice, too, appears to have also been stimulated or influenced by the Faxiang system (ibid., 656). And this can also be seen in the fact that *Yogācārabhūmi* was cited or referred to in the some of the representative works of the Huayan tradition. This interest was not limited to the Mahāyānist parts of the *Yogācārabhūmi* but also to the *Śrāvakabhūmi*.

The second patriarch of the Huayan School, Zhiyan 智儼 (602-668), for instance, makes use of the seven contemplations 七種作意 in the *Huayan jing nei zhangmen deng za kongmu* 華嚴經內章門等雜孔目, one of his fundamental contributions to the development of the Huayan doctrinal system. In the section dedicated to the four absorptions and eight attainments 四靜慮八禪, Zhiyan explains the establishment of concentration (*samādhi*) as consisting in the attainment of the first absorption up to the station of neither ideation nor non-ideation by means of the seven contemplations (等至建立者謂：由此七種作意，證入初靜慮，如是乃至非想非非想處。T45.566a16-17). Their detailed explanation, he adds, should be understood as set forth in the last Yogasthāna of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* (此廣分別如聲聞地後瑜伽處。T45.566a20). Zhiyan continues with the description of each contemplation closely following the *Śrāvakabhūmi* (T45.566a20-b18). Zhiyan's interest in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* and other meditative practices, whether Hīnayānika or Mahāyānika, must have also come from a

personal involvement in spiritual cultivation. Though the *Avataṁsakasūtra* was his ultimate ideal, the master did not neglect traditional methods like the mindfulness of breathing 數息觀 and the meditation on impurity 不浄觀 which were considered expedient means 方便 necessary for the contemplative praxis (see Ishii 1996, 128-131). As far as the technical side of meditation was concerned, the *Yogācārabhūmi* was most probably viewed as a thesaurus of 'expedient means' suited to any scholastic affiliation.

Chengguan 澄觀 (738-839), the fourth Huayan patriarch, also showed considerable intererst in the *Yogācārabhūmi*. His formation and mature activity took place at a time when the doctrinal foundations of the school had already been laid. This was due mainly to the genius of Fazang 法藏 (643-712), the third patriarch, who fused the original teachings of the *Avataṁsakasūtra* and the thought of his predecessors into a complex philosophical system bearing the mark of his creativity. Fazang did not neglect the importance of spiritual cultivation, but his systematising efforts could not cover the whole 'map' of meditative praxis. This remained to be perfected by the future generations, and Chengguan played a major role in this respect (see Chen 1997, 395-397). Though Chengguan studied and appears to have been influenced by Chan Buddhism (ibid., 395, 420), his ultimate spiritual ideal was expressed in a distinctively Huayan doctrinal language. He actually devised a unique meditative method expounded in the *San sheng yuanrong guanmen* 三聖圓融觀門 or *The Gate to the Contemplation of the Perfect Interfusion with the Three Holy Ones* [i.e., Vairocana, Mañjuśrī, and Samantabhadra] (see Gimello 1997; Chen 1997, 409-417).[131]

Chengguan did not, however, neglect the older meditation methods and authored such texts as the *Wu yun guan* 五蘊觀 or *The Contemplation of the Five Aggregates* and the *Shier yinyuan guan* 十二因縁觀 or *The Contemplation of the Twelvefold Causation*, which re-interpreted these techniques from a Mahāyānist viewpoint (see Chen 1997, 417-421). Like in Zhiyan's case, Chengguan's interest in the *Yogācārabhūmi* must have been theoretical as well as as practical. As we shall see in the notes to my English translation of the Chapter on the Mundane Path, Chenguan cites and glosses upon the *Śrāvakabhūmi* and the *Yogācārabhūmi* in his *Da fangguang fo huayan jing shu* 大方廣佛華嚴經疏 and *Da fangguang fo huayan sui shu yan yi chao* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔.[132]

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Traces of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* influence can also be seen in the work of Myōe 明恵 (1173-1232), the famous Japanese Kegon 華嚴 scholar-monk. In 1212, Myōe wrote the *Sai ja rin* 摧邪輪, a polemical response to the *Senchaku nenbutsu shū* 選擇念佛集 authored by Hōnen 法然 (1133-1212), the founder of the Japanese Pure Land School 浄土宗. In this work, Myōe makes use of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* categories of reasoning (*yukti*) (ŚrBh-Gr 236-240; see above). The Kegon thinker formulates a unique model of the relationship between the Buddha's salvific compassion and the sentient beings. This model is different from the Pure Land complete reliance upon Amitābha's vow. Myōe argues: 'The inclusion of [all sentient beings into] the [Buddha's] mind-light[133] does not reach [the sentient beings] if there is no response [on the part] of the sentient beings. Of the four kinds of reasoning, this [corresponds to] the reasoning on the basis of the

nature of things (*dharmatāyukti*) and is also clarified by the reasoning with regard to [the suitability of] producing [a certain] effect (*kāryakaraṇayukti*)' 心光之攝取, 衆生無感不至。此四道理中, 是法爾道理, 亦是作用道理所顯也。(*Sai ja rin*, scroll III, 摧邪輪 巻下, Kamata and Tanaka ed. 1971, p. 367, upper segment, line 21 - lower segment, line 1).[1 3 4]

NOTES

[1] We owe the Japanese scholar Yūki Reimon ([1962] 1985) the most comprehensive survey of the commentarial literature on the *Yogācārabhūmi* (pp. 61-77 on Indian and Tibetan texts, including information on the YoBh and its Tibetan translation; pp. 247-287 on Chinese and Korean works, also including information on the Chinese translation of the YoBh; and pp. 568-579 on Japanese commentaries). Relevant data is also found in Sugawara 1990, 318-329, and Powers 1991.

[2] Yūki ([1962] 1985, p. 73-77) wrongly includes in his Section on the *Yogācārabhūmi* 瑜伽論の部 the following works (probably misled by the term *yoga*° in their titles?):

(1) Dignāga's *Yogāvatāra* (*rNal 'byor la 'jug pa*). The text has been critically edited by Frauwallner (1959, 144-145) (see also Bhattacharya 1928, 775-778, containing a transliteration of the Nepalese manuscript of the Sanskrit original). This is a short work which amounts to one palm-leaf of Indian manuscript (see Sugawara 1990, 376) or one folio in Tibetan translation (D 'I 126b7-127b1). It concisely describes the spiritual path to the realisation of the state of representation-only (*vijñaptimātatā*). Frauwallner (1959, 121) suggests that Dignāga's text seems to be modelled on Chapter 14 of the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṁkāra*. Yoshida (1967, 62-63) does not reject this possibility but argues that a shorter similar passage which may have served as Dignāga's model is to be found in verses 6-10, Chapter 6, of the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṁkāra* (cf. also Sugawara 1990, 375-6). It must be noticed, however, that Frauwallner is not so categorical in his pointing out the possible model of the *Yogāvatāra*. The Austrian scholar says: [...] *wie wir sie <u>beispielhalber</u> in Maitreyanātha's Mahāyānasūtrālaṁkāraḥ Kapitel 14 finden* (Frauwallner 1959, 121) (my underlining). Whatever Dignāga's source of inspiration may have been, this text is not a commentary upon the YoBh.

(2) Dharmendra's *Yogāvatāropadeśa* (*rNal 'byor la 'jug pa'i man ngag*). The Tibetan text was edited, restored to Sanskrit, and rendered into English by Chatterji (1927). This is a commentarial work on Dignāga's *Yogāvatāra* or rather a citation of its verses preceded by an invocation and followed by a concluding part which contains the wish for the propagation of the work (see Chatterji 1927; Sugawara 1990, 375-376). It is clear that this text, too, has no relation with the YoBh.

(3) Candrakīrti's *Bodhisattvayogācāracatuḥśatakaṭīkā* (*Byang chub sems dpa'i rnal 'byor spyod pa bzhi brgya pa'i rgya cher 'grel pa*). This is a Madhyamaka commentary upon Āryadeva's famous treatise *Bodhisattvayogācāracatuḥśataka*, having nothing to do with the YoBh. This can be easily verified from the extant Sanskrit fragments and the Tibetan translations of Candrakīrti's opus which have recently been edited by Suzuki (1994). Cf. also Kobayashi 1990, 174-176.

(4) Jñānacandra's **Yogācārabhāvanārthasamāsanirdeśa* (*rNal 'byor spyod pa'i bsgom pa'i don mdor bsdus te bstan pa*) (The Peking Catalogue compiled by Otani University, [1961] 1985, 725, and Cordier (see Ui et. al. 1934, p. 618, n. 1) give the Sanskrit title as *Yogācārabhāvanātātparyārthanirdeśa*; the sDe-dge edition (D 'I 130b2) contains only the title in Tibetan translation, without the transliteration of the Sanskrit original title). This is actually a small commentary on Nāgamitra's text as clearly stated by (what appears to be) the colophon: | | *rtsa ba slob dpon*

Klu'i-bshes-gnyen kyis mdzad pa lags so | | 'The original [of this commentary] is [the work] composed by Ācārya Nāgamitra' (D 'I 131b2-3). Neither Nāgamitra's text nor Jñānacandra's commentary seems to have any direct relation with the YoBh.

[3] The Tibetan translation is probably only a fragment of the original text. Or, if it faithfully reflects the Sanskrit original, then the latter must have been a partial commentary. It covers the first part of YoBh and ends abruptly in its commentary upon the *Ātmavāda* section of the *Savitarkādi Bhūmiḥ* (corresponding to the YoBh Sanskrit original edited by Bhattacarya, p. 137, l. 8) (see Noriaki Hakamaya's note in the *sDe dge Tibetan Tripiṭaka bsTan ḥgyur – preserved at the Faculty of Letters University of Tokyo*, vol. 10, p. 3 (see Bibilography, under D = sDe-dge Canon); Sugawara 1990, p. 320, n. 8). If the text represents a translation of Jinaputra's commentary, it must be only a tiny part of it. As we shall see below, the Chinese sources say that the entire commentary would have amounted to 800 *juans* (while the Tibetan translation occupies only about 70 folios in the sDe-dge Canon).

[4] The title *Yogācārabhūmivyākhyā* or *Yogācāryabhūmivyākhyā* can be ascertained from: *rgya gar skad du* | *Yo ga ca rya bhū mi byā khya* | (D 'I 69a1; ZT, vol. 75, p. 189, l. 3; according to the collation notes of the latter, P and N read: *rgya gar skad du* | *yo ga ca rya bhū mi bi byā khyā*). Neither the opening lines (D I 69a1; ZT, vol. 75, p. 189, ll. 3-4) nor the final ones (D 'I 140b7; ZT, vol. 75, p. 373, ll. 10-12) contain any reference to the author's name. (The collation notes in the ZT do not register any relevant information in the variant readings of either P or N.) (For the title **Yogācāryabhūmi*, see note 1 to Chapter Four). The attribution to 'Jinamitra' appears in the sDe-dge Catalogue (Ui et. al. 1934, 613), but it is clearly hypothetical since the author's name is followed by question mark. Given the conciseness of a catalogue entry, it is no surprise that we find here no details concerning the sources and/or reasons of such an attribution. The conjecture is, however, also followed by Yūki Reimon ([1962] 1985, 75) and Katsumata Shunkyō (in Mizuno et al.1977, 135).

If the attribution is correct, we are left with another question: who is this Jinamitra? A name which immediately comes to mind is the famous translator Jinamitra (Tib., rGyal ba'i bshes gnyen), active in Tibet at the beginning of the 9th century (see Chapter Three above). There are, however, no historical documents which attribute him the **Yogācārabhūmivyākhyā* or, as a matter of fact, any exegetical text on the YoBh. The only work authored by Jinamitra appears to have been the **Nyāyabindupiṇḍārtha* (P No. 5732; D No. 4233) (see Skilling 1997, vol. 124). Of course, it is possible that there existed other scholar-monk(s) named Jinamitra. Bu-ston mentions in his *Chos 'byung* the name of Jinamitra as a pupil of Pūrṇavardhana, without giving any further information (*Chos 'byung* Ya 108a; for more see Chapter Three, Section I above). This 'Jinamitra' might be a different person from the celebrated master who came to Tibet. This, however, remains a very remote possibility. In a list of Yogācāra masters mentioned by Xuanzang in his *Records from Western Regions* (T51.924a3-4), we see the name *Shengyou* 勝友 which can be reconstructed as 'Jinamitra' (as Lusthaus 2002, 396, for instance, does). The same name is, however, found in Ji's *Cheng weishi lun shuji* (T43.232a4) amongst the 'ten Śāstra masters' (see below). Ji also notes its phonetic transcription: 毘世沙蜜多羅, which must stand for 'Viśeṣamitra' (勝 was therefore used by Xuanzang in its sense of 'excellent' not 'victory'). It is true that he may have also commented upon the YoBh (see below), but his work is, as far as I know, no longer extant. At any rate, his name was not 'Jinamitra'.

There is another possibility concerning this 'Jinamitra'. It is not excluded that Ui and the other compilers of the sDe-dge Catalogue may have actually meant 'Jinaputra' instead of 'Jinamitra' (the latter being a mere typographical error). It is true that the collation tables between the sDe-dge and Taishō Canons, which are appended to the sDe-dge Catalogue (Index, p. 109 and 121 respectively), do not equate this Tibetan translation (D No. 4043) with Xuanzang's version of Jinaputra commentary (T No. 1580). The attribution to 'Jinamitra' =

Jinaputra is, however, tentative, and the Catalogue compilers may have felt that they had not sufficient reasons for a clear equation. Sugawara (1990, p. 320, n. 8) refers to this conjectural attribution in the sDe-dge Catalogue as to 最勝子, i.e., Jinaputra. Without any clear comment from Sugawara, it is not easy to decide whether this is his own misreading of 'Jinamitra' in the Catalogue or he simply took it as an obvious misprint in the latter and tacitly corrected it.

A clearer, though cautious, view concerning the relation between the two texts is expressed by Mukai Akira. The Japanese scholar describes this Tibetan translation of the **Yogācārabhūmivyākhyā* as being closely connected with Xuanzang's translation of the **Yogācārabhūmivyākhyā* (玄奘訳『瑜伽師地論釈』と密接な関係にあるチベット訳『瑜伽師地論解説』(*Yogācārabhūmivyākhyā*)) (Mukai 1979, 42). The same scholar also translates and comments upon the obviously parallel introductory verses in the two texts, though he does not make any clear statement concerning their relation and authorship (Mukai 1976, 33-34). We also note here that there is an important difference between them concerning the attribution of the YoBh.

This is actually not the only similarity between the Tibetan translation of the **Yogācārabhūmivyākhyā* and Xuanzang's version of Jinaputra's **Yogācārabhūmivyākhyā*. We also see, for example, the same grouping of two reasons adduced for the compilation of the YoBh, some sets being very close in content, too (see Tib. D 'I 69a3-b7; ZT vol. 75, p. 190, l. 1-p. 191, l. 18; cf. Ch. T30.883a21-c3) (see Part (2) on 'the reasons 所因 for the compilation of the *Yogācārabhūmi*' in the Chinese translation of Jinaputra's **Yogācārabhūmivyākhyā* below.) It would be premature (at least, for me) to draw a definite conclusion as to the relation between the two texts, especially since the Chinese translation is a general introduction to the YoBh while the Tibetan version actually contains (part of?) the commentary on the text proper. It must be mentioned that similarities of the kind discussed here may equally point to different (albeit related) works which share a common exegetical tradition (as, for instance, similar introductory verses, grouping reasons in sets of two, etc.). This, however, is itself only a provisional remark, and a more assertive conclusion will be possible only after a careful collation of the two texts.

[5] The end of the text reads: *sbyin pa rim par phye ba ste dgu pa rdzogs so | | tshul khrims rim par phye ba ni gong du phyung ba yin | slob dpon Yon-tan-'od* [emended; D reads: *'on*] *kyis mdzad pa Byang chub sems dpa'i sa'i 'grel pa las ji snyed 'gyur ba rdzogs so* | | 'The analysis following [the proper] succession of [the aspects of] charity [which constitutes] Chapter Nine [of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*] is completed. The analysis in succession of morality has been extracted beforehand. The *Bodhisattvabhūmivṛtti* authored by Ācārya Guṇaprabha, to the extent it is translated [here] (*ji snyed 'gyur ba*), is completed'.

[6] On the meaning of *śloka* as a 'pseudo-metric' unit, see note 22 to Chapter Three.

[7] Bu-ston actually introduces Guṇaprabha as *slob dpon dByig-gNyen gyi slob ma 'dul ba rang bas mkhas pa Yon-tan-'od* (*Chos 'byung* folio 857 (Chandra's number) = Ya 113a1 (traditional number), ll. 1-2) 'Guṇaprabha, the disciple of Master Vasubandhu, who was more versed in Vinaya than [Vasubandhu] himself'.

[8] The *lDan-dkar-ma* Catalogue reads: *de'i rgya cher bshad pa* | 1005 *śl.* | 5 *bp.* (Lalou 1953, p. 334, # 625). Lalou emends the figure '1005' to '1500'.

[9] The first is the title as it appears at the beginning of the text (D Yi 1b1) and registered by the Peking and sDe-dge Catalogues. At the end of the work, however, we read: *rNal 'byor spyod pa'i sa'i dngos gzhi las | Byang chub sems dpa'i sa'i rgya cher 'grel pa slob* [emended; D reads: *sgob*] *dpon Rgya-mtsho-sprin kyis mdzad pa rdzogs so* | | (D Yi 338a6-7). '*The Subcommentary on the Bodhisattabhūmi of the Basic Division of the Yogācārabhūmi*, authored by Ācārya *Sāgaramegha, is completed'. See also the entry in the *lDan-dkar-ma* Catalogue cited below.

[10] There are quite a few hyotheses concerning the reigning years of King Khri-srong-lde-btsan.

See note 14 to Chapter Three.

[11] Wangchuk (2002, p. 17 and notes 84 and 85) also points out the existence of a native Tibetan commentary entitled *Byang sa'i 'grel pa* by Gro-lung-pa Blo-gros-'byung-gnas, who was a student of Atīśa (982-1054) and 'Brom-ston-pa rGyal-ba'i-'byungs-gnas (1008-1064), as well as a summary (*bsdus don*) written by Gu-śrī Chos-'phel (born 18th century?). The latter is also mentioned by Lokesh Chandra (1964, p. 302, # 13) on the basis of a monastic printer's handlist (*par tho*) as being extant at the mDzod-dge sGar-gsar Monastery in the Amdo region. The text is registered as *Byang sa'i bsdus don* (**Bodhisattvabhūmipiṇḍārtha*) in 28 folios by Gu-śrī Chos-'phel.

[12] For the date of Vasubandhu the *Kośakāra*, see Chapter Five above. As to to the other thinkers mentioned above, I follow the dates proposed by Hirakawa (1974-1979, vol. 2, p. 229), which in most cases also agree with Frauwallner 1961. It must be noticed, however, that the dates of some other thinkers are closely connected to Vasubandhu the *Kośakāra* whom both Hirakawa and Frauwallner place between 400-480. I do not think that the date ca. 350-430 advocated in Chapter Five greatly upsets the general picture, but details concerning the dates of some Buddhist masters might have to be modified accordingly. This cannot be done mechanically, and one has to take into account the general development of Buddhist history, the relation with other thinkers, inner evidence concerning the chronology of the works, etc. Unfortunately, I am not prepared to undertake such a complex investigation here.

[13] Yūki ([1962] 1985, 72-74) deduces from the *Cheng weishi lun shuji* that all the four masters listed above wrote treatises called **Yogācārabhūmivyākhyā* 瑜伽師地論釋. However, with the exception of Nanda and Jinaputra (see below), we cannot be certain whether this was the title and actually, as pointed out above, if all of them authored complete, independent commentaries dedicated the YoBh.

[14] Apart from the **Bodhisattvaśīlaparivartaṭīkā* mentioned above, the Tibetan Canon contains two other works attributed to Jinaputra: the **Abhidharmasamuccayabhāṣya* (*Chos mngon pa kun las btus pa'i bshad pa*) (P No. 5554; D No. 4053) and the **Abhidharmasamuccaya-vyākhyā* (*Chos mngon pa kun las btus pa'i rnam par bshad pa shes bya ba*) (P No. 5555; D No. 4054). The attribution of the former commentary to Jinaputra is, however, found only in the Tibetan tradition. According to Chinese sources, Buddhasiṁha 師子覺 (*var. lec.* 覺師子) wrote the commentary 釋, and this was later edited together with Asaṅga's *Abhidharma-samuccaya* into one text by Sthiramati 安慧. Modern Buddhist studies have not yet solved the problem of the authorship of the **Abhidharmasamuccayabhāṣya* (Sugawara 1990, 349; see also Powers 1991, 38).

[15] This has been translated into *kundoku*-style Japanese by Katō Seishin 加藤精神 (KIK, *Yuga-bu* 瑜伽部, vol. 6, pp. 385-404).

[16] In the Introduction 解題 to his *kundoku* translation, Katō (KIK, *Yuga-bu* vol. 6, p. 383) thinks that the commentary 'was the result of many bodhisattvas consulting and studying [together]' 衆多の菩薩會議し研究せし結果であつた.

[17] This most probably refers to Xuanzang. In To-ryun's Commentary, Xuanzang appears to be often cited as 三藏云 'the Tripiṭaka Master says' or 三藏解云 'the Tripiṭaka Master explains [as follows]'. When other monk-scholars bearing the highest title of 'Tripiṭaka Master' are referred to, To-ryun writes their full name (e.g., Paramārtha 眞諦三藏 at T42.523a10).

Katō (Introduction to *Yuga-bu* vol. 6, p. 383) cites a similar passage from the *Zeng ming ji / Zō mei ki* 增明記 (a work which I could not identify) which starts with 眞空法師三藏 [sic] 云 'the Tripiṭka Master Zhenkong says'. Zhenkong was a Tang master also known to have written a commentary on the YoBh, which is, however, no longer extant (see Yūki [1962] 1985, 263). According to this citation, Zhenkong states that the commentary by Jinaputra et al.

rendered in abbreviated form has 500 scrolls, but if it were translated entirely, it would amount to 600 scrolls. Katō only remarks that there is indeed a difference between this and the quotation above, but at any rate, the original commentary must have been a vast work. (Katō repeats the same citations and remark in his entry on Jinaputra's commentary in Ono ed. 1964, vol. 11, p. 76.)

[18] Note that the title of the work appears here as 釋論, the order of the characters being the reverse of the extant text, which has: 瑜伽師地論釋. The title of Jinaputra's work is, however, also referred to as 釋論 by Xuanzang himself. Thus, in his *Records of Western Regions* (see below), the title given is 瑜伽師地釋論 (T51.739c11-12). The title also appears as such in the *Cien zhuan* (T51.243c28). Katō (Introduction to *Yuga-bu* vol. 6, p. 383) also identifies this as Jinaputra's commentary.

[19] For a more concrete idea as to how vast the opus presumable was, let us recall that the largest Buddhist scripture contained in the Chinese Canon is the *Prajñāpāramitā* corpus rendered by Xuanzang. It amounts to 600 scrolls and occupies *three* bulky volumes in the modern format of the Taishō edition.

[20] Beal, on the basis of Pāṇini IV.2, 143, identifies the location of the country 'as the name of a country in the Panjāb under the group of Takṣaśīlādi (IV.3, 93)' (Beal tr. ([1884] 1981, p. 275, n. 87).

[21] His name is transcribed here as 慎那弗呾羅 and rendered as 最勝子.

[22] The same information is found in the *Cien zhuan* (T50.243c25-28).

[23] The Puning Canon reads 九年 'year 9 (see T55.556, note 6)', and so does the *Zhenyuan lu* 貞元録 (T55.856a13-15). As shown by Yūki ([1962] 1985, 73-74), 九 clearly must be a scribal error for 元 since the Yonghui Era lasted only six years (cf. also Katō Seishin, in Ono ed. 1964, vol. 11, p. 76).

[24] For a short presentation of the commentary structure, see also Katō Seishin, in Ono ed. 1964, vol. 11, p. 76. Katō's translation in the KIK (*Yuga-bu* vol. 6, pp. 385-404) is divided into chapters, sections, and subsections, which makes the textual organisation clear. Whether this is the same work as the Tibetan translation of the **Yogācārabhūmivyākhyā* is discussed in note 4 above.

[25] According to BSCD (s.v. 爲, p. 800), 爲上首 could stand for *pūrvaṁgama*, *pramukha*, etc.

[26] It is not clear to what kind of 'teacher' 師友 precisely refers. One possibility it that it could mean *the* Teacher, i.e., the Buddha himself. The other alternative is that it could indicate the disciple's own teacher, which I think is more likely (see also note below). Another difficult point is whether the noun should be construed in singular or plural. The latter is not excluded, and actually we find examples of 師長 rendering *gurūṇām* (see the note below).

[27] 從師友所聞此教聲展轉修證 admits of more interpretations:

(1) '[The disciple] follows the master, hears the voice of this Teaching, [and] gradually practises and realises [it]'. Such a reading has the advantage of observing a neat 4-syllable pattern, which is so often favoured by the Classical Chinese prose: 從師友所, 聞此教聲. This is actually how Katō (*Yuga-bu* vol. 6, p. 403) reads: 師友の所に從つて此の教聲を聞き (note, however, that the exact interpretation of this *kundoku* reading is not easy; see below). The disadvantage is the exact interpretation of 所. Taken literally, 'follow the master's place' hardly makes sense. Another possibility is to construe 師友所 as 'what belongs to / is related to the teacher' (like in the compound 我所 *ātmīya, ātmanīya*, etc., which is actually the abbreviation of 我之所有 or 我所事—see BDJ, s.v.). But this, too, would be stylistically clumsy and semantically unclear ('follow what belongs/ is related to the teacher'?).

If we wish to stick to 從師友所 as a clause, the only meaningful way of interpreting 所 is to take it a post-nominal suffix, devoid of (at least any strong) semantic sense and marking the direction (concrete or abstract) towards which the verb action heads or which it affects. Such an usage is described by Ōta (1988, 16) (see especially 念太子所, from the *Taizi Xudana jing* 太子須大拏經, which clearly means 'think of the prince') Cf. also Nakamura BDJ, p. 680, s.v., which records the usage of 所 as an accusative marker (ところのものを(対格), but without any concrete examples. The only problems with this usage is that it is not a very common one, and Ōta discusses it as a peculiar usage of the Middle-Old Chinese (3rd-6th centuries).

(2) '[The disciple] gradually practises and realises the voice of this Teaching heard from the master'. This takes 從師友所聞 as a relative clause modifying 此教聲. The latter is the direct object of 修證 and stands before the verb. Though constructions like this are syntactically possible in Chinese (especially when the object is stressed or topicalised), such a long object would not make a very good style (also spoiling the 4-syllable rhythm).

(3) '[The disciple] follows the voice of that Teaching heard by the master [from his own master, and so on]'. This would stress the transmission from one master to another stretching back to the Buddha himeself. In my poinion, this would not be, however, a very fortunate turn of phrase in Chinese.

(4) 所 could be taken as meaning 'method', 'system' (see HDC, s.v.). This is, however, a sense attested in Classical Chinese literature (HDC gives examples from the *Li ji* 禮記 and the work of Han Yu 韓愈), but I am not aware of such a usage in Buddhist literature. Besides, it could be argued that Xuanzang could have chosen a clearer rendering (道, etc.), which I imagine that even for native Chinese eyes, would have posed less problems than 所 (especially in a non-punctuated text!).

I think that my rendering above (in the main text) is the most likely. The construction 從...所 appears to be a rendering of *antikāt* 'in the presence', 'from'. We actually find a fairly close construction in Xuanzang's translation of the BoBh: 若諸菩薩從師長所，或自多聞力所持故，無倒而取，爲住其心發勤精進。(T30.527a10-12). This corresponds to Skt. *punar bodhisattvo* [Wogihara: °*sattvaḥ*] *gurūṇām antikāt svayam eva vā bāhuśrutyabalādhānatayā aviparītagrāhitayā* [Dutt: °*tayā 'vipa*°] *cittasthitaye vīryam ārabhate* (Wogihara ed. 205, 11-13 = Dutt ed. 141, 20-21). Here, 從...所 clearly renders *antikāt.* Though in our example in Jinaputra's text, 所 comes into a syntactic position bound to create confusion, Xuanzang probably wanted to stay close to the original. Actually, 所 often renders alone or, more frequently, correlated with a co-verbal preposition such as 於(...所) or 從.(..所) the Skt. *antika, antikaṁ, antikāt* (cf. BWDJ, s.v.). (For an example of 於...所, see BoBh 153, 2-3: *ahaṁ kūlaputrāntikād bodhisattvaśīlasaṁvarasamādānām ākāṅkṣāmy ādātum* = 我今欲於善男子所或長老所或大徳所乞受一切菩薩淨戒 (T30.514b19-20); note that the Chinese rendering is more developed).

Let us note that Katō (KIK, *Yuga-bu* 3, p. 119) also renders 從師長所 in BoBh above as 師長の所に從ひ. Like in our example in Jinaputra's text, this 從ひ or 從つて can be taken as a full verb 'follows [and]', but it can also have the value of 'by following...', thus approximating the prepositional collocation in Chinese. Also unclear is how the translator construed 所: a word with full semantical value or a (near-)empty post-nominal element?

(I am grateful to Prof Zacchetti who kindly took his time to discuss with me this sentence and also pointed out to me the Chinese occurrence at T30.527a10-12.)

[28] The passage is also cited in To-ryun's Commentary, where the sentence reads: 諸佛聖教爲上首 (T42.430b3) 'The Holy Teaching of the Buddhas [or: the Holy Teachings of the Buddha?]

is supreme'. (I suspect here a textual corruption; one should probably supply 聲, actually the key-term in the explanation, and read: 諸佛聖教、聲爲上首.) It is also quoted the *Dacheng fa yuan yi lin zhang* 大乘法苑義林章 (T45.272b29) and the *Miao fa lianhua jing xuan zan* 妙法蓮華經玄賛 (T34.755a16-17), both works authored by Ji 基, where the reading is: 諸佛聖教聲爲上首 'The voice of the Holy Teaching of the Buddhas [or: the Holy Teachings of the Buddha?] is supreme'.

[29] To-ryun's citation of the passage reads here: 求出世間 (T42.430b4) 'seeks to depart from the [conditioned] world'.

[30] The passage quoted in the *Miao fa lianhua jing xuan zan* 妙法蓮華經玄賛 (T34.755a16-18) is much shorter (deliberate abridgement?). After the sentence cited in note 28 above, the text continues: 從師友所聞此教聲, <u>而證聖教果, 故名聲聞</u>。(I render only the underlined part, in which differences are conspicuous) '[he] realises the fruit of the Holy Teaching [and] therefore is called "[one who] hears the voice"'.

[31] The passage is also cited in To-ryun's Commentary (T42.430b3-6). The first part of the passage (up to 故名聲聞) is also quoted by Ji in the *Dacheng fa yuan yi lin zhang* 大乘法苑義林章 (T45.272b29-c2), and the *Miao fa lianhua jing xuan zan* 妙法蓮華經玄賛 (T34.755a16-18) (the latter being probably an abridgement; see note 30 above). In both texts, the Chinese compound 聲聞, literally, 'voice-hear', which stands for *śrāvaka* 'disciple' or 'hearer', is analysed from the viewpoint of Sanskrit nominal composition as *bahuvrīhi* 財釋 and *tatpuruṣa* 依主釋 (although *śrāvaka* itself is not a compound in Sanskrit!) (T42.272c2-12 and T34.755a18-20 respectively).

[32] This counts only the traditional works as found in Yūki [1962] 1985 (see note 1 above). We should also mention here that there are 10 sub-commentaries on Jinaputra's **Yogācārabhūmi-vyākhyā* written by Japanese scholar-monks (see Yūki [1962] 1985, 575-579).

[33] In my notes to the English translation, I often cite or refer to both these commentaries.

[34] The Buddhist philosopher is also known as Kuiji 窺基, Dachengji 大乘基, or by his reverential name of *Cien Dashi* 'Great Master of the Cien [Monastery]' 慈恩大師, etc. Although 'Kuiji' is still used in Buddhist studies, especially by Western authors (e.g., Lusthaus 2002), this appellation seems to be wrong or, at least, controversial. (The tendency in Japanese Buddhist studies is to prefer Ji 基; see, for example, Kamata ed. 1981, 55.) The problems surrounding the name were pointed out by Fukaura (1954 [1972]) and are discussed at length by Weinstein (1959-1960, 129-133). According to the American scholar, the misnomer 'Kuiji' is the result of a relatively early confusion which resulted from wrongly reading together Ji's name together with that of Kui 窺, who appears to have been another disciple of Xuanzang's (ibid., pp. 132-133). I think that the arguments put forward by Weinstein are convincing. Furthermore, since the Chinese master refers to him simply as 'Ji' in his few autobiographical fragments, I shall also employ 'Ji' only.

[35] On Ji, see Weinstein 1959-1960; Kamata 1999, 636-640; etc. For the name of the Faxiang School, see below.

[36] The Chapter on the Mundane Path of the ŚrBh is glossed upon at T43.119b23-122c21.

[37] The text is also known by the name of *Yuga ryun gi* 瑜伽倫記 (or simply *Ryung gi* 倫記), meaning '[To-]ryun's Notes on the *Yog[ācārabhūmi]*' (see Katō KIK, *Ronsho-bu*, Introduction 解題, p. 2).

[38] The text has also survived in an incomplete version of 20 scrolls 二十巻 reproduced in volume V of the *Songzang yizhen* 宋藏遺珍. There appear to be quite a few differences between the three main recensions of the *Yuga ron gi*, i.e., the Taishō (T) version (which apart from the manner of dividing the *juan*s, largely coincides with the *Manji zokuzō* 卍續藏

version), the *Zhonghua dazang jing* (ZC) version, and the *Songzang yizhen* version. These have been carefully analysed by Yang (1984a and 1984b). The Chinese scholar convincingly shows that the *Songzang yizhen* version often contains the best readings (see Yang 1984a, 296ff.). Guo (2003) also points out three cases of misplaced passages in the Taishō edition of the commentary. (The latter author is engaged in a project of a digitally processed synopsis of the YoBh collated with To-ryun's commentary; see Guo 2003, 79-80).

To-ryun's commentary has been rendered into *kundoku*-style Japanese by Katō Seishin 加藤精神 (KIK, *Wakan senjutsu-bu* 和漢撰述部, *Ronsho-bu* 論疏部, vols. 9-12).

(In the notes to my English translation of the Chapter on the Mundane Path, I frequently refer to or cite passages from the *Yuga ron gi*. All these references and quotations are based on the Taishō version. Unfortunately, lack of time has prevented me from checking the Taishō version against the *Songzang yizhen* readings.)

[39] This is the number of scrolls in Taishō, where each *juan* is split into two parts: 上 and 下. The scroll division of the *Yuga ron gi* in the various extant recensions is presented and collated in Yang 1984a, 293-296.

[40] The scholar-monk is also known as Tun-ryun 遁倫 (Chinese pronunciation: Dun-lun; Japanese pronunciation: Torin, where 遁 is read as *to*; this is a (rather unusual) pronunciation adopted in traditional Japanese Buddhist circles instead of *don*, i.e., the *go* pronunciation 呉音, which one would expect here). 遁倫 is actually the name appearing in both the Taishō and ZC Canons as well as in a few other sources. Katō also adopts it in his translation in KIK and argues in his Introduction that 遁, not 道, is the correct character (*Ronsho-bu*, vol. 9, Introduction, pp. 3-4). On the other hand, Yūki (1931, 150-155; [1962] 1985, 264-267), adduces strong evidence proving that To-ryun 道倫 was the actual name of the scholar. The problem is also discussed by Yang (1984a, 292-293), who also concludes that 道倫 is to be preferred (see also Yang 1984b). In my opinion, Yūki and Yang's arguments are quite convincing, but no all modern scholars seem to have adopted the name as 道倫. For instance, Guo (2003, 77) uses 遁倫, only mentioning that the name is also known as 道倫.

[41] Shentai was one of Xuanzang's main disciples (see Kamata 1999, 321).

[42] The Korean scholar-monk Wŏn-ch'ŭk (613-696) also studied under Xuanzang and became one of the most productive and creative thinkers of the Faxiang (in Korean, Pōpsang) School 法相宗. His own version of the Faxiang/Pōpsang philosophy was different from Ji's interpretation. Wŏn-ch'ŭk's *Sŏng yu-sig ron so* 成唯識論疏 is said to have been written in order to refute and correct Ji's *Cheng weishi lun shuji* 成唯識論述記. Since the latter gained, however, the status of orthodox doctrine, Wŏn-ch'ŭk's views were declared unorthodox (see Kamata 1999, 640-642).

[43] The commentary upon the Chapter on the Mundane Path of the ŚrBh is found at T42.469c25-475c16.

[44] The author of the catechism is also known as Saint Zōga of Tōnomine 多武峯増賀聖. This name comes from Mount Tōnomine (modern Nara Prefecture 奈良県, Sakurai City 桜井市) where St. Zōga settled and established a monastic centre after an eventful career marked by repeated displays of 'holy madness' on Mount Hiei 比叡山, where he had been ordained and trained, and in the ancient capital of Heian 平安 (modern Kyōto 京都). For his biography and main works, see Mochizuki ed. [1933] 1974, vol. 4, p. 3039. His life also forms the subject of a story included in the *Konjaku monogatari-shū* 今昔物語集, the famous Japanese anthology of tales compiled at the end of the Heian Period. The passage is entitled *Tamu no mine no Zōga Shōnin no koto* 多武の峯の増賀聖人の語, Scroll XII, Story no. 33 (vol. 1, pp. 151-158; the Suzuka Family Manuscript 鈴鹿家本 of the *Konjaku monogatari-shū* can also be consulted on

the website of 'National Treasures Stored in the Kyoto University Library' 京都大学付属図書館所蔵 国宝).

45 There are no topics commenting upon the Chapter on the Mundane Path, i.e., scroll 33, of the ŚrBh.

46 The Chapter on the Mundane Path is commented upon at T85.881a8-883a21.

47 The Chapter on the Mundane Path is commented upon at T85.942c15-944c27.

48 For details about these two commentaries, see Ueyama 1990, 219-246. The Dunhuang YoBh commentaries received much attention in Japanese Buddhist studies from a relatively early date. The *Yuqie lun shouji* was analysed by Suwa in 1930. Suwa also presents other related YoBh commentaries and edits the portions of the text which were collated by Facheng with the Tibetan version (Suwa 1930, 77-81). On Facheng, see Chapters Three and Four above.

49 After pointing out the role played by the four types of universal objects (*vyāpy ālambanam*) (in section 3.7.1. of the ŚrBh) in the birth of the Vijñaptimātratā theory and practice in the SaṁNirm, Takasaki Jikidō (1982a, 13-14) asserts: 'Furthermore, it might also be said that this shows the fact that the *yogācāra*s of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* became Mahāyāna *yogācāra*s through the contemplation 内観 of the *vijñaptimātratā* 唯識性'. I certainly agre with this view if the statement is taken as referring to *some* (not *all*!) of the *yogācāra*s associated with the ŚrBh meditative path.

50 It is true that no all Buddhist monks appear to have dedicated their main religious efforts to spiritual cultivation and expert meditators seem to have often been a numeric minority (see Deleanu 2000). There are, however, no reasons to reject the commonsensical view that until the very end of the Buddhist institution in most parts of continental India, ascetics belonging to the Sarvāstivādin and Sautrāntika fold continued to practice meditation more or less as taught in their 'Hīnayānika' traditions. As late as the latter half of the 8th century, a basically Śrāvakayānika text like the ArthVinNib (see Samtani's Introduction, pp. 133-149) continued to expound meditation in a largely orthodox Hīnayāna framework. In spite of a manual like the *Yogāvacara*, which is tinted with Tantric elements, the Sinhalese Therāvādins continued their own meditative path even during the Middle Ages (let alone modern days when 'Protestant Buddhist' ideas reinforced the trend to stick to the 'original' way).

51 Of course, theoretically speaking, all novices judged to belong to the Śrāvakayānika lineage (*gotra*) should have been assigned to a corresponding master and ascetic milieu, and for such meditators, the ŚrBh would have been an excellent guide. But how this worked in practice remains a mystery. Equally unclear to me is whether a purely Hīnayānika ascetic following the ŚrBh was still considered part of the Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda community. No doubt that he would have been considered a Buddhist follower (admittedly, of a lower level) and co-habitation within the same monastic premises would have posed no special problems. As often depicted by the Chinese pilgrims travelling in India, monastic establishments hosting both Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna groups were not a rarity. The unique position of the ŚrBh, a 'Lesser Vehicle' text eventually incorporated into a canonical scripture of a Mahāyāna school, must have, however, complicated the issue of the scholastic affiliation of its followers.

But were Śrāvakayānika-orientated novices *actually* sent to the most adequate *yāna* master like in a modern fitness centre with various types of exercise and trainers each suited for different individuals? More often than not, religious communities, ancient or modern, are very kin to advocate and advertise the superiority of their teachings. I surmise that from the viewpoint of 'religious marketing', it would have made more sense for the Vijñānavādins to convince novices (even when showing clear inclinations towards or interest in the Śāvakayāna?!) that the Bodhisattvayāna is unquestionably superior, instead of 'objectively' diagnosing them as suitable for the 'Lesser Vehicle' and accordingly sending them to the appropriate 'Hīnayāna training department' (if such departments *did* exist in their monastic

communities at all!).

[52] On the Vijñānavāda meditation system, see Hayashima 1982; Odani 2000, 224-235; etc. On *śamatha* and *vipaśyanā* in the YoBh, including the BoBh as well as the SamNirm (as cited in the Viniś), see Katsumata 1975. More references are found in Chapter Five above.

[53] Cf. also Mōri 1987a, 73, Mōri 1987b 28-30; and Mōri 1989.

[54] See Chapter Five above. Speaking of the indebtedness of the SaṁNirm to the ŚrBh, Takasaki (1982, 32) affirms: 'The theory of yoga practice [set forth] in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* forms the skeleton on which the Chapter on the Analysis of Yoga in the *Saṁdhinirmocanasūtra* is based' (『声聞地』の瑜伽行理論は、別に『解深密経』の「分別瑜伽品」の骨子ともなっている).

[55] On the formation and date of the SaṁNirm, see the Chapter Five.

[56] For the sevenfold Suchness in the SaṁNirm, see ch. Ⅷ, § 20 (Lamotte ed., p. 99). This is a passage which defines ten aspects by means of which the bodhisattva knows the reality (*don*; **artha*). Two of these aspects are the extent of reality (*ji snyed yod pa nyid*; **yāvadbhāvikatā*) and the conformity to reality (*ji lta ba bzhin du yod pa nyid*; **yathāvadbhāvikatā*), which appear to be concepts borrowed from the ŚrBh via the BoBh (see Chapter Five, Section Ⅱ, Subsection 5 above).

[57] Tib. *gzugs brnyan* most likely stands for Skt. *pratibimba* (see below), which Schmithausen (1976c 239) renders more precisely as 'object-like images (*pratibimba*) visualized in meditation'.

[58] In the ŚrBh, the order of these two meditative objects is different from the SaṁNirm passage cited above. The latter is actually somehow misleading because it first mentions *śamatha*, to which *nirvikalpaṁ pratibimbam* usually corresponds, and then *vipaśyanā*, for which *savikalpaṁ pratibimbam* is the equivalent, but its listing of the meditative objects is reverse.

[59] The Tibetan renderings of these terms in the ŚrBh are the same as those in the SaṁNirm.

[60] For the meanings of *manaskāra*, see note 6 to my English translation of the Chapter on the Mundane Path.

[61] The similarity between the two passages has also been pointed out by Wayman (1961, 30), Takasaki (1982, 13-14) (see note 49 above), Suguro (1989, 309-311), Mōri (1989, 48 and 51-52), and Ahn (2003, 8). Mōri 1989 offers an excellent analysis of how the ŚrBh categories changed into the SaṁNirm framework of spiritual practice. Wayman (1961, 30) argues that it is the ŚrBh which borrowed from the SaṁNirm. Schmithausen (1969b, p. 823, n. 52), however, criticises this hypothesis adducing the reason which has been mentioned above.

[62] On Revata, see note 63 to Chapter Five.

[63] Cf. also Schmithausen 1973a, 167.

[64] I emend with Schmithausen the MS reading °*smṛta*° to °*smṛti*°. Cf. also Schmithausen 1982b, p. 60, n 1.

[65] Cf. also Schmithausen 1973a, p. 167, n. 14, and Schmithausen 1976c, p. 240, n. 1.

[66] This historical process is admirably analysed in Schmithausen 1973a, 1976c, and 1984. See also Chapter Five above.

[67] D reads: *ltos pa'i rigs pa*.

[68] In the SaṁNirm these concepts appear in a more developed form. The four categories of *yukti* in the ŚrBh, the SaṁNirm, and later Vijñānavāda literature are analysed in Yaita 1989a and Yoshimizu 1996b. The recent contribution by Kimura (2004) discusses this set in the larger context of Buddhist logic. For more details, see note 74 to my English translation.

[69] Nozawa (1957, 1), who edits and translates into Japanese Jñānagarbha's commentary on chapter Ⅷ of the SaṁNirm, says that he could not identify the author. It is most likely that he is the Mādhyamika thinker who lived between ca. 700-760 and whose main work is the *Satyadvayavibhaṅga* (extant only in Tibetan translation: D No. 3881). He is known from a

variety of Tibetan sources (see Saigusa ed. 1987, 124-125).

[70] The passage is also translated into Japanese by Nozawa (1957, 115-117). See also Byang-chub-rdzu-'phrul's commentary discussed below.

[71] For the reconstruction of the Sanskrit title of the text, see Choi 2001, 4-6; Mukai 1979, 42-49; etc.

[72] See also Mukai 1979. The author of the **Āryadeśanāvikhyāpanaśāstra* also makes it clear in his introductory verses that his purpose is to summarise the YoBh (see T31.480b16-21 and also 583b25-c1).

[73] See Choi 2001, 77-86 (cf. also pp. 166-174 and 199-206). Details concerning this parallelism will also be pointed out in my notes to the critical editions and English translation.

[74] See my notes to the critical editions and English translation (especially note 35 to the latter). The similarity has also been pointed out by Griffiths (1983, 426-434).

[75] As we have seen above, the four universal objects are also mentioned in the SaṁNirm, but the ŚrBh describes them in detail. The latter text is the more likely source of the AbhSam.

[76] One could probably also mention here the presence of the eighteen types of contemplation (*aṣṭādaśavidho manaskāraḥ*) in the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṁkāra* (Lévi ed. 56, 22- 58, 14 = T31.610c4-611a26). Though no similarity or parallelism can be detected between these and the contemplations of the ŚrBh, it is not, I believe, far-fetched to speculate that the usage of multiple types of *manaskāra* is a praxis and terminological tradition most probably initiated by the ŚrBh, continued by other Books in the YoBh such as the SamBh, and then developed by other Vijñānavādin works. (On the eighteen kinds of contemplation in the MahSūt and Sthiramati's commentary, see also Nozawa 1957, 50-61.)

Speaking of other Books in the YoBh, one could mention here that the seven contemplations are mentioned in the *Ābhiprāyikārthagāthānirdeśa* (Maeda ed. and tr. 91-92; for English translation form the Tibetan, see Wayman 1984, 365-366) (cf. also Mōri 1987a 73; Mōri 1987b, 30). They also appear in the SamBh where they are called *sapta maulā manaskārāḥ* (SamBh 115, 3-5; 119, 5-121, 5). The interest in the SamBh centres, however, upon the definition of the terms and the relations between the seven fundamental contemplations and the other 40 types of *manaskāra*s listed in this textual unit. See also Gengitani 1994.

[77] For Tibetan text, see Namdol ed., 120-121. The French translation of the Tibetan is found at Lamotte tr., 337-338.

[78] In the ŚrBh, SaṁNirm and AbhSam, the four universal objects appear in the following order: *savikalpaṁ pratibimbam, nirvikalpaṁ pratibimbam, vastuparantatā,* and *kāryaparinispatti*. In the BhKr, on the other hand, the order of the first two objects is reversed: *nirvikalpapratibimbaka* and *savikalpapratibimbaka*.

[79] On the concept of the *āśrayaparivṛtti* in the YoBh, see Sakuma 1990 (especially, vol. 1, pp. 15-58, for the ŚrBh).

[80] The AbhSam (90, 19-20) also describes this meditative object as: *kāryapariniṣpattyā-lambanaṁ katamat* | *āśrayaparivṛttiḥ* | *iyam āśrayaparivṛttir acintyā* ||. 'What is the meditative object which constitutes the perfection of the [contemplative] act? [It is] the transformation of the basis. This transformation of the basis is unfathomable'. This is a passage which actually has not survived in Sanskrit manuscript and is restored by Pradhan, who apparently relies here on the Chinese translation: 所作成就所縁者謂轉依，如是轉依不可思議。(T31.687a1-2). The Tibetan translation suggests: **kāryapariniṣpattiḥ katamā* | *āśrayaparivṛttiḥ* | (without any corresponding word for °*ālambanaṁ* in the first sentence and no equivalent at all for the last sentence: *iyam āśrayaparivṛttir acintyā*).

[81] Tib. (Namdol ed. 121, 7) has: *sgrib pa ma lus pa* 'obstacles without remainder'. Tucci (BhKr III p. 2, n. 12) conjectures: *aśeṣāvaraṇa* or *sakalāv°*.

[82] The role of the path of cultivation in relation to the universal objects is also referred to in

the SaṁNirm (see above).

[83] Tucci actually reads: [...] *tadā buddhabhūmau tad eva (jñānaṁ) kāryaparinispatty-ālambanam ucyate* |, supplying *jñānaṁ* on the basis of Tib.: *sangs rgyas kyi sa ye shes de nyid* (see BhKr III p. 2, n. 13; cf. Tib. text in Namdol ed. 121, 8). The BhKr MS makes, however, better sense as it is. Supplying *jñānaṁ* would imply equating it with *ālambanam*, but this would be meaningful only when a 'reflection on a cognition' were intended. However, the definienda in this passage are the four *ālambanas* (e.g., clearly the definition of *nirvikalpapratibimbakam* at BhKr III 1, 17-19), and *kāryaparinispattyālambanam* as a *bahuvrīhi* qualifying *jñānaṁ* is not a very probable reading. Thus, I construe *tad eva* as referring to *āvaraṇaprahāṇa*° (*prahāṇa* being a neuter noun) and render as above.

[84] The attainment of the third universal object, i.e., *vastuparyantālambana*, is situated at the first level of the *bodhisattva* path (*prathamāyām bhūmau*) (BhKr III 2, 10).

[85] All passages cited by Atīśa in the *Mahāsūtrasamuccaya* are meticulously collated with their original sources in Mochizuki 2002.

[86] I adopt this rendering of *dhutaguṇa* as suggested by Edgerton (BHSD, s.v.).

[87] Mochizuki 2002, 28, gives this as 'Shukla, p. 66, Shomonji Kenkyūkai p.40.5-8', which most probably is a simple error resulting from writing the correct page number under the wrong edition.

[88] In both citations, the *Mahāsūtrasamuccaya* identifies its original source of citation as the *rNal 'sbyor spyod pa Nyan thos kyi sa.*

[89] Neither does it appear to have been a major source of inspiration for the *bsTan rim* literature (expounding the bodhisattva's path), the *Blo sbyong* (mental purification) texts, and the *gDams ngag* (instructions given by the master to the disciple mainly on spiritual praxis) (see Jackson 1996a, Sweet 1996, and Kapstein 1996 respectively).

[90] On Sa-skya Paṇḍita's life, see Jackson ed. 1987, 15-37.

[91] See Jackson 1996a, 236. The Sanskrit original is found at MahSūt 171, 21-24. The prose commentary to these verses says: *etena daśavidhena vastunā kṛtsnaṁ mahāyānaṁ saṁgṛhītam* | (MahSūt 171, 25) 'the entire Mahāyāna [system] is comprised in these ten kinds of matters [enumerated in the verses]'.

[92] The *Thub pa'i dgongs pa rab tu gsal ba* is discussed in Jackson 1996a, 235-239 and Jackson ed. 1987, 46-47. On the commentarial literature dedicated to this work, see Jackson 1983, 4-5. There is also an English translation of the text by Geshe Wangyal and Brian Cutillo (*Illuminations: A Guide to Essential Buddhist Practices*, Novato, CA: Lotsawa, 1988). This is described by Jackson (1996a, 235) as 'a much-abridged modern English adaptation'. Unfortunately, the book has not been available to me.

[93] I am most grateful to Professor Jackson for having kindly drawn my attention to this passage as well as to the reference discussed in note 102 below.

[94] Here and below, I note only the folio and line.

[95] The Tibetan original reads: *mtshan nyid rab tu byed pa'i yid la byed pa* (fol. 78b3), but I assume *byed pa* to be a scribal or typographical error for *'byed pa*. If we take the first reading to be the original one, the only meaning *mtshan nyid rab tu byed pa'i yid la byed pa* should be something like 'contemplation which takes characteristics for its subject' or 'contemplation making much of the characteristics' (?). In translations from the Sanskrit, Tib. *rab tu byed pa* renders *prakaraṇa* (cf. TSD, s.v.), which means 'production, creation; treatment, explanation; treatise, chapter; subject, topic; opportunity; doing much or well;' etc. (MW, s.v.). (The only meaning of *rab tu byed pa* regsitered in modern lexicographical works is that of 'chapter' or 'section' (BTsh, s.v.)). On the other hand, *rab tu 'byed pa* makes much better sense. Tib. *'byed pa* means 'to separate', 'to divide', 'to classify', 'to select', etc. (TED, s.v.; Jäschke [1881] 1990, s.v.), and *rab tu 'byed pa* renders such Skt. words like *prabhedana* and *parijaya* (see TSD, s.v.).

Jäschke ([1881] 1990 s.v.) also mentions that often with *rnam par*, the verb *'byed pa* is used with the sense of 'to analyse, to explain grammatically and logically, *don*, the sense, the import'. Furthermore, we should also note that the name of this contemplation in Sa-skya Paṇḍita's text partly differs from the ŚrBh which uses *mtshan nyid so sor rig pa'i yid la byed pa* (= *lakṣaṇapratisaṁvedī manaskāraḥ*). Rather than supposing a semantically distant *mtshan nyid rab tu byed pa'i yid la byed pa* 'contemplation which takes characteristics for its subject', a close paraphrase like *mtshan nyid rab tu' byed pa'i yid la byed pa* 'contemplation analysing [/discriminating] the characteristics' is far more likely. In the light of all these factors, I surmise that *rab tu 'byed pa* was the term intended by Sa-skya Paṇḍita, and I emend correspondingly. The practice clearly corresponds to the contemplation perceiving characteristics in the ŚrBh.

[96] I usually translate the name of *ādhimokṣiko manaskāraḥ* as 'contemplation leading to conviction'. Its sense can, nevertheless, be also construed as 'contemplation born of conviction', and this is how the term is translated into Tibetan. In our context here, I prefer to give precedence to the semantic values conveyed by the Tibetan language rather than the Sanskrit original.

[97] The sDe-dge edition of Sa-skya Paṇḍita's works reads here as well as at fol. 78b3: *rab tu dbye ba*. I surmise that this is a scribal or typographical error for *rab tu dben pa* (= Skt. *prāvivekya*), which is the term used in the ŚrBh. If we take the reading *rab tu dbye ba* as the correct one, its meaning should be '[contemplation] which makes distinctions/differentiates'. In the Tibetan translation of the YoBh, *rab tu dbye ba* is employed to render such Skt. words as *prakārabheda*, *prabheda*, and *pravibhāga* (YoBH-D, s.v.). The definition of the contemplation here does not contain, however, any specific reference to a meditative act of making distinctions. Besides, the next *manaskāra* in Sa-skya Paṇḍita's text is defined as <u>*rab tu dben pa*</u> *las byung ba' dga' ba* (fol. 78b6) or 'delight born of separation', which most likely refers to the content and name of the third contemplation (see also below). Graphically, too, mistaking *dbye ba* for *dben pa* is quite plausible.

[98] The sDe-dge edition of the text hesitates between the reading *dpyod pa* and *spyod pa*. At the beginning of its definition here, it spells *dpyod pa* (fol. 79a1), but at the end it reads *spyod pa*. When first enumerating the contemplations, the text has *spyod pa* (fol. 78b3). The latter form is a frequent error (or alternative spelling?) for *dpyod pa*, which is also seen in our chapter in the ŚrBh (e.g., Crit. ed. of Tibetan translation, passage 3.28.2.1.1., note 34).

[99] In the ŚrBh, the term is: *sbyor ba mthar thug pa* (var. lec.: *sbyor ba'i mthar thug pa*). Semantically, however, this does not raise any special problem since Sa-paṇ's term appears to be just an abridgement.

[100] In the ŚrBh, the seventh contemplation is called: *sbyor ba mthar thug pa'i 'bras bu yid la byed pa*. The term used in the *Thub pa'i dgongs pa rab tu gsal ba* seems to be an abridgement. See also note 99 above.

[101] Tib. *bsgoms pa de thams cad* (literally, 'the whole of this meditation') must refer here to the 'first absorption proper' (*maulaṁ prathamaṁ dhyānaṁ*), a state which is differentiated from its preceding liminal attainment. See note 118 to my English translation.

[102] Sa-skya Paṇḍita also appears to refer to the seven contemplations in a passage discussing the three types of *dhyāna* (*bsam gtan*), i.e., absorptions in common with the mundane [path] (*'jig rten pa dang thun mong ba'i bsam gtan*), absorptions in common with Śrāvakayāna (*nyan thos dang thun mong ba'i bsam gtan*), and absorptions peculiar to Mahāyāna (*theg pa chen po thun mong ma yin pa'i bsam gtan*) (*Thub pa'i dgongs pa rab tu gsal ba*, vol. Tha, fol. 38a4-5). The first type is described as 'meditations consisting in the seven liminal attainments and the first absorbtion proper, etc.' (*nyer bsdogs bdun dang | dngos gzhi bsam gtan dang po la sogs pa'i bsgom pa*) (fol. 38a5). Tib. *nyer bsdogs* usually denotes the liminal attainments (*sāmantaka*) preceding the attainment of the absorptions proper (*maulaṁ dhyānaṁ*) (see note

118 to Engl. tr.). The number of these liminal attainments is, obviously, eight, which corresponds to the number of the four *dhyāna*s and the four *ārūpyasamapatti*s. It is true that the first liminal attainment, marking the passage from the realm of sensual pleasures to meditative serenity, holds a very important place and has a special name, i.e., *anāgamya* 'not [yet] arrived'. Nonetheless, this, too, is usually counted as one *sāmantaka*. It would therefore seem that the 'seven liminal attainments' mentioned by Sa-paṇ do not refer to these *sāmantaka*-states but to the seven contemplations of the ŚrBh. This identification raises, however, one problem since only the first six contemplations take place in the liminal attainment, while the seventh one coincides with the attainment proper (see passage 3.28.2.1.8. in my Engl. tr. as well as note 101 above). One possible explanation is that Sa-skya Paṇḍita decided to keep all the seven contemplations as a complete set and, in spite of nature of the last *manaskāra* stage, lumped them together as corresponding to the liminal attainment.

[103] On Tsong-kha-pa's biography, see Wayman tr. 1997, 15-25 (the presentation is largely based upon traditional accounts of mKhas-grub-rje and Akyā Blo-bzang-bstan-pa'i-rgyal-mtshan dPal-bzang-po).

[104] I have used Kelsang and Odani's critical edition (1991, 21-116). The two scholars also translate the chapter into Japanese with annotations (ibid., 127-255). This and the chapter on *vipaśyanā* have been translated into English by Wayman (Wayman tr. 1997). The American scholar also stresses the importance of the ŚrBh for the Tsong-kha-pa's Chapter on Tranquillity (ibid., p. 8). A more reliable English rendering of the chapters of *śamatha* and *vipaśyanā* are found in Lamrim Chenmo Translation Committee tr. 2002. The latter translation also contains an appendix with emendations to the Tibetan text (pp. 391-392). Tsong-kha-pa's reliance on this Śrāvakayānika text in his essentially Mahāyānika treatise is also mentioned by Seyfort-Ruegg (2004, 30 and 39).

[105] Like, for instance, the explanation of the four meditative objects (Kelsang and Odani 1991, p. 43, l. 16-p. 46, 16) (see below).

[106] For a Japanese translation of this part of the text, see Takasaki 1966b, 93.

[107] Here, too, the ŚrBh is referred to by its abridged title *Nyan-sa*.

[108] Tsong-kha-pa's citation contains some differences (deliberate changes?) from the Tibetan translation of the ŚrBh. For a Japanese rendering of this part of the text, see Takasaki 1966b, 94.

[109] Tsong-kha-pa's citation has some slight differences from the Tibetan version of the ŚrBh. For a Japanese translation of this part of the text, see Takasaki 1966b, 95.

[110] For the Tibetan text, I have used the Dwags-lha Sgam-po edition of the *Phyag rgya chen po zla ba'i 'od zer* (see Bibliography). There is also an English translation by Lobsang P. Lhalungpa (tr. 1986). According to Lhalungpa (Preface, p. XVIII), his translation is based upon 'the carved woodblocks that had been preserved at Sri Neuthang of Gyal, in Dingri, western Tibet, until the "cultural revolution"'. Unfortunately, I did not have access to this version. As far as the passages relevant in this context are concerned, there does not appear to be any major textual difference between the Dwags-lha Sgam-po edition, which I consulted, and the Tibetan original used by Lhalungpa. (I am most grateful to Ms Ayako Nakamura and Ms Orna Almogi for having kindly made and sent me photocopies of the Dwags-lha Sgam-po edition kept in the Library of the University of Hamburg, Asien-Afrika-Institut, Abteilung für Kultur und Geschichte Indiens und Tibets.)

[111] This refers to ŚrBh Skt. Sh 393, 6-9; Tib. P Wi 174a4-6.

[112] This refers to ŚrBh Skt. Sh 368, 10-13; Tib. P Wi 163b3-5. The ŚrBh continues with the definition of each aspect: Sh 368,14-370.2. The most detailed description of the six aspects is found in the Chapter on the Mundane Path (passages 3.28.2.1.2.1.- 3.28.2.1.2.7.). See editions and English translation below.

[113] This refers to ŚrBh Skt. Sh 404, 4-405, 9; Tib. P Wi 179a2-6.

[114] See also Jñānagarbha's commentary discussed above.

[115] Byang-chub-rdzu-'phrul appears to be the title by which King Khri-srong-lde-btsan (ca. 756-797) is referred to in Tibetan sources. (Various dates for the King's reign have been put forward; see note 14 to Chapter Three.) The identification of Byang-chub-rdzu'phrul with King Khri-srong-lde-btsan has been suggested by Seyfort Ruegg (1981, p. 277, n. 52). The authorship of this commentary is lucidly analysed by Steinkellner (1989, 236-241), who also adduces further proofs for the identification of Byang-chub-rdzu'phrul with King Khri-srong-lde-btsan. The Austrian scholar also discusses the possibility that the text may actually have been composed by Klu'i-rgyal-mtshan, an attribution which goes back to Bu-ston (cf. also Seyfort Ruegg 1981, p. 277, n. 52). Even if we accept the attribution of the text to Khri-srong-lde-btsan, the exact understanding of his role in its authorship is a delicate matter. It is very difficult to determine whether the King actually wrote himself the text or commissioned it to other scholar(s), as it seems to be the case with the *bKa' yang dag pa'i tshad ma las mdo btus pa*, another SaṁNirm commentary attributed to Khri-srong-lde-btsan (see Steinkellner 1989, 241-243).

[116] See passages 3.28.2.1.2.1.- 3.28.2.1.2.7. in the Chapter on the Mundane Path below. Cf also ŚrBh Sh 368,10-370.2.

[117] For the seven contemplations, see Subsection 3.28.2.1. in the Chapter on the Mundane Path (also containing references to other main occurrences). Byang-chub-rdzu-'phrul mentions all the seven contemplations (D Cho 142b1-2) and also makes frequent references to the contemplation leading to conviction (*ādhimokṣikamanaskāra*).

[118] See ŚrBh Sh 363, 17-365, 11.

[119] Cf. also Japanese translation in Nozawa (1957, 117-141).

[120] Cf. also Japanese translation in Nozawa (1957, 393-394). Nozawa (1957, 40-41) also points out that Byang-chub-rdzu-'phrul employs the concept of the four universal meditative objects found in the YoBh. For the definition of the *jñeyaṁ vastu* in the ŚrBh, see ŚrBh-Gr (14) 30, 2-8.

[121] The indirect influence of the ŚrBh can also be seen in some modern Tibetan writings. In a Mahāmudrā meditation manual written by Khri-dpon Pad-ma Chos-rgyal (1877-1958), we find an enumeration of the nine aspects of tranquillity (English translation in Crook and Low 1997, 363-364). Unfortunately, I did not have access to the Tibetan original, but judging from the English rendering, these would appear to be similar with the nine types (/aspects) of mental stability (*navākārā cittasthitiḥ*), a taxonomic set describing tranquillity (*śamatha*). These nine aspects first appear in the ŚrBh (see Sh p. 363, 13ff.) and are also defined in the *Abhidharmasamuccaya* (AbhSamBh 90, 11-22). It is the latter which seems to be Khri-dpon's direct source since he identifies his enumeration as a citation from the *Kun btus*. This is, in all likelihood, an abbreviation of the *Chos mngon pa kun las btus pa = Abhidharmasamuccaya*. On the life of Khri-dpon Pad-ma Chos-rgyal, see Crook and Low 1997, 22-25.

[122] Faxiang (Korean, Pōpsang; Japanese, Hōsō) 法相 is the most well-known name of this school which begins with Xuanzang 玄奘 but was actually established by his disciple Ji 基. The history behind the name raises a few interesting problems. It is true that 法相 'characteristics of the phenomena' appears in the title of Chapter IV of Xuanzang's translation of the SaṁNirm: 一切法相品 (T16.693a-c). The binome 法相 was not, however, a name deliberately chosen by the founder and/or followers of this school. As an explicit way of referring to this Buddhist tradition, we find the term in the works of Fazang 法藏 (643-712), the third Patriarch of the Huayan School, who uses 法相大乘 'The Great Vehicle [expounding] the characteristics of phenomena' and contrasts it to 無相大乘 'the Great Vehicle [expounding] the lack of characteristics', a compound designating the Madhyamaka School. Moreover, in

Fazang's doctrinal system and classification, the 'School of the characteristics of phenomena' was relegated to a position inferior to the Huayan tradition and the term acquired derogatory nuances (see Yoshizu 1997; Yoshimura 2004b, especially 41-44). Xuanzang himself appears to have called his own standpoint simply 'Great Vehicle' 大乘 or 'One Vehicle' 一乘. In his doctrinal classification, Ji 基 uses the term 應理圓實宗 'School of the Perfect Truth in accord with the Absolute Principle' to denote the Vijñaptimātratā philosophical standpoint. Later, starting with the Song Dynasty, this tradition started to be called the 'Consciousness-Only School' 唯識宗 or, more frequently, the 'Cien School' 慈恩宗 ('Cien' 慈恩 being Ji's reverential), both names being accepted by the people who still continued the tradition initiated by Xuanzang and Ji (see Yoshimura 2004b, 41-44; on the names of this school, see also Kamata 1999, 636-637; on Xuanzang's own views on Mahāyāna, see Yoshimura 1999; Yoshimura 2003b, 215-220; on the prevalent name of 'Cien School' in the Song and Yuan Dynasties, see Chikusa 2000a, 4, 28, etc.). The way in which the term 'Hossō-shū' 法相宗 came to be accepted by (or rather forced upon) the followers of this school in Japan is brilliantly analysed by Yoshizu (1997). The historical picture is further complicated because the school initiated by Xuanzang and Ji was not the only Chinese movement deriving from the Indian Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda. Although putting forward different interpretations, the Dilun School 地論宗, based upon the **Daśabhūmikasūtraśāstra* 十地經論, and the Shilun School 攝論宗, which relied upon the *Mahāyānasaṁgraha* 攝大乘論, claimed to follow basically the same tradition (cf. Yoshimura 2004b) (see note 124 below). Throughout this book, I have opted for the term 'Faxiang/ Pōpsang/Hōssō School', without implying, however, any pejorative nuance which may have initially been associated with it. The reason for this is the wide-spread usage of the term in modern Buddhist studies.

123 The *Dacheng fa yuan yi lin zhang* consists in 29 (or 33, in a separate textual transmission) essays 章 written or expounded by Ji (see Yūki Reimon, in Mizuno et al. 1977, 200). Though Ji often relies upon the YoBh, this is not an exegetical work but a collection of short treatises on different themes.

124 Officially, the Faxiang School had two more patriarchs: Huizhao 慧沼 (650-714) and Zhizhou 智周 (678-733). In China, Zhizhou's foremost Chinese disciple was Ruli 如理 (dates unknown). The Faxiang system continued to be studied after this date, and we know that around 800, the scholar-monk Qingsu 清素 authored quite a few exegetical works, one of which was dedicated to the YoBh: the *Yuquie shi di lun yi yan* 瑜伽師地論義演 (see Tsukamoto 1975, 134-137). By the middle of the 9th century, Faxiang as a monastic order seems to have come to an end (see Kamata 1999, 642-643). The tradition re-surfaced, however, in later periods. On this we shall say more below. For the history of the Faxiang School and related traditions in China, see Yūki 1956; Tsukamoto 1975, 129-164; Hakamaya (Kuwayama and Hakamaya) 1981, 326-336; Takemura 1982; Kamata 1990, 366-395 (on the Dilun and Shilun Schools); Kamata 1999, 636-659 (on the Faxiang School); Yoshimura 2003b; etc.

Genbō (?-746), who transmitted the school to Japan, also studied under Zhizhou. In Japan, Hosso-shū 法相宗 was one of the six Buddhist schools of the Nara Period, and though in later ages it lost its influential position and has never gained a wide lay support, it has survived to the present age. The main works of the school continued to be studied all throughout Japanese history by any serious student of Buddhism irrespective of sectarian affiliation. This is captured in a saying which has remained popular to this day: 唯識三年, 倶舎八年 '[one should devote] three years [to the study of] Vijñaptimātra [texts] [and] eight years [to the study of] the *Kośa*'. On the Vijñaptimātratā history in Japan, see the classic study by Fukihara Shōshin (1934).

125 On the theory of the five different lineages 五姓各別, see the recent contribution by Yoshimura (2004c); cf. also Hakamaya (Kuwayama and Hakamaya) 1981, 318-326; etc. On the

conflict between this doctrine and the supporters of the various trends of Tathāgatagarbha interpretations, see Yoshimura 2003b, 220-223.

Takemura (1982, 269-270) lists three main reasons for the decline of the Vijñaptimātratā as an independent school in China: (1) its 'overly philosophical and transcendental' あまりにも哲学的・高踏的 nature which was actually comprehended and received by only a handful of intellectuals; (2) its advocacy that the Three Vehicles (as preached in the *Saṁdhinirmocana-sūtra*) are a reality 三乘眞實 and of the the five different lineages 五姓各別; and (3) its 'too lofty and grand gradual path of spiritual cultivation' (あまりにも遠大な漸修) which did not fit the psychology of the Chinese people. These seem valid reasons but the argumentation adduced in (1) and (3) should be qualified. Some elements pointed out here may actually apply to other traditions as well. Although admittedly more metaphorical and appealing to the heart, the Huayan School is also very philosophical and has a grand path of spiritual praxis. Furthermore, speaking of the argument of 'psychological fitness' suggested in (3), we should remember that the dislike for spiritual gradualism as well doctrinal intricacy is not a phenomenon limited to the Chinese people alone. This is rather a general human trait, and it may also explain why throughout Asia, religious traditions like the Pure Land, faith in the *Lotus Sutra*, Esoteric Buddhism, and Chan/Zen have proved more successful than the complex systems of spiritual praxis based on grand doctrinal edifices.

[126] The scholar-monk Qianshou 千守 (1064-1127) produced in 1121 a critical edition of To-ryun's 道倫 *Notes on the Yogācārabhūmi* (*Yuga ron gi* 瑜伽論記) (which apparently took him less than one month!) as well as a synoptic division 科文 and a commentary of this text (see Chikusa 2000a, 12-17).

[127] The YoBh and the commentarial literature dedicated to it do not seem, however, to have been central for this movement. Although the YoBh is cited in the works of Zhixu 智旭 (1599-1655) and Tongrun 通潤 (1565-1624), this treatise was not the subject of any major commentary left by the representative thinkers of the Late Ming period (see Shi 1987, 208-215).

[128] The mind-only theme is not only a Vijñānavādin doctrine. The earliest occurrence of *cittamātra* is in the DaśBh (Kondo ed. 98, 8-10), which is a part of the *Avataṁsakasūtra*. It, therefore, also came to play an important role in the Huayan/Kegon School. On the influence of the mind-only concept on the Huayan thought in China, see Kamata 1983. The origin of the motif of the 'all phenomena are only mind' in Chinese Buddhism may thus be double: Vijñānavāda and Huayan.

[129] Dōgen 道元 (1200-1253) also devotes one chapter in his *Shōbō genzō* 正法眼藏 to the discussion of the 'three realms being mind-only' 三界唯心 (Terada and Mizuno ed., vol. 2, pp. 11-16).

[130] The idealist theme of 'all phenomena being only consciousness/mind' 萬法唯識 /萬法唯心 continued to make its presence felt in modern times. We see its influence in the thought of Tan Sitong 譚嗣同 (1865-1898) and Zhang Binglin 章炳麟 (1869-1936) (Kamata 1999, 657). Some of the most representative scholar-monks of the 20th century China, like Taixu 太虛 (1890-1947) and Ouyang Jian 歐陽漸 (1870-1943), also showed a keen interest in Vijñānavāda in general and the YoBh in particular. Both masters actually wrote commentaries upon the latter work. The philosopher Xiong Shili 熊十力 (1885-1968), who studied under Ouyang Jian and attempted a synthesis between the Neo-Confucianism and Vijñānavāda, also draws heavily upon the YoBh in one of his representative works, the *Fojiao mingxiang tongshi* 佛教名相通釋 (see Wang Hailin 1998, 601-606) (Wang also discusses Yinshun's 印順 views on the YoBh and Vijñānavāda; ibid. 606-608).

[131] Gimello 1997 also contains a critical edition and translation of this text.

[132] See, for example, notes 38 and 159 to my English translation. We can also add here the following reference to the seven contemplations found in the *Da fangguang fo huayan sui shu yan yi chao*: 了相作意等即七作意 (T36.374c29-375a1).

[133] The Buddha's light is a general Mahāyāna theme, but the inclusion of the sentient beings into the Buddha's light, whose basic metaphorical meaning is that of compassion, originates with the Pure Land spirituality. The concept of the Buddha's light occupies a major role in Myōe's thought and praxis (see Shibasaki 2003, 223ff.). The distinction between the Buddha's bodily light 身光 and his mental light 心光 appears to be Myōe's unique dichotomy. Its meaning in Myōe's doctrinal system is discussed in Lee 2003.

[134] In the same passage, Myōe directly mentions the three types of light which are found in the YoBh: 瑜伽論出三種光明 [...] (Kamata and Tanaka ed. 1971, p. 367, lower segment, l. 5). This probably refers to the SamBh (T30.330a25-b7; Delhey ed. pp. 97-98). In the ŚrBh, we find four kinds of light (ŚrBh-Gr (17) 23, 6-8; T30.437a11-15), of which only *dharmāloka* 法光 has an equivalent in the SamBh set of three types of light.

श्रावकभूमिः　　　聲聞地　　　ཉན་ཐོས་ཀྱི་ས་

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Part Two

A TRILINGUAL EDITION (SANSKRIT, TIBETAN, CHINESE) OF THE CHAPTER ON THE MUNDANE PATH (*Laukikamārga*)

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CHAPTER ONE

Editing Conventions

I General Remarks

This chapter lists the textual witnesses upon which each edition is based, the emendation principles, technical aspects related to the notes, punctuation, spelling, romanisation, etc. as well as the sigla and the main abbreviations used in the editions below.[1]

The general principles underlying my annotations have been explained in the Introduction to Part One. Here I shall limit myself to a few technical clarifications. In all editions, I have adopted a negative critical apparatus. This tacitly implies that the textual witnesses not mentioned in the footnote to a *varia lectio* reads the same as the text of my edition. Aspects relevant only to one edition are separately discussed in each respective section below. One common feature of the annotations in the Tibetan and Chinese editions is that my notes also translate and often explain those phrases and/or sentences worded differently from the Sanskrit original. These differences are marked by double underlining (see Sigla below). Important textual and translation problems are also discussed in the endnotes to the English translation, especially when such discussions would require too much space.

The Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese editions as well as the English translation are divided into textual units which do not appear in the original. This division is inspired by (but not exactly identical with) the Japanese *kundoku* translation of the text found in the *Kokuyaku daizōkyō* (see Sigla below, under KIK). This, in its turn, is based upon a long commentarial tradition which a splits a scripture into passages of various lengths. Such an exegetical process is called 科文 (Chinese, *kewen*/Japanese, *kamon*) or 科判 (*kepan*/*kahan*).[2] The *Kokuyaku daizōkyō* divides the text into four major units which are called: *shō* 章, *setsu* 節, *kō* 項, and *moku* 目, the latter being further divided into

different levels and sublevels. The actual limits and titles of the units in my edition differ from the *Kokuyaku daizōkyō* in many details. Such differences will not be mentioned in my notes unless relevant for the overall understanding of the text. My numeration of the textual units of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, which in its most developed form has six digits, roughly stands for 'part number, chapter number, subchapter number, section number, subsection number, passage number'.[3] For example, 3.28.2.1.2.4. means 'Part Three, Chapter 28, Subchapter 2, Section 1, Subsection 2, Passage 4'.[4] Large passages have also been divided into paragraphs, to which, however, I have assigned no number or sigla. The only way which marks their beginning is the indentation.[5] Though a certain degree of arbitrariness cannot be ruled out, all the textual units listed above, from 'chapter' to 'paragraph', represent more or less unitary theme-centred divisions of the text.[6]

II Diplomatic Edition of the Sanskrit Manuscript

The diplomatic edition romanises the only surviving Sanskrit manuscript of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*. For this, I have relied entirely on the *Facsimile Edition of the "Śrāvakabhūmi" Sanskrit Palm-leaf Manuscript* published in 1994 by the Taishō University and the China Library of Nationalities (see Bibliography, under ŚrBh) (hereafter, MS).[7] The decision to have both a diplomatic and critical edition of the Sanskrit text may appear rather unusual, especially in view of the existence of the facsimile edition. I have, nevertheless, considered that the inclusion of a diplomatic edition will have the following advantages:[8]

(1) The facsimile edition was issued in a very limited number of copies. Technically, it is a superb achievement (especially its colour version), but this also means that its price is not exactly affordable. These two factors make the facsimile edition not so easily available. For the readers wishing to get a more concrete idea of the manuscript, a diplomatic edition will be reflect this better than a critical edition.

(2) It is, I believe, more convenient for the average student of Buddhism to have the text in Latin alphabet rather than in a mediaeval Northern Indian script.

(3) A diplomatic edition can reproduce the peculiarities of the manuscript more faithfully than the footnotes of a critical edition. Our *Śrāvakabhūmi* manuscript is the only traditional witness of the Sanskrit text. Any of its details may be a fingerprint of one sort or another, and these may be relevant not only for this text but also for our understanding of the codicological tradition in India in general. What we perceive as a punctuation abnormality may one day prove to be a convention whose meaning was unknown or might be an important clue for determining the scribal tradition to which the manuscript belongs. The same holds true for the so-called 'irregular' *sandhi*. First of all, it is debatable whether the non-observation of strict *sandhi* rules in the scribal tradition *always* represented an erroneous practice or may reflect alternative conventions based on different local traditions and/or scribal schools. More often than not, Buddhist manuscripts contain quite a number of *sandhi* 'irregularities'.[9] Future research may treat these as important criteria in identifying the scribal lineage behind the manuscripts. Last but not least, some of these *sandhi* 'irregularities' may go back to the original itself and provide precious indications concerning the linguistic background of the author(s)

and/or the editor(s) of the text.[10]

Recording all like details becomes thus an important task, and the diplomatic edition seems to be an excellent medium to do it. I have attempted to create a near-mirror reflection of the MS noting all full and half *daṇḍa*s and romanising the text on the basis of the original *akṣara*-pattern.[11] This means that the diplomatic edition is not divided into words and compounds but into groups of letters faithfully reflecting the MS *akṣara*s. For example, what in the critical edition is romanised as *tatra labdhamanaskārasya yoginaḥ* (beginning of Chapter 3.28.) appears in the diplomatic edition as *ta tra la bdha ma na skā ra sya yo gi naḥ*, similar to the MS which writes one *akṣara* for *ta*, one for *tra*, and so on.[12]

The notes in the Sanskrit diplomatic edition mainly record codicological features. I mention other editors' deciphering only when the *akṣara*(s) in question is/are problematic. There are some places (especially in Shukla's edition) where it is difficult to determine if the reading suggested by the editor comes from a different decipherment followed by tacit emendation or is simply a typographical mistake. In such cases, I usually mention the respective readings in the notes to the Sanskrit critical edition.

Finally, one word about the quality of the manuscript. Although scribal errors and omissions do exist, it is, I think, an acceptably good manuscript. It is written in a beautiful hand also having, in my opinion, a calligraphical value.

III Critical Edition of the Sanskrit Original

The critical edition is obviously based upon this unique MS. My emendations rely on conclusions derived from the collation of the Tibetan and Chinese translations, comparison with other sources, or mere conjecture. I have also collated the MS with Shukla's edition as well as with the fragments edited by Wayman, Choi, and Sakuma (for details, see the Abbreviations below and Bibliography). Different readings and/or emendations suggested by other editors are always recorded and, whenever meaningful, discussed in the footnotes. I have often explained the reasons for my emendations, but there also obvious cases, such as mere typographical errors or different editing conventions, which did not need any elaboration.[13] Usually, my notes romanise Shukla's variant readings, but occasionally I write them in *devanāgarī* when romanisation would have required too many explanations or sigla.

It goes without saying that there are punctuation and *sandhi* differences between the Sanskrit diplomatic edition and the Sanskrit critical edition. In the latter, I have italicised all my emendations. However, I have not considered it necessary to italicise minor differences, like *sandhi* or punctuation. For the latter details, the diplomatic edition should be consulted. Neither do the notes to the critical edition record spelling, *sandhi*, and punctuation differences from previous editions, unless semantically relevant. It should be mentioned here that in general, Shukla follows closely the MS spelling.[14] Wayman emends *sandhi* more often than not, but sometimes he also follows the MS as such.[15] Both Choi and Sakuma apply strict *sandhi* rules in their edited fragments.

In punctuating the Sanskrit text, I have relied mainly upon the conventions adopted in modern Indology. These are also close to the rules followed by the modern publications of Sanskrit texts in India. Most of the recent editions of Sanskrit texts make use of all punctuation marks found in European languages without, however, abandoning

daṇḍa, which is employed instead of the full stop. This is also the convention adopted by Shukla in his edition of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*.[16] Since my edition is romanised, a purely Western punctuation system seemed, however, more appropriate.[17] The only detail which diverges from general Western punctuation rules is the non-capitalised initial letter in the first word of a new sentence. This, however, is a practice frequently seen in modern Indology.[18]

In the critical edition, I have consistently applied classical *sandhi* rules. One of the difficult decisions was how to deal with *sandhi* in enumerations. Obviously, Western punctuation requires that words in a list should be separated by comma. This, however, raises the problem of whether each lexical item enumerated should be regarded as the end of a sequence, and therefore treated as zero-*sandhi*, or whether cursive *sandhi* should be applied, disregarding thus the pause which the comma basically implies. Both alternatives have their merits and demerits. In the end, a choice had to be made, and I have opted for the former solution. Shukla appears to have chosen the latter alternative. The MS itself is not consistent. Even in the same enumeration, some terms are treated as forming a continuous sequence, and *sandhi* is applied correspondingly, other words, although not occurring at the end of the phrase, are written with zero-*sandhi* resolution.[19]

IV Critical Edition of the Tibetan Translation

The critical edition of the Tibetan translation is based upon the collation of five traditional witnesses, i.e., Peking, dGa'-ldan, sNar-thang, sDe-dge, and Co-ne Canons. One modern edition, the *Zhonghua Canon* (*Tibetan Texts*) (see under ZT below) as well as the fragments edited by Choi and Sakuma have also been collated. When there are no clear indications, philological and/or grammatical, to decide in favour of a variant reading, I have followed the readings of the Peking Canon (which quite often agrees with dGa'-ldan, sNar-thang; see Chapter Three above). There are some cases in which all traditional witnesses appear to be incorrect, and these were emended in accordance with the Sanskrit original.

Critically editing a traditional translation involves some delicate problems. One distinction which should be made is that between transmission errors and translation mistakes or divergences. The former represent errors that have appeared in the course of the manuscript and typographic transmission of the text and depart from the translator's original rendering. The latter result from the translator's misunderstanding of the original or his deliberate changes usually made in order to bring more clarity into the target-language. The rule of thumb was to emend the former and keep the latter as such. The main problem underlying this principle is finding clear criteria for distinguishing between these two types of errors. I am afraid that mathematical precision cannot be attained in this respect, especially when a transmission error also makes some sense. The situation is further complicated by the fact that divergences from our *extant* Sanskrit original may have also resulted from different readings in the manuscript(s) used by the Tibetan translators. These problematic points are usually discussed in my notes, but completely satisfactory answers and solution are, I am afraid, not always possible.

The following two examples will better illustrate the complexity of the issues involved. In passage 3.28.2.1.3., I have emended Tib. *zhi bar byed de* to *mos par byed de*

in spite of the fact that the former reading is transmitted in all our traditional Canons. This reading, however, hardly makes any sense at all, and coupled with other arguments detailed in my annotation, I have emended the text to latter reading. Though slightly more meaningful, Tib. *kun tu sbyor bar byed pa* in passage 3.28.2.1.5. a reading also attested by all traditional witnesses, is most likely an error for *kun tu skyo bar byed pa* and should be emended accordingly. I conjecture that a scribal error in the early Tibetan transmission of the translation (writing *sbyor bar* instead of *skyo bar*) is more probable than a Sanskrit MS reading *saṁyojayati* instead of *saṁvejayati* (the latter being supported by the Sanskrit MS, Chinese translation, and the semantic context).

The footnotes to the Tibetan edition register the *variae lectiones* in the following way. I note the variant readings of one-syllable or two-syllable words (the latter usually including those ending in *pa/ba*) without giving the preceding and/or succeeding words of their respective context. The same has been done with omissions, in which case I write the name of the Canon(s) followed by 'omit(s)'. For *variae lectiones* consisting in more than one word, I usually give two or three preceding words and mark the variant reading with undulated underlining. The same is done in those cases in which a textual witness contains one or more additional words when compared to the text of my edition. In some occurrences, for clarity's sake, I also give one or two words following the *varia lectio*. In all cases, I think that the underlining will make clear which word(s) represent(s) the addition. The variant readings recorded in the footnotes are usually romanised, but occasionally I also employ the Tibetan script when this makes the understanding of the *varia lectio* easier.[20]

As far as the punctuation of the Tibetan edition is concerned, the rules are simple. The usage of the single and double *shad*s (together with their ornamental siblings) is the main punctuation practice in both Classical and Modern Tibetan as well as in Modern Tibetology. Some recent texts and publications adopt Western-inspired punctuation marks,[21] but the editions of classical texts have not been influenced by this trend.[22] The romanisation follows Wylie's Standardised Transliteration System.[23]

V Critical Edition of the Chinese Translation

The critical edition of the Tibetan Chinese is based upon the collation of 14 traditional witnesses, i.e., Chongning, Fangshan, Hongwu, Jin, Jingshan, Koryŏ, Puning, Qing, Qisha, Shōsō-in, Tenna, Yongle-bei, Yongle-nan, and Zifu (see Abbreviations below). Information concerning the readings of Jingshan, Puning, Qing, Shōsō-in, Tenna, Yongle-nan, and Zifu is based on the notes in the Taishō and Zhonghua Canons. As pointed out in Part One, Chapter Four, these notes sometimes appear to omit some readings or are quite confusing. Unfortunatley, my own annotations may thus have inherited such potentially incorrect information. I have also collated the Hongwu and Yongle-bei Canons (in their modern facsimile reproductions; see below), whose readings have not been checked by the Taishō and *Zhonghua dazangjing* editions.

The modern edition of the Taishō Canon and the fragments edited by Sakuma have also been collated. I also note the pages in the *Zhonghua dazangjing* (see under ZC below), but strictly speaking, its main text reproduces the Jin edition and must consequently be counted as a traditional witness. The modern editions of the Manji zōkyō, Manji zōkyō (Taiwan), Shukusatsuzō Canons have been consultated only for a

few readings. Finally, the Japanese *kundoku* translations of KDK and KIK have been also collated not only for the value of the renderings but also for checking their readings.

At the beginning of each passage, I give the page number, etc. of Taishō, ZC (Jin), Fangshan, Koryŏ, Qisha, and (for a few fragments) Sakuma editions. The Jin, Fangshan, Koryŏ, and Qisha editions are the most important traditional text witnesses which I could consult directly. They represent main lineages or sublineages in the transmission of the text (see Part One, Chapter Four, Section Ⅲ).[24]

In the critical edition of the Chinese translation, I record in the footnotes only the different reading or omission of the character in question, without giving its larger context. As explained in the previous section, distinguishing between a transmission error and a rendering mistake if far from easy. The Chinese translation of the *Yogācārabhūmi* is relatively well transmitted, and the former type of error does not appear to occur in our chapter. There are, however, some dirvergences from the Sanskrit original which seem to be translation mistakes, and these have been kept as such. Once again, it must be emphasised that we do not know how the manuscript(s) used by Xuanzang actually read. For example, in passage 3.28.2.1.2.5., I have not emended Xuanzang's 住 in the phrase 魔之所住, which suggests *nivāsa* instead of the preferable reading *nivāpa*. The latter is, I believe, a much better reading, but the former also makes sense and could be, if not the original reading intended by the author(s)/compiler(s) of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, at least, an alternative redactional or transmissional variant in the Sanskrit manuscript(s) employed by Xuanzang.

The Chinese modern punctuation has been adopted for my edition (as well as for other Chinese texts cited in this book). This system has borrowed most of the European conventions and added some special marks.[25] One of the latter is the full stop which in Chinese is shaped as 。. Another is the usage of 、 which is a comma specialised for separating items in an enumeration and placed after numerals in a list.[26] The usual comma , is employed in all other situations. Titles are inserted between 《 》. Proper names are underlined (by single line).[27] There are a few other special marks and conventions, but they are not relevant for the present edition. My punctuation is thus different from Taishō Canon both in terms of the signs used (the latter employs only the traditional 。) and the places where they are applied. Given the widespread usage of the Taishō Canon, I have concluded that footnotes drawing attention to the differences from the Taishō Canon punctuation, unless semantically relevant, will unnecessarily burden the critical apparatus. Besides, the Taishō Canon reflects the decisions of its modern editors, which may certainly be useful but are not always correct. It should be borne in mind that the traditional Chinese Canons (at least, all those which I have consulted; see above) employ no punctuation marks.

Allographs in the Chinese editions are not mentioned in my footnotes, unless they represent a *varia lectio* (in which case I have preferred to scan them in order to preserve all their graphic peculiarities, sometimes lost in modern computer fonts). These allographs appear quite frequently, especially in manuscripts as well as traditional Canons (as, for instance, the Jin Canon reproduced in the *Zhonghua dazangjing*). A 'classical' example is the usage of 无 for 無. Though allographs can be of interest for the study of the manuscript copying and woodblock printing history in China, I have considered that a detailed record is not necessary for my present endeavour.

Obviously, the Chinese text is written in traditional non-simplified characters. As for the transcription, I have used the Pinyin system when romanisation is necessary. For middle Chinese pronunciation, I have usually relied on Pulleyblank's reconstructions (1996). Occasionally, Tōdō 1978 has also been consulted.[28]

VI Sigla

(Folio/page number, line number, and segment): indicates the place of the respective passage in the MS and the various textual witnesses.

(1) In the Sanskrit diplomatic edition, I note the MS folio number, recto (noted as 'a') or verso (noted as 'b'), line number, and segment (L=left; M=middle; R=right). I note all these details at each change of the segment in the MS. Thus, **MS 114a3L** means left segment, line 3, recto of folio 114 of the MS.

(2) In the critical Sanskrit edition, I also give the MS folio number, recto/verso, line number, and segment. I note the page number followed after comma by the line number in Shukla's (Sh) edition at the beginning of each textual unit. Thus, **Sh 441, 16** means Shukla's edition, p. 441, l. 16. I also note the beginning of a new page in Shukla's edition (for the change of segment, etc. in the MS, see the diplomatic edition). I also note the page and line for the fragments edited by Wayman (W) and the page and section number for the passages edited by Choi and Sakuma. In the case when the end of such partially edited fragments does not coincide with the end of my textual units, I note the end of these fragments within bold brackets in my text.[29]

(3) In the critical edition of the Tibetan translation, the traditional number of the volume (Wi and Dzi; see Abbreviations below) is omitted. After the abbreviation of the respective Canon, I write the folio number, recto (noted as 'a') or verso (noted as 'b'), and line number of the beginning of each passage. Thus, **P 197b2** means Peking Canon, (Wi volume,) folio 197 verso, line 2. The section and page number of the passages edited by Choi and Sakuma is also given. I also note when a new folio (recto and verso) or page in the Peking, sDe-dge, and Zhonghua Canons begins.

(4) In the critical edition of the Chinese translation, the volume number (for which , see Abbreviations below) of the Chinese editions is not noted. Most of the Chinese Canons which I consulted are printed with two or three segments per page (for details, see Abbreviations below). These are marked as 'a', 'b', and if the case may be, 'c'. In all references to these Canons, I write thus the page, segment, and column number. For example, **T 465a24** means Taishō Canon, (vol. 30,) p. 465, segment 'a' (= upper segment), column 24. The beginning of each passage also gives the page, segment, and column number in the modern facsimile reproductions of the Fangshan, Koryŏ, and Qisha Canons as well as section and page number of the passages edited by Sakuma. I also note when a new segment in the Taishō and Zhonghua Canons begins.

| full *daṇḍa* in the Skt. MS as well as *shad* in the Tibetan edition

' half-*daṇḍa* Its size may vary from a little vertical stroke, rightly deserving its name of 'half-*daṇḍa*', to a mere dot placed after an *akṣara*, usually at a half the height of a letter. Sometimes the scribe uses a half- *daṇḍa* followed by a full *daṇḍa*, which is marked as '| (e.g., MS 113b4L = passage 3.28.2.1.1. in my edition).[30]

|| double *shad* in the Tibetan edition

⊤ *spungs shad* or ⊤ in the Tibetan edition[31]

⇒ stands in the Sanskrit diplomatic edition for the sign used by the scribe to show that the line continues after a segment or part of it had to be skipped. It sometimes occurs on the bottom lines of the MS when a part or the whole of the left segment (and, occasionally, even part of the middle segment) could not be used because the irregular shape of the palm-leaf did not offer enough space. For the actual shape of the sign, see Suzuki 1995, 16, marks for 'line(s) continue'.

~~~ stands in the Sanskrit diplomatic edition for the sign (shaped as an undulated line) used by the scribe in the middle of a line usually to show that cracks in the palm-leaf did not allow the usage of the respective part of the line. Its size can vary from about 4.5 cm (MS 114a2L) to about 1.2 cm (MS 114a5L).

|| ◎ || stands in the Sanskrit diplomatic edition for the sign used by the scribe at the end/beginning of a Yogasthāna or (what he deemed to be) a new section. It can have different sizes and slightly different shapes. For two examples of the actual shape of the sign, see Suzuki 1995, 16, marks for 'at the end of chapter or paragraph'.

【 】 stands in the Sanskrit diplomatic edition for the sign used by the scribe when he deleted *akṣara*(s). For the actual signs used by the scribe to cancel *akṣara*s , see Suzuki 1995, 16, marks for 'cancell'.

` ´ stands in the Sanskrit diplomatic edition for the sign used by the scribe when he (or another proof-reader?) added *akṣara*(s) between the lines or at the bottom of the palm-leaf. Whenever necessary, details about such additions are given in the footnotes.

Dots under *akṣara*(s): stand in the Sanskrit diplomatic edition for damaged or unclear *akṣara*(s). There are many places in the MS where *akṣara*s are blotted or faint, but these will not be marked if the decipherment is possible. The dots will be used only when the *akṣara*s are partially or wholly illegible.

Italicisation: draws attention to emendations adopted in the Sanskrit diplomatic edition and Tibetan edition. Punctuation and *sandhi* differences are not, however, italicised.
~~~

Italicisation(?): conjectural emendation. A question mark within brackets is also used in the Sanskrit diplomatic edition and the English translation to indicated the highly conjectural character of a decipherment or rendering.[32]

⟨*Italicisation*⟩: represents an editorial addition

{*Italicisation*}: represents an editorial deletion[33]

Bold type: In the Sanskrit critical, Tibetan and Chinese editions, as well as the corresponding places in the English translation, I use bold type for those canonical words and phrases quoted and then glossed by the author(s)/editor(s) of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*. There are many other passages which can be regarded as citations from or have parallels in scriptural sources or post-canonical texts, but unless they are clearly presented as such by the author(s)/editor(s) of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, in other words, unless followed by *iti*, they have not been marked by any sigla.[34]

Bold italicisation: In the Sanskrit critical and Tibetan editions, this is used for titles of works referred at in the text.[35]

Tib./Ch.: ______ in the footnotes to the critical editions of the Tibetan and Chinese translations, double-underlined words or phrases mark differences from the Sanskrit original (see above).

VII Abbreviations

For convenience's sake, I list below the abbreviations directly connected to my trilingual editions of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*. I give here only minimum bibliographical data and , when appropriate, also mention the volume and page number where Yogasthāna IV is found. Full bibliographical data is found in the Bibliography under the same abbreviations as those used below.

BHS: Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit lexical form or grammatical peculiarity.

C: Co-ne *bsTan 'gyur*.
Here it refers to volume *Dzi* where Yogasthāna IV of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* translation is found.
(When I refer to a reading which is not clear in the microfiche or my photocopy of it, I write: 'C microfiche'.)

Ch.: Chinese translation of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*. Also, Chinese translation, language, or pronunciation in general.

Ch. ed.: My critical edition of the Chinese translation of the Chapter on the Mundane Path of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*.

CD-ROM: Taishō shinshū daizōkyō kankōkai, supervised, CD-ROM containing vol. 30 of the Taishō Canon.

Choi: Choi Jong-Nam, *Die dreifache Schulung (Śikṣā) in der frühen Yogācāra-Schule: Der 7. Band des Hsien-yang shêng-chiao lun.*
Fragments from Yogasthāna Ⅳ are found at pp. 166-174 (Sanskrit) and 198-206 (Tibetan).

Chongning: Chongning Canon 崇寧藏.
In the Taishō Canon, it is called the 'Old Song Edition belonging to the Library of the Imperial Household' 宮内省圖書寮本(舊宋本) and is abbreviated as 宮.

D: sDe-dge *bsTan 'gyur*.
Here it refers to volume *Dzi* where Yogasthāna Ⅳ of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* translation is found. Facsimile reproductions of Yogasthāna Ⅳ of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* are found in:

1. D-Tokyo: *sDe dge Tibetan Tripiṭaka bsTan ḥgyur – preserved at the Faculty of Letters University of Tokyo – Sems tsam*, Vol. 6, *Dsi*, pp. 82-98.
2. D-Taipei: Taipei Edition 台北版, *The Tibetan Tripiṭaka*. Vol. 39, pp. 285-294.
3. D-TBRC: Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center (CD-ROM), *Bstan 'gyur sde dge'i par ma*: *Commentaries on the Buddha's Word by Indian Masters*. CD No. 7. File 23703128.pdf.

(When I refer to a reading which is not clear in the facsimile reproduction, I write: 'D reproduction'.)

Engl. tr.: My English translation of the Chapter on the Mundane Path of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*.

Fangshan: Fangshan Stone-carved Canon 房山石經.
It is collated in the Zhonghua Canon, where it is abbreviated as 石. The facsimile reproduction of Yogasthāna Ⅳ of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* translation is found in:
The Buddhist Association of China, *Fangshan shijing (Liao-Jin kejing)*, vol. 18, pp. 279a-297a.
(Each page contains two photographic reproductions. The upper one is referred to as 'a', and to the lower one as 'b'.)

G: dGa'-ldan (or Golden) *bsTan 'gyur*. Here it refers to volume *Wi* where Yogasthāna Ⅳ of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* translation is found. Its facsimile reproduction is found in:
China Library of Nationalities, *bsTan 'gyur*, vol. 62, pp. 118-141.
(When I refer to a reading which is not clear in the facsimile reproduction, I write: 'G reproduction'.)

Hongwu: Hongwu Southern Canon 洪武南藏.
The facsimile reproduction of Yogasthāna Ⅳ of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* translation is found in:
Sichuan Buddhist Association, publisher, *Hongwu Nanzang*, vol. 78, pp. 1-21a.

Jin: Jin Canon 金藏. See under ZC.

Jingshan: Jingshan Canon 徑山藏.
In the Taishō Canon (which actually used the Ōbaku reprint of the Jingshan Canon), it is called the 'Ming Edition' 明本 and is abbreviated as 明.
In the Zhonghua Canon, it is called the 'Jingshan Canon' and is abbreviated as 徑.

Jp.: Japanese translation, language, or pronunciation in general.
KDK: *Kokuyaku daizōkyō* 國譯大藏經.
The Japanese *kundoku* translation of Yogasthāna IV of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* which is found in:
Saeki Jōin 佐伯定胤, tr. [1917-1928] 1986. *Ronbu* 論部. Vol.7, pp. 133-189. Tokyo: Daiichi shobō.
KIK: *Kokuyaku issaikyō* 國譯一切經.
The Japanese *kundoku* translation of the Yogasthāna IV of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* which is found in :
Katō Seishin 加藤精神 tr., Katsumata Shunkyō 勝又俊教 and Mukai Ryūken 向井隆健 revised. First ed. 1931. Second revised ed. 1993. *Indo senjutsu-bu* 印度撰述部. *Yugaron* 瑜伽論. Vol. 2, pp. 232-272. Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha.
Koryŏ: 2nd edition of the Korean Canon 高麗再雕版大藏經.
It is collated in the Taishō Canon, where it is referred at as the 'Kao-Li Edition' 麗本 and in the Zhonghua Canon, which calls it the 'Gaoli Canon' 高麗藏. Both the Taishō Canon and the Zhonghua Canon abbreviate it as 麗.
The facsimile reproduction of Yogasthāna IV of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* translation is found in:
T'ungkug daehak, *Koryŏ Taejangkyong*, vol. 15, pp. 736c-754c.
(Each page contains three segments which are referred to as 'a', 'b', and 'c'.)
Manji zōkyō: Manji zōkyō 卍字藏經 (= *Dai Nihon kōtei kunten daizōkyō*)
Yogasthāna IV of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* translation is found in:
Dai Nihon kōtei kunten daizōkyō, vol. *Rai* 2 來二 pp. 56-61.
Manji zōkyō (Taiwan): Manji zōkyō 卍字藏經, Taiwan reprint.
Yogasthāna IV of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* translation is found in:
Wan zheng zangjing, vol. 38, pp. 0113a-0122.
MS: Manuscript of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*.
The facsimile reproduction of Yogasthāna IV of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* is found in:
Taishō University (Tokyo) and China Library of Nationalities (Beijing). *Facsimile Edition of the "Śrāvakabhūmi" Sanskrit Palm-leaf Manuscript*, folios 113a-129a.
N: sNar-thang *bsTan 'gyur*.
Here it refers to volume *Wi* where Yogasthāna IV of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* translation is found. In the woodblock print of the *sNar Thang bsTan 'Gyur* recently released in India, this represents volume (= traditional bundle) 51.
(When I refer to a reading which is not clear in the facsimile reproduction, I write: 'N reproduction').
P: Peking Canon.
Here it refers to volume *Wi* where Yogasthāna IV of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* translation is found. Its facsimile reproduction is found in:
D.T. Suzuki, ed.. *The Tibetan Tripitaka, Peking Edition, Reprinted under the Supervision of the Otani University, Kyoto*, vol. 110, pp. 115-130.
(When I refer to a reading which is not clear in the facsimile reproduction, I write: 'P reproduction'.)
Puning: Puning Canon 普寧藏.

In the Taishō Canon, it is called the 'Yuan Edition' 元本 and abbreviated as 元.
In the Zhonghua Canon, it is abbreviated as 普.

Qing: Qing Canon 清藏.
In the Zhonghua Canon, it is abbreviated as 清.

Qisha: Qisha Canon 磧砂藏.
In the Zhonghua Canon, it is abbreviated as 磧. The facsimile reproduction of Yogasthāna Ⅳ of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* translation is found in:
Yansheng-yuan Tripiṭaka Bureau ed., *Songban Qisha dazangjing*, vol. 15, pp. 339c-344c.
(Each page contains three segments which are referred to as 'a', 'b', and 'c'.)

Sakuma: Hidenori S. Sakuma, *Die Āśrayaparivṛitti-Theorie in der Yogācārabhūmi*.
Fragments from Yogasthāna Ⅳ are found in Vol. Ⅱ, pp. 28-36 (Sanskrit), 66-76 (Tibetan), and 87-91 (Chinese).

Sh: Karunesha Shukla ed., *Śrāvakabhūmi of Ācārya Asaṅga*.
Yogasthāna Ⅳ is found at pp. 437-470.

Shōsō-in: 'Tempyō Mss. (A.D. 629-) and the Chinese Mss. of the Sui (A.D. 581-617) and Tang (A. D. 618-822) dynasties, belonging to the Imperial Treasure House Shōsō-in 正倉院 at Nara, collectively called the Shōgo-zō' 正倉院聖語藏本 (天平寫經), collated by the Taishō Canon and abbreviated as 聖. The manuscript of the Chinese translation of the *Yogācārabhūmi* was copied between 739 and 740.

Shukla: also used as an abbreviation of Karunesha Shukla ed., *Śrāvakabhūmi of Ācārya Asaṅga*.

Shukusatsuzō: 縮刷藏 (= *Dai Nihon kōtei shukkoku daizōkyō*).
Yogasthāna Ⅳ of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* translation is found in:
Dai Nihon kōtei shukkoku daizōkyō, Set 20, Fascicle 6, pp. 153a-157a.

Skt.: Sanskrit text of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*. Also, Sanskrit language in general.

Skt. crit. ed.: My critical edition of the Chapter on the Mundane Path of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*.

Skt. dipl. ed.: My diplomatic edition of the Chapter on the Mundane Path of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*.

T (or Taishō): Taishō Canon. Yogasthāna Ⅳ of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* translation is found in:
Takakusu Junjirō and Watanbe Kaikyō, chief eds., *Taishō shinshu daizōkyō*, vol. 30, pp. 465a-477c.
(Each page contains three segments which are referred to as 'a', 'b', and 'c'.)

Tenna: The Japanese woodblock print of the *Yuga shi ji ron* 瑜伽師地論, i.e., the Chinese translation of the *Yogācārabhūmi*, issued in year 2 of the Tenna 天和 Era (1682) and belonging to Katō Seishin's 加藤精神 collection which was collated by the Taishō Canons and abbreviated as 甲.

Tib.: Tibetan translation of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*. Also, Tibetan translation or language in general.

Tib. ed.: My critical edition of the Chapter on the Mundane Path of the Tibetan translation of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*.

W (or Wayman): Alex Wayman, *Analysis of the Śrāvakabhūmi Manuscript*.

Fragments from Yogasthāna Ⅳ at found at pp. 125-134.

Yongle-bei: Northern Canon of the Yongle Era 永樂北藏.

The facsimile reproduction of Yogasthāna Ⅳ of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* translation is found in:

Yongle beizang Editing Committee, ed., *Yongle beizang*, vol. 96, pp. 155a-178a.

Yongle-nan: Southern Canon of the Yongle Era 永樂南藏.

In the Zhonghua Canon, it is abbreviated as 南.

ZC (or Zhonghua): Zhonghua Canon (Chinese Texts).

The edition is a facsimile reproduction mainly of the Jin Canon 金藏 (with occasional additions from the Koryŏ Canon) and is collated with eight other traditional Canons. Yogasthāna Ⅳ of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* translation is found in:

Zhonghua Canon Editing Bureau ed., *Zhonghua dazangjing (Hanwen bufen)*, vol.27, pp. 663b-683a.

(I usually employ the abbreviation 'ZC' when referring to this Canon as a modern edition, especially to its page numbers and collation notes. For the particular readings of the Zhaocheng Jin Canon itself, I use the abbreviation 'ZC (Jin)' or 'Jin'.)

(Each page contains three segments which are referred to as 'a', 'b', and 'c'.)

ZC (Jin): Jin Canon 金藏. See under ZC.

Zifu: Zifu Canon 資福藏.

In the Taishō Canon, it is called the 'Song Edition' 宋本 and is abbreviated as 宋.

In the Zhonghua Canon, it is called the 'Zifu Canon' and abbreviated as 資.

ZT: Zhonghua Canon (Tibetan Texts).

Yogasthāna Ⅳ of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* translation is found in:

Tripiṭaka Collation Bureau of China Tibetology Centre, ed. 2001. *Zhonghua dazangjing Danzhuer (duikanben) (zangwen)*, vol. 73, pp. 405-485.

NB: ① The Taishō Canon often refers to Zifu, Puning and Jingshan as the 'Three Editions of the Sung, Yuan, and Ming Dynasties' 宋，元，明，三本, and abbreviates these as 三 ('Three').

② In the Critical Edition of the Tibetan Translation, I refer to the stemma formed by the Peking, dGa'-ldan, and sNar-thang *bsTan 'gyur*s, as 'P-G-N', and to the stemma of the sDe-dge, Co-ne, and Zhonghua Canon (Tibetan Texts) *Tanjur*s, as 'D-C-ZT'.

NOTES

[1] For the conventions and sigla used in my English rendering of the *Laukikamārga* Chapter, see note 1 to English Translation. For general conventions concerning to citing and reference, see Bibliography.

[2] For the Chinese sources employed by the *Kokuyaku daizōkyō* translator, see KIK, *Yuga-bu*, vol. 1, pp. 18-19.

[3] I am sure that this does not represent a hierarchical list of textual units followed by all publications in the English language. Sometimes, 'section' may be used as a unit above 'chapter',

and I am afraid that if an author chooses this to be so, there are no decisive arguments against his or her decision. As far as my study is concerned, I have adopted the following hierarchical units. 'Book', i.e., a basic unit like our *Śrāvakabhūmi*, is employed for the seventeen *bhūmi*s which make up the *Yogācārabhūmi*. In this study, I use 'Part' to refer to the three *bhūmi*s, i.e., *Gotrabhūmi, Avatārabhūmi,* and *Naiṣkramyabhūmi*, which make up the *Śrāvakabhūmi*. The term *yogasthāna* has been left untranslated (see also notes to Chapter One).

[4] I also use the word 'passage' in a looser way to refer to any (relatively short) textual unit.

[5] Dividing a text into paragraphs is not easy, and in matters of detail, authors and editors are often bound to disagree. Quite often, I am afraid, there remains a certain degree of subjectivity in deciding whether a group of sentences deals with a single idea or not.

[6] See also Introduction to Part One above, especially note 12 on the notion of texteme.

[7] Thanks to the kindness of the Georg-August-Universität Niedersächische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek in Göttingen, I have also obtained a photocopy of the entire manuscript of the *Yogācārabhūmi* based on the negatives taken by R. Sāṅkṛtyāyana (see Part One, Chapter Two). I have checked a few of its readings to verify whether this is the same manuscript as the facsimile edition published by Taishō University and the China Library of Nationalities. Since this has proved to be the case, I have not used it for my edition.

[8] On diplomatic editing in general, see Tanselle 1995. Many other useful insights about diplomatic editions in various traditions are found in the same collection edited by Greetham 1995.

[9] For this aspect, see also Wogihara ed. AbhSamĀl, Preface, p. 3; Ashikaga ed. SukhVy (L), Introduction, pp. V – VI.

[10] It seems that the *sandhi* was not a perfectly mathematical reality even in very 'orthodox' Sanskrit circles. One factor which may have influenced the *sandhi* of the sacred texts was the *avasāna* or 'pause' required by the recitation or chanting practice (see Ashikaga ed. SukhVy (L), Introduction, V – VI). Furthermore, some phonetic and graphic characteristics such as the gemination of a consonant after *r* (e.g., *sarvva*, *karmma*, etc.) were actually considered optional even by classical grammarians (see Pāṇini 8.4.46; Whitney, 78-79; Nagao ed. MadhVibh, Introduction, p. 5). Speaking of the latter aspect, it should be mentioned that Shukla does not to record such alternative spellings and is not very consistent in his own spelling. Sometimes, he tacitly adopts the non-geminated forms (for example, p. 445, l. 5: *vartamāno* for MS *varttamāno*), but quite often geminates consonants after *r*. I have not considered it necessary to record such spellings in Shukla's edition (whether similar or different from the MS germination).

[11] One of the few divergences from the near-mirror representation of the Sanskrit MS is the division of the text into textual units (see below). The MS runs continuously, and the only interruptions are those determined by the cracks or size imperfections in the palm-leaves (see below).

[12] For the idea of an *akṣara*-based spelling, I am indebted to Martin Delhey who has also used it in his edition of the *Samāhitabhūmi* (see Delhey ed. and tr. 2002, 189-258).

[13] I suspect that in Shukla's edition there are quite a few typographical errors. Systematically discussing such mistakes, which have nothing to do with the editor's conscious decision, would have been meaningless.

[14] See, for instance, Subsection 3.28.1.2. where Shukla's spells *saka[la]bandhanānāñ ca* just like MS.

It should note here that when citing Shukla's readings, I reproduce his sigla. He uses square brackets [ ] for editorial additions and the parentheses ( ) to insert his own emendations after giving the wrong MS readings (see Shukla, p. XXIV). Shukla, however, does not seem to be always consistent with this convention and occasionally his usage of parentheses and square brackets is rather confusing.

[15] E.g., in Subsection 3.28.1.1., Waymany does not emend the MS *pudgalāḥ dṛṣta* to the standard *pudgalā dṛṣta*.

[16] It may be interesting to note here that Hindi as well as the so-called Spoken Sanskrit also adopt these rules. (For the latter, see, for instance, S.S. Janaki ed., *Spoken Sanskrit*, Madras: The Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, 1990; Ved Prakash and Dr. Shastri Kant Pandey, *Spoken Sanskrit*, New Delhi: Neeta Prakashan, 2001; etc.)

[17] Actually, some modern Sanskrit publications also seem to adopt a similar convention. Prakash and Pandey (see note 16 above), for example, use *daṇḍa*s in the Sanskrit text written in *nāgarī* script but full stops when romanising the respective passages.

[18] Capitalisation of the first letter is, however, seen in some romanised editions, as, for instance, in most of the PTS texts. The only cases when I used capitalisation in my edition were the proper names. This practice helps a better understanding of the original. A capital letter for Ānanda, the Buddha's disciple, can prevent the confusion with *ānanda*, used as a common noun. The only downside of capitalising proper names is that this may interfere with the *sandhi*. We may thus see a familiar name like Śāriputra becoming *Chāriputra* after *tasmāc* (e.g. the romanised edition of the *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya* in Nakamura Hajime 中村元 and Kino Kazuyoshi 紀野一義, annotated tr., *Hannya shin gyō, Kongō hannya kyō* 般若心経・金剛般若経, Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1960, p. 174). (I am indebted to Dr Maithrimurthi and Dr Delhey who kindly discussed with me some problems raised by punctuating Sanskrit texts and offered valuable suggestions.)

[19] For example, in the enumeration of the characteristics of the sensual pleasures in passage 3.28.2.1.2.5., we see the following phrase: *mṛṣāmoṣadharmāṇo māyopamāḥ bālalāpanāḥ*. Here *māyopamāḥ* is treated as the end of a sequence, though the enumeration continues with *bālalāpanāḥ*. The scribe must have been aware of this, since he uses no *daṇḍa* or half-*daṇḍa* after *māyopamāḥ*. As explained above, Shukla, although employing modern Sanskrit/Hindi punctuation rules and separating each word in the list by comma, faithfully follows the MS sandhi: *mṛṣāmoṣadharmāṇo, māyopamāḥ, bālalāpanāḥ* | (Sh 441,15).

[20] Some graphic peculiarities could not reproduced in Roman or Tibetan script. In such cases, I have scanned the occurrence in question (e.g., the dGa'-ldan reading in note 499 to passage 3.28.3.5.5.).

[21] Some modern Tibetan authors and publishers may occasionally adopt Western-inspired punctuation. For instance, in his novel *The Turquoise Headpiece* (*Gtsug g.yu*) published in 1985, the contemporary Tibetan author Penjor Langdun uses double quotation marks to note direct speech (text partially reproduced in Melvyn C. Goldstein, with Gelek Rimpoche and Lobsang Phuntshog, *Essentials of Modern Literary Tibetan: A Reading Course and Reference Grammar*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991, p. 367; see also p. 373, n. 1). Double quotation marks may also be used to draw attention to an ironical usage of a word. For instance, the 'Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution' (text reproduced in Goldstein, ibid., pp. 479-480) uses question marks with *mkhas dbang* or 'authorities' used ironically for 'reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities"'(ibid., 479). Modern political slogans and comics may also use sometimes question marks and exclamation marks (I am indebted for the latter information to Dr Achim Bayer).

All these do not, however, represent a standard practice even in modern publications, let alone editions of classical texts. The *Zhonghua* Canon (Tibetan Texts) also testifies to the fact that modern editions of classical Tibetan texts make use only of the traditional punctuation marks. The sole departure from this is found in the editorial endnotes where titles of the Canons are inserted between ≪ ≫, as in modern Chinese punctuation. The *Zhonghua* Canon (Tibetan Texts) also uses an ingenious convention of writing two dots (similar in shape to *tsheg* and

layered on the top of each other, looking more or less like a colon in Western punctuation) at the beginning of a phrase with *vario lectio*, its end being marked by the note number. This graphic convention clearly marks the boundaries of the phrase in question.

Another innovation which can be seen in some modern editions of classical Tibetan texts is the underlining of the titles (e.g., Kelsang and Odani 1991). Though this can be useful when the text is printed in Tibetan script, I think that in a romanisation this can be replaced by other conventions (see below).

[22] As in the case of the Sanskrit edition, I also capitalise the proper names and titles in Tibetan. Thus, in names like *bCom-ldan-'das* (passage 3.28.2.1.2.5.), which I treat as the direct reference to a particular person, and names of Heavens, which I regrad as a sub-type of toponymes (e.g. passages 3.28.6.1.- 3.28.6.6.), I capitalise the radical letter of the first word and connect the syllables by hyphen. As for titles, I capitalise the radical letter of the first word but do not connect by hyphen the rest of the title since the bold italicisation makes clear its extent (e.g., ***mNyam par bzhag pa'i sa'i*** in passage 3.28.5.2.11.). (I am indebted to Dr Achim Bayer who kindly shared with me his views about the romanisation of the Tibetan proper names.)

[23] The system labelled so from the name of the American scholar Turrell Wylie who proposed it in 1959 had been actually used before that date, most notably by Snellgrove in his *Buddhist Himalaya* (1957). On this and the 'proto-history' of the non-diacritical Tibetan transliteration, see Seyfort Ruegg (1989).

[24] In my notes to the Chinese critical edition, I also note the beginning of new paragraphs in Taishō, ZC (Jin), Koryŏ, and Qisha. (Fangshan has running text with no paragraphs at all; it only starts a new column for the *uddāna* at the beginning of the text.) The traditional witnesses are of particular interest in this respect since the opening of new paragraphs may offer clues concerning the stemmatic relations and also reflect the way how their editors understood the division of the text.

[25] For a brief list and usage of modern punctuation marks, see *Xinhua zidian* 新华字典, revised edition, Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1989, pp. 670-678.

[26] This is much like the dot or bracket(s) after a digit in Western punctuation. E.g., Chinese 一、 would be represented in Western punctuation as: 1. or 1) or (1).

[27] I thus underline the names of Maitreya 弥勒 (to whom the Chinese translation ascribes the Yogācārabhūmi), Xuanzang 玄奘, Bhagavat 世尊, and the different names of the Buddhist Heavens (see also note 22 above).

[28] One difficulty in romanising Chinese words is connected to the identification of the boundaries of a lexeme in Classical Chinese. There is no doubt that in Classical Chinese one character represents one morpheme as it basically does in Modern Chinese. (One of the very few exceptions in the latter is, for instance, 儿 in a word like 一点儿). Many lexemes in Modern Chinese consist of two or more morphemes. The characters 學習 clearly represent one word which should be romanised as *xuexi*. In Classical Chinese, however, 學 and 習 constitute two different words. At least, this appears to be the usage in the famous sentence 學而時習之不亦說乎 which begins the *Confucian Annalects* 論語. The long exegetical tradition of this classic also construes 學 and 習 as having different denotations and/or connotations, whatever these may have been (see Cheng Shude 程樹德, *Lun yu ji shi* 論語集釋, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1990, vol. 1, pp. 1-5). But what about 學習 used together? (E.g. 士則學習法令辟禁 in the *Shi ji* 史記; see DKWJ, vol. 3, p. 888, s.v.) If both 學 and 習 can be judeged as having roughly the same semantic value and functioning as one unit, then we can declare them to be one lexeme and romanise it *xuexi*. It is, however, very difficult to know whether Sima Qian 司馬遷, the author of the *Shi ji*, took 學習 as one unit or as a collocation of two lexically discrete units. If

the latter is the case, then *xue xi* should be the preferred romanisation.

A full discussion about this problem is much beyond the scope of this note. Here it will suffice to say that a large margin of uncertainty remains as to the distinction between a lexeme and a collocation. On the one hand, there are clear instances like *mulu* 目錄 'catalogue' which should be taken as one lexeme and romanised as *mu lu*. Most of the phonetic transcriptions of Sanskrit words, such as *pusa* 菩薩 for *bodhisattva*, also fall into this category. But what about 念佛? I hesitate about its lexical status, but tentatively I should think that it should be spelled as *nian fo* if it refers to recollecting the Buddha in general but as *nianfo* if it is a noun meaning the chanting of Amitābha's name. And what about the Chinese translation of a Sanskrit compound? Should 瑜伽師地論 be romanised as one single word like the *Yogācārabhūmi*? Or is *Yuqie shidi lun* better? (The spelling *Yü-ch'ieh shih-ti lun* is, for instance, found in Lusthaus 2002, 557.) In my opinion, 師地 can hardly be taken here as one lexeme and should therefore be romanised as *shi di*. I thus romanise this title as *Yuqie shi di lun* (*yuqie* clearly being a transcription of *yoga*°). I have tried to base my romanisations on such principles not only for Classical Chinese but also for the Japanese pronunciation of Classical Chinese titles (therefore, *nenbutsu, Yuga shi ji ron*). Once again, I must, however, stress that there are quite a few cases in which I am not sure about the precise status of the lexical item in question and its most adequate romanisation.

[29] Due to the spelling peculiarities of the MS, there are some slight discrepancies between the Sanskrit diplomatic edition and the Sanskrit critical edition as far as the beginning of some passages is concerned. There are cases in which the scribe seems to have failed to notice or simply did not regard it necessary to mark the start of a new passage. This resulted in the final sound of one passage and the initial sound of the next one to be written as one *akṣara*. Since the diplomatic edition follows an *akṣara*-based spelling, I had to write together letters which in my critical edition belong to two different passages. For instance, MS reading *ma na skā rā tta tra* represents in my critical edition the end of 3.28.2.2.3. (*manaskārāt*) and the beginning of 3.28.3.1.1. (*tatra*). The scribe wrote *ta* (of *ta*tra) as one *akṣara* with the preceding *t* (of *manaskārāt*). In the critical edition, I split the *akṣara* in accordance with my division into passages, but as this could not be done in the diplomatic edition, it means that passage 3.28.3.1.1. begins with *tra* (instead of *ta tra*).

[30] Half-*daṇḍa*s are not a rarity in Sanskrit manuscripts. We see them employed in, for instance, the DaśBh MS A (e.g., folio 42a2R), which is dated by Matsuda to early 7th century (Introductory Remarks, p. XVII).

[31] This *shad* is usually employed when the syllable which it follows occurs at the beginning of a line. There are, however, some exceptions. E.g., at P 208a4, the *spungs shad* occurs after the third syllable from the beginning of the line: *bya ba ni* ╤. Or, conversely, we see regular *shad* following a syllable at the beginning of the line, as, for instance, at N 184a6: *dang* | or at G 250b6: *ste* | . Though traditionally the employment of the *spungs shad* seems to be associated with magical purposes (cf. Hahn 1996, 24), I record it in my footnotes as it continues to be used even in a modern edition like ZT.

[32] In my notes throughout the book, I also use the question mark after Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese words as well as English renderings when the reading in question is based upon conjecture.

[33] Some of the critical symbols adopted in this edition follow those employed in editing Greek and Latin texts (see West 1973, 81-82).

[34] I also use bold type in the notes to my English translation when editing and translating from other texts which contain similar glosses.

[35] In the Chinese edition, titles are inserted between ≪ ≫ (see Section V above).

CHAPTER TWO

Diplomatic Edition of the Sanskrit Manuscript

3.27. (MS 113a7M) [1] ta tra la bdha ma na skā ra sya yo gi naḥ | e vaṁ pa rī tta pra hā ṇa 【pa】 ra ti pra vi ṣṭa sya ta dū rdhvaṁ **(MS 113a7R)** dve ga tī bha va taḥ | a na nye| ka ta me dve ta dya thā | lau ki kī ca lo ko tta rā ca| ta trā ya mā di ka rmi ko yo gā **(MS 113a8L)** cā raḥ | sa ma na skā raḥ | lau ki ka yā vā ga tyā ga mi ṣyā mi | lo ko tta ra yā ve ti | ta me va ma na skā raṁ ba hu lī **(MS 113a8M)** ka ro ti | ya thā ya thā ba hu lī ka ro ti | ta thā ta thā sā pra[2] śra bdhi ści ttai kā gra tā ca | te ṣāṁ te ṣāṁ rā tri di va sā nā ma tya yā **(MS 113a8R)** tpr̥ thu vr̥ ddhi vai pu lya tāṁ ga ccha ti | ya dā cā sya dr̥ ṣṭi sthi raḥ kha ra śca ma na skā raḥ saṁ vr̥ tto bha va ti | pa ri śu **(MS 113a9M)** ⇒ ddha ścā la mba nā dhi mo kṣaḥ | pra va rta te | śa ma tha vi pa śya nā pa kṣyā cca ni mi **(MS 113a9R)** ttā nyu dgr̥ hī tā ni bha va nti | ta dā sa lau ki ke na mā rge ṇa ga ntu kā ma sta tra ca pra yo ga mā ra bha te | lo ko **(MS 113b1L)** tta re ṇa vā mā rge ṇa '

3.28.1.1. ta tra ka ti pu dga lāḥ | ye dr̥ ṣṭe dha rme lau ki ke nai va mā rge ṇa ga ccha nti | na lo ko tta re ṇa | ā ha **(MS 113b1M)** | ca tvā ra sta dya thā | sa rva i to bā hya kaḥ | i ha dhā rmi ko pi ma ndaḥ | pū rva śa ma tha ca ri ta sta thā tī kṣṇo pya pa ri pa kva ku śa **(MS 113b1R)** la mū laḥ | bo dhi sa tva ścā ya tyāṁ bo dhi ma nu prā ptu kā maḥ | no tu dr̥ ṣṭa e va dha rme a mī ca tvā raḥ pu dga lāḥ dr̥ ṣṭa e va ' **(MS 113b2L)** dha rme lau ki ka mā rga yā ni no bha va nti |

3.28.1.2. ta cca lau ki ka ma rga【rga?】ga ma naṁ ' dvi vi dhaṁ | sa ka ˋla ˊ[3] ba ndha nā nā ñca pr̥ tha gja nā nāṁ **(MS 113b2M)** vi ka la ba ndha nā nāṁ ca | śai kṣā ṇāṁ | ta tpu naḥ ka ta[4] ma t | kā mā nā mau dā ri ka tāṁ pa śya taḥ pra tha me ca dhyā ne ' sa mā pa ttyu pa **(MS 113b2R)** pa tti kle śā nta tāṁ pa śya ta sta tkā ma vai rā gya ga ma na me vaṁ yā va t | ā ki ñca nyā ya ta na vai rā gyaṁ ve di ta vya m | **(MS 113b3L)** ta thā a saṁ jñi sa mā pa ttiḥ | dhyā na sa mā pa tti sa nni śra ye ṇa cā ˋ bhi ˊ[5] jñā nā nāṁ ' pa ñcā nā ma bhi ni rhā raḥ |

3.28.2.1.1. ta tra kā ma **(MS 113b3M)** vai rā gyā ya pra yu kto yo gī sa pta bhi rma naḥ skā raiḥ kā ma vai rā gya ma nu prā pno ti | ka ta me pu na ste sa pta ma na skā rāḥ | **(MS 113b3R)** ā ha | la kṣa ṇa pra ti saṁ ve dī ā dhi mo kṣi kaḥ prā vi ve kyo ra ti saṁ grā ha kaḥ | mī mā nsā ma na skā raḥ pra **(MS 113b4L)** yo ga ni ṣṭhaḥ pra yo ga ni ṣṭhā pha la śca '|

3.28.2.1.2.1. ta tra la kṣa ṇa pra[6] ti saṁ ve dī ma na ska rāḥ ka ta maḥ | ā ha | ye

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[1] The end of the preceeding Yogasthāna is marked by || ◎ || .

[2] Or: *sra*. The two *akṣara*s are very similar and difficult to distinguish with precision. Sh deciphers as *śra*.

[3] This is a small and rather unclear *akṣara* written below the line.

[4] Dot (*anusvāra*?) between *ta* and *ma*.

[5] The *akṣara* to be inserted has approximately the same size as a regular *akṣara*. This must have interfered with the line below and made the scribe leave here an opening demarcated by two half *daṇḍa*s. The latter seem to indicate that the inserted *bhi* belongs to the line above.

[6] There is a space of about three *akṣara*s between *pra* and *ti* due to the scribe's insertion of the

(MS 113b4M) na ma na skā re ṇa | kā mā nā mau dā ri ka la kṣa ṇaṁ pra ti saṁ ve da ya te | pra tha me ce dhyā ne śā nta la kṣa ṇaṁ | ka thaṁ ca pu na **(MS 113b4R)** rau dā ri ka la kṣa ṇaṁ pra ti saṁ ve da ya ti |·ā ha| kā mā nāṁ ṣa ḍva stū ni pa rye ṣa mā ṇaḥ a rtha mva stu la kṣa ṇaṁ | **(MS 113b5L)** pa kṣaṁ kā laṁ yu kti ñca |

3.28.2.1.2.2. ta trau dā ri kā rthaṁ tā va tpa rye ṣa te | i tī me kā māḥ sā dī nā vā ba hū pa dra vā ba hvī ti **(MS 113b5M)** kā ba hū pa sa rgā i ti | yā e ṣu kā me ṣu ba hvā dī na va tā | yā va dba hū pasa rga tā | a ya mau dā ri kā rthaḥ |

3.28.2.1.2.3. ta tra va stu **(MS 113b5R)** pa rye ṣa te | a stya dhyā tmaṁ kā me ṣu kā[7] ma cha ndaḥ a sti ba hi rdhā kā me ṣu kā ma cha nda i ti | |

3.28.2.1.2.4. ta tra sva la kṣa ṇaṁ **(MS 113b6L)** pa rye ṣa te | a mī kle śa kā māḥ | a mī va stu kā māḥ | te pu naḥ su kha sthā nī yā duḥ kha sthā nī yā a duḥ kha **(MS 113b6M)** su kha sthā nī yā śca | su kha sthā nī yāḥ kā ma rā gā dhi ṣṭhā nāḥ | saṁ jñā ci tta vi pa ryā sā dhi ṣṭhā nāḥ | duḥ kha sthā nī **(MS 113b6R)** yāḥ[8] pu na rdve ṣā dhi ṣṭhā nāḥ kro dho pa nā hā[9] dhi ṣṭhā nāḥ | a duḥ khā su kha sthā nī yāḥ mra kṣa pra dā śa mā yā śā **(MS 113b7L)** ṭhya hrī kyā na pa trā pyā dhi ṣṭhā nā dṛ ṣṭi vi pa ryā sā dhi ṣṭhā nā śca | e va ma mī kā māḥ pra du ṣṭa ve da nā nu ga tā **(MS 113b7M)** śca | pra vya[10] ṣṭa kle śā nu ga tā ścai vaṁ kā mā nāṁ sva la kṣa ṇaṁ pa rye ṣa te |

ta tra ka thaṁ sā mā nya la kṣa ṇaṁ | pa rye ṣa te | **(MS 113b7R)** sa rva e te ' kā mā jā ti duḥ kha ta yā ja rā duḥ kha ta yā ˋ yā ˊ[11] va di cchā vi ghā ta duḥ kha ta yā '[12] sa ma sa ma ma nu ba ddhā **(MS 113b8L)** ścā nu ṣa ktā śca | ye pi kā mo pa[13] bho gi no ma ha tyāṁ kā ma sa mpa di va rttaṁ te | te pi jā tyā di dha rmma ta yā | **(MS 113b8M)** a vi ni rmu ktā stā va tkā li kī sā te ṣāṁ sa mpa t | e vaṁ sā mā nya la kṣa ṇaṁ pa rye ṣa te |

3.28.2.1.2.5. ka thaṁ pa kṣaṁ pa rye ṣa te | **(MS 113b8R)** kṛ ṣṇa pa kṣa pa ti tā e te ka māḥ | a sthi kaṁ kā lo pa māḥ mā nsa pe śyu pa mā stṛ ṇo lko pa māḥ | aṁ gā ra

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letter *bhi* into the line above (see note above).

[7] The long vowel mark for *kā* is drawn up much higher than usual, surpassing the *akṣara* level and almost reaching the line above. (What appears to be) the vocalic mark must have been accidentatlly traced longer than usual.

[8] The *visarga* mark of *yāḥ* is inserted on a slightly lower level than the *akṣara*. Sh seems decipher the word without *visarga* and add it in square brackets: *duḥkhasthānīyā[ḥ]* (was it illegible in the negative?).

[9] It appears that the scribe first wrote *ho* but then erased the specific part of the *o* mark, transforming the *akṣara* into *hā*. The erased mark is still slightly visible.

[10] Sh appears to decipher: *tya*. Choi deciphers: *vya*, which is the most likely reading. It should be, however, noted that *tya, vya, nya,* and *cya* are similar *akṣara*s. See note to Skt. crit. ed.

[11] Added under the line, 'by a separated hand', Shukla says (440, n. 1). The shape of the inserted *yā* is quite different from the preceding *yā* as well as from the usual set of *yā*-allographs in the ŚrBh (cf. Suzuki 1995, 10).

[12] A very small half-*daṇḍa* (?). I hesitate whether this should be regarded as a punctuation mark or an accidental stroke. In what follows, I shall use the term 'accidental stroke' for such marks which appear to be neither deliberately written strokes nor stains. (They seem to be literally slips of the pen!) It must be stressed, however, that even with a very clear facsimile reproduction of the MS, it is not easy to determine which marks are accidental, which are deliberate, and which are mere stains on the palm-leaf.

[13] The copyist first wrote *pi* but then cancelled the vocalic sign for *i*.

(MS 113b9L) ⇒ ka rṣū pa māḥ | ā śī vi ṣo **(MS 113b9M)** pa māḥ | sva pno pa māḥ | yā ci ta kā laṁ kā ro pa māḥ | vr̥ kṣa pha lo pa mā śca | | pa rye ṣa mā ṇā a pi sa tvāḥ kā **(MS 113b9R)** mā npa rye ṣa ṇā kr̥ taṁ | duḥ khaṁ pra ti saṁ ve da ya nti | ā ra kṣā kr̥ taṁ sne ha pa ri bhraṁ śa kr̥ ta mā tr̥ pti kr̥ ta **(MS 114a1L)** ma svā ta ntrya kr̥ taṁ du śca ri ta kr̥ taṁ ca duḥ khaṁ pra ti saṁ ve da ya nti | pū rva va ~~~ de va tā va tsa rvaṁ ve di ta **(MS 114a1M)** vyaṁ |

ta thā kā mā npra ti ṣe va taḥ | paṁ cā dī na vā u ktāḥ | bha ga va tā a lpā svā dāḥ kā māḥ ba hu suḥ[14] khā ba hvā dī na vāḥ **(MS 114a1R)** kā mā nkha lu pra ti ṣe va mā ṇa sya nā stya laṁ tā va tr̥ pta[15] tā va[16] pa ryā pti tā vā ' a ne na pa ryā ye ṇa kā mā vi **(MS 114a2L)** ga rhi tā bu ddhaiḥ bu ddha śrā va kai śca ' sa dbhiḥ sa mya gga ~~~ taiḥ sa tpu ru ṣaiḥ kā mā n kha lu pra **(MS 114a2M)** ti ṣe va mā ṇa sya saṁ yo ja nā nyu pa ca yaṁ ga ccha nti | nā sti cā sya kiṁ ci tpā pa ka ma ku śa laṁ ka rmā ka ra ṇī yaṁ va dā **(MS 114a2R)** mi |

i tī me kā māḥ a tr̥ pti ka ra kā ba hu sā dhā ra ṇā a dha rma vi ṣa ma ca ryā he ta vaḥ | kā ma tr̥ ṣṇā vi va **(MS 114a3L)** rdha kāḥ sa tāṁ vi va rja nī yāḥ kṣi pra mvi ṣa ya gā mi naḥ pra tya yā dhi nāḥ pra mā da bhū ma yo ri ktā a ni tyā stu cchā **(MS 114a3M)** mr̥ ṣā mo ṣa dha rmā ṇo mā yo pa māḥ bā la lā pa nāḥ | ye ca dr̥ ṣṭa dhā rmi kāḥ | kā māḥ ' ye ca sāṁ pa rā yi kāḥ **(MS 114a3R)** ye ca di vyāḥ ye ca mā nu ṣya kāḥ | mā mā ra syai ṣa go ca ro mā ra syai ṣa ni vā po ya tre me ka vi dhāḥ **(MS 114a4L)** pā pa kāḥ a ku śa lā dha rmā mā na sāḥ saṁ bha va nti | ya du tā bhi dhyā vyā pā do ' saṁ ra mbho vā ' ye vā pu na rā nta rā **(MS 114a4M)** yi kā bha va ntyā rya śrā va ka syā[17] śi kṣa mā ṇa syā ne ka pa ryā ye ṇa ' kr̥ ṣṇa pa kṣa pa ti tā e te kā māḥ ya dbhū ya sā e **(MS 114a4R)** va mpa kṣaṁ pa rye ṣa te |

3.28.2.1.2.6. a tī tā nā ga ta pra tyu tpa nne ṣva dhva su a ni tyaṁ ni tya kā laṁ dhru vaṁ dhru va kā la me **(MS 114a5L)** ~~~ te kā māḥ | e vaṁ ba hū pa dra vāḥ 【ba】【hū】【pa】【dra】【vā】 ba hū pa sa rgā ba hvā dī na vā i tye vaṁ kā la mpa rye ṣa te |

3.28.2.1.2.7. **(MS 114a5M)** ka thaṁ yu ktiṁ pa rye ṣa te | ma ha tāṁ saṁ ra mbhe ṇa ma ha tyā pa rye ṣṭyā ma ha tā pa ri śra me ṇa vi vi dhai rvi ci traiḥ śi lpa **(MS 114a5R)** ka rma sthā naiḥ kā māḥ saṁ hri ya nte | ni rvva rtya nte u pa cī ya nte te pu naḥ sū pa ci tā a pi su ni va[18] rtti tā **(MS 114a6L)** a pi | yā va de rva ~~~ ba hi rdhā pa ri gra ha va stu naḥ mā tā pi tr̥ pu tra dā ra dā sī dā sa ka rma ka ra pau **(MS 114a6M)** ru ṣe ya mi trā mā tya jñā ti sā lo hi tā nāṁ | a sya vā pu naḥ kā ya syā dhyā tmi ka sya rū pi

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[14] *Visarga* is written in very close proximity to *su*, almost touching it. The correct reading here should have been *duḥ* (see note to Skt. crit. ed.). Did the scribe fail to copy the correct *du* and only wrote the *visarga*? Or was the latter added later (without, however, correcting the wrong *su*)? See also Choi, p. 168, n. 212.

[15] There is a dot above the *akṣara* which makes it very difficult to decide whether this is *pti* whose *i* mark was cancelled, an *anusvāra* (?), or an accidental stroke.

[16] Or: *ca*. As usual, it is difficult to distinguish between these two *akṣara*s.

[17] There is a small dot at the top right of *syā*, which might be a (rather timid) cancellation mark, a half-*daṇḍa*, an accidental stroke, or (quite unlikely) an *anusvāra*. Choi (p. 169, n. 223) considers that the mark is a cancellation of *ā*.

[18] It is not perfectly clear whether the scribe wrote *va* or *rva* especially since the ink is slightly blotted. When less carefully written, there is actually little difference between the two *akṣara*s. I think, however, that the *akṣara* here is *va*. Sh reads: *rva* (without any note or mark). Choi deciphers as *va*. See note to Skt. crit. ed.

ṇa au dā ri ka sya **(MS 114a6R)** ca tu rma hā bhū ti ka syau da na ku lmā ṣo pa ci ta sya ni tyo tsa da na sna pa na pā ri ma rda na bhe da na che da na **(MS 114a7L)** vi ki ra ṇa vi dhva nsa na dha rma ṇa u tpa nno tpa nna duḥ kha mā tra pra tī kā rā ya sa mva rtta nte | kṣu dduḥ kha pra tī kā rā **(MS 114a7M)** ya bho ja naṁ | śī to ṣṇa duḥ kha pra tī ghā tā ya | hrī ko pa na pra ti cchā da nā ya |[19] ca va straṁ ni drā kla ma duḥ kha pra tī **(MS 114a7R)** ghā tā ya ca śa ya nā sa naṁ | caṁ kra ma sthā na duḥ kha pra ti ghā tā ya ca | vyā dhi duḥ kha pra ti ghā tā ya **(MS 114a8L)** ⇒ ca | glā na bhai ṣa jya mi ti | duḥ kha pra ti[20] kā ra bhū **(MS 114a8M)** tā e te kā mā i ti | nai te ra kte na pa ri bho kta vyāḥ | na sa kte na nā nya tra vyā dhi gra ste ne vā tu re ṇa vyā dhi mā **(MS 114a8R)** tro pa śa mā ya bhai ṣa jya

[21]mā ptā ga mo pye[22] ṣaḥ | ya thai te kā māḥ e vaṁ cai vaṁ cau dā ri kāḥ | | **(MS 114b1L)** pra tyā tma ma pi me jñā na da rśa naṁ pra va rtta te | ā nu mā ni ko pye ṣa vi dhiḥ | pra kr̥ ti ścai ṣā kā mā nāṁ ' a nā di kā li kā pra si **(MS 114b1M)** ddha dha rma tā a ci tta[23] dha rma tā | sā na ci nta yi ta vyāḥ | na vi ka lpa ya te tye vaṁ yu kti mpa rye ṣa te |

3.28.2.1.2.8. sa e vaṁ kā ma nā mau dā ri ka la kṣa ṇaṁ **(MS 114b1R)** pra ti saṁ ve dya ya du ta ṣa dbhi rva stu bhiḥ pra tha me dhyā ne śā nta la kṣa ṇaṁ pra ti saṁ ve da ya ti | nā stye ta tsa rva śa au dā **(MS 114b2L)** ri ka tvam ' pra tha me dhyā ne ya de ta tkā ma dhā tā vi tya ne na nau dā ri ka tve nā vi ra hi tā cchā ntaṁ pra tha maṁ dhyā na mi tye vaṁ pra tha me **(MS 114b2M)** dhyā ne ' śā nta la kṣa ṇaṁ pra ti saṁ ve da ya te | i ti ye na sa mā hi ta bhū mi ke na ma na skā re ṇa kā me ṣvau dā ri ka la kṣa naṁ pra ti **(MS 114b2R)** sa mve da ya te | pra tha me ca dhyā ne śā nta la kṣa ṇa ma ya mu cya te la kṣa ṇa pra ti saṁ ve dī ma na skā raḥ | sa kha lve **(MS 114b3L)** ṣa ma na skā raḥ | śru ta ci ntā vya va kī rṇṇo[24] ve di ta vyaḥ |

3.28.2.1.3. sa e vaṁ kā mā npa ri jñā ya pra tha maṁ dhyā naṁ ya thā va tpa rye ṣṭau dā ri ka **(MS 114b3M)** śā nta la kṣa ṇe na śru taṁ ca ci ntāṁ ca vya ti krā myai kā nte na bhā va nā kā re ṇai vā dhi mu cya te | ta nni mi ttā la mba nā me va śa ma tha vi

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[19] Choi (p. 170, n. 237) conjectures that this is a cancellation of the long vowel sign of *yā*. Though it looks rather longer and thicker than the regular *daṇḍa* and its place before *ca* is not usual, it does not look like a cancellation mark to me. Sh reads *ya* and adds *daṇḍa* in brackets.

[20] Both Sh and Choi decipher as *tī*. According to Suzuki (1995, 6), this type of *akṣara* is an allograph of *ti*.

[21] The MS does not mark the end of the sentence. The *akṣara*-based romanisation obliged me to write *mā* together. Cf. Skt. crit. ed.: *bhaiṣajyam*. [new pargraph] *āptāgamo*. See note 29 to Editing Conventions.

[22] There is an extra stroke above the *e* mark, at an angle of about 45°, making the *akṣara* look rather like *pyai* (?). Or did the scribe intend to mark an *avagraha*? The usual mark for the latter is, however, different (cf. Suzuki 1995, 16). Also compare with *pye* occuring in the next line, which has no extra stroke.

[23] Most likely: *tta*. Another possibile decipheremnt, though less likely, is *nta*, and this would make the scribal error closer to the *ntya*, which the original must have intended (see note to Skt. critical ed.).

[24] Sh has: °*vyavakī[r]ṇṇo*. Choi reads: °*vyavakīrṇo* (without any note, probably adopting the non-geminated spelling tacitly). The *akṣara* above is, most likely, as *rṇṇo*. This reflects the MS tendency (not consitent, though) of geminating consonants after *r*-. See note 10 to Editing Conventions.

pa **(MS 114b3R)** śya nāṁ bhā va ya ti | bhā va yaṁ śca ya thā pa rye ṣi tā mau dā ri ka śā nta tāṁ pu naḥ pu na ra dhi mu cya taḥ | i tya ya mu cya te **(MS 114b4L)** dhi mo kṣi ko ma na skā raḥ |

3.28.2.1.4. ta syā se va nā nva yā dbhā va nā nva yā dba hu lī kā rā nva yā tta tpra tha ma taḥ kle śaḥ pra hā ṇā ya **(MS 114b4M)** mā rga u tpa dya te | kle śa pra hā 【ya】 ṇā ya ca ' mā rge sa mu tpa nne ' ya sta tsa ha(?)[25] ga va to ma na skā raḥ | a ya mu cya te prā vi ve kyāḥ **(MS 114b4R)** |

3.28.2.1.5. sa ta tpra tha ma taḥ kā mā va ca ra kle śā di pra he ya pra hā ṇā tta tpa kṣya dau ṣṭhu lyā pa ga mā cca | ta dū rdhvaṁ pra hā **(MS 114b5L)** ṇā rā mo bha va ti | vi ve kā rā maḥ | ta smiṁ śca pra hā ṇā nu śaṁ sa da rśī pa rī tta pra vi ve ka prī ti su kha saṁ spṛ ṣṭaḥ kā **(MS 114b5M)** le na kā laṁ pra sa da nī ye na ma na skā re ṇa | saṁ pra ha rṣa ya ti | saṁ ve ja nī ye na ' ma na skā re ṇa saṁ ve ja ya ti | yā va de va **(MS 114b5R)** styā na mi ddhau ddha tyā pa ga mā ya ' a ya mu cya te | ra ti saṁ grā ha ko ma na skā raḥ |

3.28.2.1.6. ta sya ta thā pra hā ṇā rā ma sya **(MS 114b6L)** bhā va nā rā ma sya sa mya kpra yu kta sya sa taḥ ku śa la pa kṣa pra yo go pa sta mbha kā ma pra ti saṁ yu ktaṁ kle śa pa rya va sthā **(MS 114b6M)** naṁ ca ra to vā ' vi ha ra to vā ' na sa mu dā ca ra ti | ta syai vaṁ bha va ti | kiṁ sa nta me vā haṁ kā me ṣu kā ma cha ndaṁ na pra ti sa mve da yā **(MS 114b6R)** myā ho svi da sa nta mpa ri mī mā nsa yi tu kā maḥ | a nya ta mā nya ta maṁ pra sa da nī yaṁ śu bha ni mi ttaṁ ma na si ka **(MS 114b7L)** ro ti | ta syā pra hī ṇa tvā t sa rvve ṇa sa rva ma nu śa ya sya ta nni mi ttaṁ ma na si ku rva taḥ se va nā ni mnaṁ ci ttaṁ bha va ti | **(MS 114b7M)** se va nā pra va ṇaṁ | se va nā prā gbhā[26] raṁ | no pe kṣā pa tti ṣu te na ni rvi ja[27] gu psā pra ti vā niḥ pra ti kū la tā | ta syai vaṁ bha va ti | **(MS 114b7L)** na me sa mya gvi ra ktaṁ vi mu ktaṁ ci ttaṁ ya du ta kā me bhyaḥ saṁ skā rā bhi ni gṛ hī taṁ me ci ttaṁ vā ri va ddhṛ taṁ | **(MS 115a1L)** dha rma tā bhi ni gṛ hī taṁ ya nva 【yā】 haṁ bhū ya syā mā tra yā ta syā nu śa ya syā śe ṣa pra hā ṇā ya bhū ya syā mā tra yā pra hā **(MS 115a1M)** ṇā rā mo vi ha re yaṁ | bhā va nā rā maḥ | a ya mu cya te mī mā nsā ma na skā raḥ |

3.28.2.1.7. sa bhū ya syā mā tra yā pra hā ṇā rā mo vi ha **(MS 115a1R)** ra ti | bhā va nā rā maḥ | śa ma tha vi pa śya nā yu ktaḥ | pau naḥ pu nye na ca mī mā nsa te | ta sya pra ti pa kṣaṁ ca bhā va ya taḥ **(MS 115a2L)** kā le na ca kā laṁ pra hī ṇā pra hī ṇa tāṁ mī mā nsa mā na sya ca sa rvve bhyaḥ kā mā va ca re bhyaḥ kle śe bhya ści ttaṁ vi saṁ yu jya **(MS 115a2M)** te | tā va tkā li ka yo ge na ' na tva tya ntā dbī ja sa mu dghā to bha va ti | ta smiṁ śca sa ma ye pra yo ga dhyā na pra yo ga mā rga pa **(MS 115a2R)** rya va sā na ga taḥ | sa rva kle śa prā ti pa kṣi ko ma na skā raḥ | sa mu tpa nno bha va tya ya mu cya te pra yo ga ni ṣṭho ma na skā raḥ[28]

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[25] The blurred ink makes the shape of the *akṣara* very unclear.

[26] Sh deciphers *bho* and emends to *bhā*.

[27] Or: *ju*. Sh: *ju* (without any note or mark). Choi (p. 173, n. 273) hesitates between deciphering *ju* or *ja*. The two *akṣara*s, *ja* and *ju*, are quite similar, the only difference being a more prolonged stroke at the bottom. To me, the *akṣara* here does not look like having this stroke, but it is not impossible that the scribe wrote a very small mark for *u*, making thus the letter practically indistinguishable from *ja*.

[28] There are some blotted dots after the *visarga* but it is highly unlikely that they represent the remains of a *daṇḍa*. With the beginning of a new line, the scribe probably deemed it

3.28.2.1.8. **(MS 115a3L)** ta sya ca sa ma na nta ra pra tya yaṁ ta ddhe tu kaṁ pra tha maṁ dhyā naṁ sa mā pa dya te | mau la pra tha ma dhyā na sa ha ga to yo ma na **(MS 115a3M)** skā raḥ | a ya mu cya te pra yo ga ni ṣṭhā pha lo ma na skā raḥ |

3.28.2.1.9.1. ta tra prā vi ve kye ma na skā re ' va rtta mā no ra ti saṁ grā ha ke ca **(MS 115a3R)** vi ve ka je na prī ti su khe na kā yaṁ pra ti prī ṇa ya ti | ka dā ci tka dā ci tpra ta nu ka saṁ mu khī bhā va yo ge na prā yo **(MS 115a4L)** ga ni ṣṭhā ma na skā ra kā le spha ra ti | ka dā ci tka dā ci dgha na vi pu la ta ra saṁ mu khī bhā ve na pra yo ga ni ṣṭhā pha le pu na **(MS 115a4M)** rma na skā re va rtta mā na sya ' nā sti ki ñci da sphu ṭaṁ bha va ti | | spha ra ṇī yaṁ sa rva taḥ kā yā dya du ta vi ve ka je na prī ti su khe **(MS 115a4R)** na sa ta smiṁ sa ma ye ' vi vi ktaiḥ kā maiḥ vi vi ktaṁ pā pa kai ra ku śa lai rdha rmaiḥ sa vi ta rkaṁ sa vi cā raṁ vi ve ka jaṁ **(MS 115a5L)** prī ti su khaṁ pra tha maṁ dhyā naṁ paṁ cā ga mu pa sa mpa dya vi ha ra ti | | kā mā va ca ra pra ti pa kṣa mā rga bhā va nā pha le sthi taḥ **(MS 115a5M)** kā ma vai rā gya tā ma nu prā pta i tyu cya te |

3.28.2.1.9.2. ta tra la kṣa pra ti saṁ ve di nā ma na skā re ṇa ' ya tpra hā ta vyaṁ | ta tsa mya kpa ri **(MS 115a5R)** jā nā ti | ya tprā pta vya nta da pi sa mya kpra jā nā ti | pra hā ta vya sya ca pra hā ṇā ya prā pta vya sya ca prā pta ye ci ttaṁ pra **(MS 115a6L)** ⇒ ṇi dha tte | ā dhi mo kṣi ke ṇa ca ma na skā re ṇa pra hā ṇā ya **(MS 115a6M)** prā pta ye ca sa mya kpra yo ga mā ra bha te | prā vi ve kya ma na skā re ṇā dhi mā trā nkle śāṁ ja hā ti | ra ti saṁ grā ha ke na ma dhyaṁ kle **(MS 115a6R)** śa pra 【hā ṇaṁ】[29] kā raṁ[30] ja hā ti | mī mā nsā ma na skā re ṇa prā pti rni[31] ra bhi mā na tā yāṁ ci tta ma va sthā pa ya ti[32] | pra yo ga **(MS 115a7M)** ⇒ ni ṣṭhe na mṛ duṁ kle śa pra kā raṁ ja hā ti | pra yo ga ni ṣṭhā pha le nai ṣāṁ kle śa pra **(MS 115a7R)** kā rā ṇāṁ | bhā vi tā nāṁ su bhā vi tā nāṁ bhā va nā pha laṁ pra tya nu bha va ti |

3.28.2.1.9.3. a pi ca ya śca la kṣa ṇa pra ti saṁ ve dī ma na **(MS 115b1L)** skā raḥ | ya ścā dhi mo kṣi kaḥ | a yam u cya te ' ā nu lo mi ko ma na skā ro vi dū ṣa ṇā pra ti pa kṣa sa ha ga taḥ | ya śca prā **(MS 115b1M)** vi ve kyo ma na skā raḥ ' ya śca pra yo ga ni ṣṭho yaṁ prā ti pa kṣi ko ma na skā raḥ pra hā ṇa pra ti pa kṣa bha ga va taḥ ta tra yo ra ti **(MS 115b1R)** saṁ grā ha ko ma na skā raḥ | a yaṁ prā ti pa kṣi ka śca ' pra sa da nī ya śca ' ta tra yo mī mā nsā ma na skā raḥ | a yaṁ pra tya ve **(MS 115b2L)** kṣa ṇā ma na skā raḥ | i tyu cya te | e vaṁ sa ti ṣa ṭsu ma na skā re ṣu ' ca tvā ro ma na skā rāḥ pra vi ṣṭā ve di ta vyāḥ | ta dya thā **(MS 115b2M)** ā nu lo mi kaḥ | prā ti pa kṣi kaḥ | pra sa da nī yaḥ pra tya ve kṣa ṇī ya śce ti |

3.28.2.2.1. ya thā pra tha ma dhyā na sa mā pa ttiḥ sa pta bhi **(MS 115b2R)** rma na skā rai re vaṁ dvi tī ya tṛ tī ya ca tu rtha dhyā na sa mā pa ttiḥ | ā kā śa vi jñā nā kiṁ

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unnecessary to write the *daṇḍa* or simply forgot it.

[29] Both *akṣara*s are cancelled with a left-sliding one-stroke mark for each.

[30] Sh reads *prakāraṁ* but has no note concerning the scribe's cancellation.

[31] Though not the correct reading (see Skt. crit. ed.), the *akṣara* here appears to be *rni*. As usual, however, the superscribed *r* is not easy to distinguish, and the scibe may have actually intended *ni*, which is the correct reading. Sh reads: *ni* (without any emendation note or mark).

[32] Several allographs of *ti* have a small, sharply descending stroke at the bottom right (see Suzuki 1995, 6: *ti*3 and *ti*4), but the *akṣara* here has a much longer stroke. If not another (rather peculiar) allograph of *ti*, it is, in all likelihood, an accidental stroke.

ca nyā ya ta na nai va saṁ jñā nā[33] saṁ **(MS 115b3L)** jñā ya ta na sa mā pa ttiḥ sa pta bhi re va ma na skā raiḥ |

3.28.2.2.2. ta tra ye na vi ta rke ṣvau dā ri ka la kṣa ṇaṁ | pra ti sa mve da ya te | a vi ta **(MS 115b3M)** rka śca dvi tī ye dhyā ne ' śā nta la kṣa ṇaṁ sa la kṣa ṇa pra ti saṁ ve dī ma na skā raḥ | dvi tī ya dhyā na sa mā pa tta ye ' ta tra dhyā na sa mā **(MS 115b3R)** pa nnaḥ | pra tha ma dhyā na lā bhī vi ta rke ṣve va mau dā ri ka tā mpa śya ti | yaḥ sa mā hi ta bhū mi ko vya grā la mba na cā rī[34] ' **(MS 115b4L)** ta tpra tha mo pa ni pā ti ta yā cā la mba ne au dā ri ko ma no ja lpaḥ | a ya mvi ta rka sta da nu ba ndhā[35] nu cā rī vya gra cā rye cā **(MS 115b4M)** la mba ne ' sū kṣma ta ro ma no ja lpo vi cā raḥ | e te pu na rvi ta rka vi cā rā ścai ta si kā śce ta syu tpa dya mā nā u tpa dya nte | sa **(MS 115b4R)** ha bhu vaḥ saṁ pra yu ktā | e kā la mba na vr̥ tta yaḥ | e va me te a dhyā tma mu tpa dya nte | bā hyā ya ta na saṁ gr̥ hī tā śca[36] | **(MS 115b5L)** sa rva e va cā tī tā `cā´[37] nā ga ta pra tyu tpa nnā he tu sa mu tpa nnāḥ pra tī tya sa mu tpa nnāḥ ' ā kā yi kā stā va tkā li kāḥ | **(MS 115b5M)** i tva ra pra tyu pa sthā yi na ści tta saṁ kṣo bha ka rā iṁ ja kā a pra śā ntā kā re ṇa va rtta[38] nte | u pa ri māṁ bhū mi mā ra bhya ' duḥ kha vi **(MS 115b5R)** hā rā nu ga ta tvā tkr̥ ṣṇa pa kṣyā kā ma vi ve ka ja prī ti su kha me vā nu śaṁ sā nu ga tā bhū mi ścai ṣā tā dr̥ śī pra **(MS 115b6L)** ⇒ kr̥ tyā ya tra sthi ta sya ' **(MS 115b6M)** ni tyaṁ 【e】[39] ni tya kā laṁ dhru vaṁ dhru va kā laṁ sa vi ta rkaḥ sa vi cā raḥ ci tta pra cā raḥ pra va rtta te | na śā nta pra śā nta i tye va mā di bhi **(MS 115b6R)** rā kā rai rvvi ta rke ṣvau dā ri ka la kṣa ṇaṁ pra ti saṁ ve da ya te | sa rvva śo nā stye ta dau dā ri ka la kṣa ṇa ma vi ta rke **(MS 115b7M)** ⇒ dvi tī ye dhyā ne i tya taḥ śā ntaṁ **(MS 115b7R)** dvi tī yaṁ dhyā na ma syau dā ri ka tva syā pa ga mā t |

śe ṣo ma na skā rā dvi tī tya dhyā na sa mā pa tta ye ' ya thā pi yo **(MS 116a1L)** gaṁ pū rva[40] va dve di ta vyaṁ |

3.28.2.2.3. e vaṁ bhū mau bhū mau yā va nnai va saṁ jñā nā saṁ jñā ya ta na sa mā pa tta ye ' ya thā yo gaṁ sa pta ma na skā rā **(MS 116a1M)** ve di ta vyāḥ | au dā ri ka la kṣa ṇaṁ pu naḥ sa rvvā sva dha ri mā su bhū mi ṣu ' yā va dā kiṁ ca nyā ya ta nā tsa mā se na dvi vi dhaṁ ve di ta vyaṁ | **(MS 116a1R)** duḥ kha ta raṁ vi hā vi tā cā dha rbhū mī nā ma pra śā nta ta ra vi hā ri tā ca | a lpā yu ṣka ta rā ca i tye ta ddvi vi dha mau dā ri ka **(MS 116a2L)** la kṣa ṇaṁ | ṣa ḍbhi rva stu bhi rya thā yo gaṁ pa rye ṣa te | ya syā ya syā bhū me rvvai rā gyaṁ ka rttu kā mo bha va tyu pa ri ṣṭā cca **(MS 116a2M)** ya

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[33] The lower parts of *jñā* and *nā* are very unclear. Sh, W, and Choi decipher the same. The decipherment is also supported by Tib. and Ch.

[34] Partly unclear *akṣaras*, epecilly the lower part of *mba* and the vocalic mark of *rī*. The decipherement above is, however, supported by Tib. and Ch. Sh appears to decipher: *mba na bhā rī* but gives no explanation for this.

[35] Or: *ddhā*. Some allographs of the two *akṣaras* are very similar (see Suzuki 1995, 7 and 8).

[36] The *akṣara* is almost illegible. Sh deciphers the same. The reading is supported by Tib.

[37] There is a small insertion mark above the line, and *cā* is written in smaller size under the line. Sh does not notice its presence.

[38] Sh deciphers: *rta*. The two *akṣaras*, i.e., *rtta* and *rta*, are quite similar, but here we most likely have *rtta* (cf. also *pra va rtta te* on line 115b6M below).

[39] Or: 【*dha*】. Sh has no note.

[40] Sh deciphers (or tacitly adopts the geminated spelling?): *rvva*.

thā yo gaṁ śā nta la kṣa ṇaṁ | yā va tpra yo ga ni ṣṭhā pha lā t[41] ma na skā rā tta[42]

3.28.3.1.1. tra vi vi ktaṁ kā mai ri ti | dvi vi dhaḥ kā māḥ **(MS 116a2R)** kle śa kā māḥ va stu kā mā śca kā ma vi ta rko pi dvi vi dhaḥ | saṁ pra yo ga vi ve ka ā la mba na vi ve ka śca |[43]

3.28.3.1.2. vi vi ktaṁ ' **(MS 116a3L)** pā pa kai ra ku śa lai rdha rmai ri ti | u pa kle śāḥ kā ma he tu kā a ku śa lā dha rmā sta dya thā kā ya du śca ri taṁ vā gdu śca **(MS 116a3M)** ri taṁ ma no du śca ri taṁ | da ṇḍā dā naṁ śa strā dā naṁ | ka la ha bha ṇḍa na vi gra ha vi vā da śā ṭhya va ñca na ni kṛ ti mṛ ṣā vā dāḥ **(MS 116a3R)** sa mbha va nti | te ṣā mpra hā ṇā dvi vi ktaṁ pā pa kai ra ku śa lai rdha rmai ra[44]

3.28.3.1.3. vi ta rka vi cā re ṣva do ṣa da rśa nā t sva bhū mi **(MS 116a4L)** kai rvi ta rka vi cā raiḥ kā ma pra ti pa kṣi kaiḥ ku śa laiḥ sa vi ta rkaṁ sa vi cā raṁ

3.28.3.1.4. pra yo ga ni ṣṭho ma na skā raḥ kā ma vi ve **(MS 116a4M)** kaṁ ta syā na nta ra mu tpa nnaṁ | ta ddhe tu kaṁ ta tpra tya yaṁ te nā ha vi ve ka ja mī[45]

3.28.3.1.5. psi tā bhi la ṣi tā rtha saṁ prā pteḥ prī tau vā[46] ' **(MS 116a4R)** do ṣa da rśa nā t '[47] sa rva dau ṣṭhu lyā pa ga mā cca vi pu la pra śra[48] bdhi ci tta kā ya ka rma ṇya ta yā prī ti su kha ma[49]

3.28.3.1.6. nu pū **(MS 116a5L)** rvve ṇa ga ṅa ya taḥ | ta tpra tha ma ta śca kā ma dhā tū cca la tā tpra tha maṁ sa mya gā la mba no pa ni dhyā nā de kā gra smṛ ti[50] **(MS 116a5M)** tyu pa ni ba ndhā ddhyā naṁ

3.28.3.1.7. pra yo ga ni ṣṭhā pha la tvā du pa sa mpa dya |

3.28.3.1.8. u tta ra tra ca bhā va nā ba hu lī kā ra ni ṣpā da nā t ' ni kā ma **(MS 116a5R)** lā bhī a kṛ cchra lā bhī a ki sa ra lā bhī ta yā dhyā na sa mā pa ttyā rā tri ma pya ti nā ma ya ti | div a sa ma pi yā **(MS 116a6L)** ⇒ va dā kāṁ kṣa mā ṇaḥ ' sa pta rā triṁ di va sā ni te nā ha vi ha ra tī ti || ◎ ||

3.28.3.2.1. sa vi ta rka sa **(MS 116a6M)** vi cā ra sa mā dhi ni mi tte bhya ści tta

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[41] The *akṣara* is a typical *virāma* for *t*. Sh reads: °*phalān*. Without any note or mark, it is hard to decide whether he deciphered the *akṣara* here as *n* or simply applied the regular *sandhi* rules.

[42] The MS does not mark the end of the sentence. The *akṣara*-based romanisation obliged me to write *tta* together. Cf. Skt. crit. ed.: *manaskārāt* [new passage]. *tatra*. For this editorial convention here and in similar cases below, see note 29 to Editing Conventions.

[43] Sh adds *daṇḍa* in square brackets. *Daṇḍa* is, however, used in the MS, though slightly blurred (and probably difficult to decipher in the negatives?).

[44] The MS does not mark the end of the sentence. The *akṣara*-based romanisation obliged me to write *ra* together. Cf. Skt. crit. ed.: *dharmaiḥ* [new passage] *{a}vitarkavicāreṣv*.

[45] Here, too, the MS does not mark the end of the sentence. The *akṣara*-based romanisation obliged me to write *mī* together. Cf. Skt. crit. ed.: *vivekajam* [new passage] *īpsitā*°.

[46] Or: *cā* (?). The two *akṣara*s have quite similar shapes, often making it difficult to distinguish them with precision. Sh reads: *vā* (with no emendation note or mark). Sakuma reads *cā*° (*ca* and *a*° of the next word), but without any note, it is not clear whether he deciphered the *akṣara* as such or emended it tacitly .

[47] It is hard to determine whether here we have to deal with a half-*daṇḍa* or a full *daṇḍa*.

[48] Or: *sra*. Sh and Sakuma also decipher as: *śra*.

[49] The MS does not mark the end of the sentence. The *akṣara*-based romanisation obliged me to write *ma* together. Cf. Skt. crit. ed.: *prītisukham* [new passage] *anupūrveṇa*.

[50] Neither Sh nor Sakuma note the presence of this *ti*. Though this is a superfluous *akṣara* (*aberratio oculi*?), the MS clearly reads *ti*.

mvyā va rtta[51] yi tvā a vi ta rkā vi cā ra sa mā dhi ni mi tte ṣū pa ni ba dhnā ti | vya gra cā ri **(MS 116a6R)** ṇa ā la mba nā dvi ve cya a vya gra cā ri ṇyā la mba ne ' e ka ra sa ta yā ' śā ntaṁ pra sa nnaṁ ci ttaṁ pra va rtta[52] ta[53] | vya va sthā **(MS 116a7L)** ⇒ pa ya ti | te nā ha vi ta rka vi cā **(MS 116a7M)** rā ṇāṁ vyu pa śa mā da dhyā tma saṁ pra sā da nā t

3.28.3.2.2. sa bhā va nā bhyā sā tta syai vā vi ta rkā vi cā ra sya sa mā dheḥ vi ta rka vi cā **(MS 116a7R)** ra ~~~ sa chi dra sā nta ra ma va sthā ma ti kra mya ni chi dra ni ra nta rā ⇒ **(MS 116b1L)** ma va sthāṁ prā pno ti | te nā ha |[54] ce ta sa e ko tī bhā vā t

3.28.3.2.3. sa rvve ṇa sa rvaṁ vi ta rka vi cā ra pra hā ṇā da vi ta rka ma vi cā **(MS 116b1M)** raṁ

3.28.3.2.4. pra yo ga ni ṣṭho ma na skā raḥ sa mā dhi sta syā na nta raṁ ta ddhe tu kaṁ ta tpra tya ya mu tpa dya ta i ti | te nā ha sa mā dhi jaṁ

3.28.3.2.5. **(MS 116b1R)** ī psi tā ni ' ni ndi tā rtha prā pteḥ prī tau cā[55] do ṣa da rśa nā t | sa saṁ pra ha rṣa ga taṁ dau rma na sya ga taṁ vi ta rka vi cā **(MS 116b2L)** ra pra tha ma dhyā na kle śa pa kṣa sa rva dau ṣṭhu lyā pa ga mā t ta tprā ti pa kṣi ka pra śra[56] bdhi ci tta kā ya ka rma ṇya tā su khā nu ga **(MS 116b2M)** tvā t | prī ti su kha ma[57]

3.28.3.2.6. nu pū rve ṇa ga ṇa ya to dvi tī yaṁ bha va tye vaṁ sa rvaṁ pū rva va dve di ta vya m || ◎ ||

3.28.3.3.1. prī ti ni mi tte **(MS 116b2R)** ṣu do ṣaṁ pa śya ti | te nā ha prī te rvi rā gā t

3.28.3.3.2. ta smiṁ śca sa ma ye dvi vi dho sya ci tta kṣo bha ka raḥ a pa kṣā lo vi **(MS 116b3L)** ga do[58] bha va ti | niḥ prī ti ke tṛ tī ye dhyā ne ' ci ttaṁ pra da dha taḥ | dvi tī ye ca dhyā ne vi ta rka vi cā rāḥ e tar hi ca **(MS 116b3M)** prī tiḥ te nā ha u pe kṣa ko vi ha ra ti | e tau hi dvau dha rmau ci tta saṁ kṣo bha ka rau | ni ra nta rā yā u pe kṣā yā vi ghna **(MS 116b3R)** kā ra kau | ta tra pra tha me dhyā ne vi ta rka vi cā rā bha va nti | ye na ni ra nta ro pe kṣā na pra va rtta te | dvi ti ye dhyā ne ' **(MS 116b4L)** prī ti rbha va ti | ye nā trā pi ni ra nta ro[59] pe kṣā na pra va rtta te | te nā yaṁ dhyā yī pra tha

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[51] Sh, Sakuma: °*rta*°. Without any note, it is unclear whether the two scholars deciphered the *akṣara* as such or tacitly followed the standard spelling. The difference between *rta* and *rtta* is minimum indeed, but, as far as I can see, the lower part of the *akṣara* here and below (see next note) consists of *tta*. Cf. also *tte* in *ni mi tte*, *tta* in *ci tta*, etc.

[52] Sh reads: °*rtta*°. Sakuma deciphers: °*rta*° (see p. 30, n. 201). Cf. preceding note.

[53] Sh: °*te*. Sakuma, too, deciphers as: *pravartate* (see p. 30, n. 201), but emends to *pravartayati*. See note to Skt. crit. ed.

[54] Neither Sh nor Sakuma notes the presence of this *daṇḍa*.

[55] Or: *cā*. Sh reads *vā*. Sakuma reads *cā*° (*ca* and *a*° of the next word)

[56] Or: *sra*. Sh, Sakuma: °*śra*°.

[57] The scribe does not divide *m* (the last letter of this sentence and passage) from *a* (the first letter of the next sentence and passage).

[58] Both Sh and Sakuma read *to* (which is actullay the correct reading) but the *akṣara* here is most likely *do*.

[59]  Sh and Sakuma also read: *ro*. The *akṣara* seems to be, however, a rather peculiar allograph. If this was indeed intended to be *ro*, its bottom stroke is drawn too high upwards and connects with the upper stroke, thus making it look rather like *dhā* or *vā*.

ma dvi tī ye ṣu dhyā ne ṣu nā sti te **(MS 116b4M)** na tṛ tī ye dhyā ne u pe kṣa ko vi ha ra tī tyu cya te |

3.28.3.3.3. sa u pe kṣa ka ssa n sta thā ta tho pa sthi ta smṛ ti rvi ha ra ti | ya thā **(MS 116b4R)** ya thā te prī ti sa ha ga tāḥ saṁ jñā ma na si kā rāḥ sa mu dā ca ra nti | sa ce tpu na ra bhā vi ta tvā ttṛ tī ya sya dhyā na[60] **(MS 116b5L)** sya smṛ ti saṁ pra mo ṣā tka dā ci tka rha ci t ci tte prī ti sa ha ga tāḥ saṁ jñā ma na si kā rāḥ sa mu dā ca ra nti | tāṁ **(MS 116b5M)** la ghu la ghve va pra jña yā pra ti vi dhya ti | sa mya ge va pra jā nā ti | u tpa nno tpa nnāṁ śca nā dhi vā sa ya ti | pra ja hā ti **(MS 116b5R)** vi no da ya ti | vya ntī ka ro ti | ci tta ma dhyu pe kṣa te | te nā ha smṛ taḥ saṁ pra jā na i ti |

3.28.3.3.4. ta sya ta smi(?) nsa(?) ma(?) ye e[61] **(MS 116b6L)** ⇒ va mu pe kṣa ka sya vi ha ra taḥ[62] smṛ ta sya saṁ pra ja nya syā se va nā nva yā dbhā **(MS 116b6M)** va nā nva yā dba hu lī kā rā nva yā tprī ti sa ha ga taṁ pra hī ya te | ta cci ttau dbi lya ka raṁ niḥ prī ti kaṁ ca śā ntaṁ pra śā ntaṁ ce **(MS 116b6R)** ti[63] si ve di tam u tpa dya te | prī ti prā ti dva ndvye na |

3.28.3.3.5. ta smi n sa ma ye rū pa kā ye na ' ma naḥ kā ye na ve di ta **(MS 117a1L)** su khaṁ ca pra śra[64] bdhi su khaṁ pra ti sa mve da ya te | te nā ha su khaṁ[65] ca kā ye na pra ti sa mve da ya te |

3.28.3.3.6. tṛ tī yā cca dhyā nā t | **(MS 117a1M)** a dha sta drū paṁ su khaṁ nā sti nā pi ni ra nta rā u pe kṣā tṛ tī yā dhyā nā dū rdhvaṁ ya da pyu pe kṣo pa la bhya te | na tu su khaṁ | **(MS 117a1R)** ta trā dhaḥ su kho pe kṣā bhā vā dū rdhva ñca su khā bhā vā t ' i daṁ ta dā ya ta naṁ ya du ta tṛ tī yaṁ dhyā naṁ ya tta dā ryā **(MS 117a2L)** ā ca kṣa te | ya tpra ti la mbha vi hā ri ṇaṁ pu dga la ma dhi kṛ tya u pe kṣa kaḥ smṛ ti māṁ su kha vi hā rī tṛ tī yaṁ **(MS 117a2M)** dhyā na mu pa[66] saṁ pa dya vi ha ra tī ti ā ryāḥ pu naḥ | bu ddhā śca bu ddha śrā va kā śca || ◎ ||

3.28.3.4.1. ta trā tu lya jā tī ya tvā t ' pra **(MS 117a2R)** ti pa kṣa sya su kha sya pra hā ṇa pra ti pa kṣo nā khyā taḥ | ya de va ta tpra ti pa kṣa kṛ taṁ su kha pra hā ṇaṁ ta **(MS 117a3L)** de vā khyā taṁ | kaḥ pu na ra sau pra ti pa kṣaḥ | ya du to pe kṣā smṛ ti saṁ pra ja nya ñca | ta sya ca ni ṣe va ṇā bhyā **(MS 117a3M)** sā ttṛ tī ya dhyā nā cca li to ya tra tṛ tī ya dhyā na bhū mi kaṁ su khaṁ ta tpra ja hā ti | te nā ha | su kha sya ca pra hā ṇā **(MS 117a3R)** tpū rva me va ca sau ma na sya dau rma na sya yo ra sta ga mā t | ta tra ca tu rtha dhyā na sa mā pa tti kā le '

3.28.3.4.2. ta smi n **(MS 117a4L)** sa ma ye ' sa dhyā yī su kha duḥ kha vya ti kra

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[60] Unclear *akṣara*s, especially the bottom part of *sya* and *dhyā*.

[61] The *akṣara*s smi nsa ma are practically illegible. Sh and Sakuma decipher the same. This decipherment is also supported by Tib. and Ch.

[62] This appears be a *visarga* with its dots blotted which makes it look rather like a vertical stroke. Other possibilities would be decipher as *tā* or *ta* |. Sh reads: *tā* (without any note or mark). Sakuma notes that the MS is unclear and hesitates between deciphering it as *tā* or *taḥ* (p. 33, n. 218). In his edition (p. 33), he adopts the latter reading.

[63] At the upper left side of the *akṣara* there is a thin slant line. It does not look like the usual cancellation marks, but it cannot be ruled out that it may represent an irregular form of it.

[64] Or: *sra*.

[65] It is hard to decide whether the unclear and blotted dot is an *anusvāra*. Sakuma adds it as an editorial emendation. Sh omits this sentence. See also note to Skt. crit. ed.

[66] The *akṣara* has a thin horizontal stroke inside, which makes it look rather like *ṣa*. In all likelihood, this is an accidental stroke.

ma ma nu prā pno ti | te na ya śca pū rvva pra hī ṇaṁ ya ccai ta rhi pra hī ya te **(MS 117a4M)** | ta sya saṁ ka la naṁ ku rva nne va mā ha | su kha sya ca pra hā ṇā t duḥ kha sya ca pra hā ṇā t ' pū rvva me va ca sau ma na sya dau **(MS 117a4R)** rma na sya yo ra sta ga mā t |

3.28.3.4.3. ta tra ca tu rtha dhyā na sa mā pa tti kā le ' su kha sya ca pra hā ṇā ḍḍvi[67] tī ya dhyā na sa **(MS 117a5L)** mā pa tti kā le duḥ kha sya ' tṛ tī ya dhyā na sa mā pa tti kā le ' sau ma na sya syā sta ga mā tpra tha ma dhyā na sa **(MS 117a5M)** mā pa tti kā le ' dau rma na sya sya a sti tā va tsu kha duḥ kha sya pra hā ṇā da duḥ khā su khai vā sya ve da nā na vi śi **(MS 117a5R)** ṣṭā bha va ti | te nā ha | a duḥ khā su khā[68]

3.28.3.4.4. ta smi n sa ma ye pra tha maṁ dhyā na mu pā dā ya ' sa rvve[69] a dho bhū **(MS 117a6L)** mi kāḥ a pa kṣā lāḥ pra hī ṇā bha va nti | ta dya thā vi ta rka vi cā rāḥ ' prī ti rā śvā sa pra śvā sāḥ | te ṣāṁ **(MS 117a6M)** ca pra hā ṇā dyā ta tro pe kṣā | smṛ ti śca sā pa ri śu ddhā[70] bha va ti | pa rya va dā tā ' ye nā sya tac ci ttaṁ ca tu rtha dhyā na **(MS 117a6R)** sa mā pa nna syā niṁ jyaṁ sa nti ṣṭha te | sa rvve ñji tā pa ga taṁ | te nā ha | u pe kṣā smṛ ti ra pa ri śu ddha mi ti[71]

3.28.3.4.5. **(MS 117b1L)** ta tra ca tu rtha mi ti pū rva va dve di ta vya m |[72] ya thā pra mā ṇā di ṣu dhyā ne ṣu || ◎ ||

3.28.3.5.1. ta trā kā śā dhi mo kṣa syā va rṇna **(MS 117b1M)** saṁ jñā nī la pī ta lo hi tā va dā tā di pra ti saṁ yu kta tā[73] ma sā tā[74] ma sā ta yā ni rvi rā ga ta yā ca sa ma ti krā nto bha va ti **(MS 117b1R)** | te nā ha | rū pa saṁ jñā nāṁ sa ma ti kra mā nnā[75]

3.28.3.5.2. sau sa ma ti kra mā da nā bhā sa ga ma na he to ryā a ne ka vi dhā **(MS 117b2L)** ba hu nā nā pra kā rā ' va rṇna pra ca ya he tu ka '[76] ā va ra ṇa saṃ[77] jñā sā vi[78] ga tā bha va[79] ti | te nā ha | pra ti gha saṁ jñā nā ' **(MS 117b2M)** ma sta ga mā t

3.28.3.5.3. tā sā mvā pu na rvi ga ma he to ryā au pa ca yi kī saṁ jñā | ste ṣva va

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[67] The upper part of *akṣara* is very unclear. Sh and Sakuma decipher the same. The decipherment is also supported by Tib. and Ch.

[68] Sakuma apparently deciphers: *kham* (no note or emendation mark).

[69] Or: *rve*. The upper part of the *akṣara* is blotted.

[70] Both Sh and Sakuma decipher as: *ddha*. I think, however, that upper part of the *akṣara* has a vocalic marker for long *ā*, though this is slightly shorter than usual. Note also that the size of *da* is smaller than usual.

[71] MS has a faint stroke which might originally have been a half-*daṇḍa*.

[72] Both Sh and Sakuma apparently decipher two *daṇḍa*s. MS, however, clearly has only one.

[73] Or: *bhā* (?), but this is rather improbable. Although *tā* and *bhā* have similar shapes (cf. also Suzuki 1995, 17) and *bhā* would fit better the scribal mistake here (see note to Skt. crit. ed.), the likelihood of *tā* is higher. Sh also deciphers *tā*. See also note below.

[74] Or: *bhā* (?), but this is rather improbable. See note above.

[75] The MS does not mark the end of the sentence. The *akṣara*-based romanisation obliged me to write *nnā* together. The scribe seems to have intended to write: *samatikramān* [new sentence] *nāsau*. This reading should, however, be emended. See Skt. crit. ed.

[76] The shape of the dot on the right side of *ka* is rather different from a half-*daṇḍa* and looks more like an *anusvāra*. The distance of the dot from the *akṣara* is, however, too far for a regular *anusvāra*. Another possibility is to take it as a (rather unusual) vocalic mark for *ā* which has become too faint or was partly erased.

[77] *Anusvāra* is very faint.

[78] Vocalic mark for *i* is very faint.

[79] There is a faint dot (accidental stroke? *anusvāra*?) on the top of *va*.

śi ṣṭe ṣu vi śi ṣṭe ṣu ' saṁ ghā te **(MS 117b2R)** ṣu pra vr̥ ttā sta dya thā ' bho ja na pā na yā na va strā laṁ kā ra gr̥ ho dyā na va na se nā pa rvva tā di saṁ jñā | te **(MS 117b3L)** ṣu sa rvve ṇa sa rva mā bho go pya sya na pra va rtta te | te nā ha | nā nā tva saṁ jñā nā ma[80] ma na si kā rā t |

3.28.3.5.4. sa e vaṁ rū pa pra ti **(MS 117b3M)** gha nā nā tva saṁ jñā bhā va yi tvā a na ntā kā re ṇā kā śa ma dhi mu kto bha va ti | te nā ha | a na nta mā kā śaṁ

3.28.3.5.5. sa sā ma nta ka ma ti kra **(MS 117b3R)** mya pra yo ga ni ṣṭhā nma na skā rā dū rdhva[81] pra yo ga ni ṣṭhā pha laṁ '[82] mau laṁ sa mā pa dya te | te nā ha | ā kā śā ṇa ntyā **(MS 117b4L)** ya ta na mu pa sa mpa dya vi ha ra ti | ta sya yā va nmau laṁ na sa mā pa dya te | ta syā kā śa mā la mba naṁ | sa mā pa nna sya pu na **(MS 117b4M)** sta cca ta da nye ca ska ndhāḥ sva bhū mi kāḥ sā ma nta ke pu na ra dha `ra ´[83] bhū mi kā a pi ska ndhāḥ || ◎ ||

3.28.3.6.1. sa ma ye na vi jñā ne nā na nta mā kā **(MS 117b4R)** śa ma dhi mu cya te | ta de va vi jñā na ma na ntā kā rā kā śā dhi mo kṣi kaṁ | vi jñā nā na ntyā ya ta naṁ sa mā pa ttu kā maḥ | ā **(MS 117b5L)** kā śā na ntyā ya ta na saṁ jñā vyā va rtya[84] | ta de va vi jñā na ma na ntā kā re ṇā dhi mu cya te | sa sā ma nta ke mau la mā kā śā **(MS 117b5M)** na ntyā ya ta naṁ ' sa ma ti kra mya te | te nā ha | sa rva śa ā kā[85] śā na[86] ntyā ya ta naṁ sa ma ti kra myā na ntaṁ vi jñā na mi ti |

3.28.3.6.2. sa vi jñā nā **(MS 117b5R)** na ntyā ya ta na mi ti sā ma nta kaṁ sa ma ti kra mya yā va t pra yo ga ni ṣṭhā nma na si kā rā nmau la pra yo ga ni ṣṭhā pha **(MS 117b6L)** laṁ[87] sa mā pa dya te | te nā hā[88] vi jñā nā na ntyā ya ta na mu pa sa mpa dya vi ha ra tī ti || ◎ ||

3.28.3.7.1. sa vi jñā nā na ntyā ya **(MS 117b6M)** ta nā du cca li to '[89] vi jñā nā tpa re ṇā la mba naṁ sa ma nve ṣa mā ṇo na pu na rla bha te | ki ñca na pra ti saṁ yu ktaṁ rū pi vā ' a rū pi **(MS 117b6R)** vā ' sa ta dā la mba na ma la bha mā naḥ sa sā ma nta ka mau laṁ vi jñā nā na ntyā ya ta na[90] `sa ´[91] ma ti kra mya nā sti ki ñci da nya[92]

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[80] The *akṣara* has a thin, horizontal stroke inside the buckle, which makes it look like *ṣa*. The stroke probably is, however, an accidental stroke.

[81] Sh reads: *cca*. The two *akṣara*s are similar, but *rdhva* is more likely. This decipherment is also supported by Tib. and Ch.

[82] The half-*daṇḍa* (?) is faint and at the bottom of the line (rather than its usual position in the middle or upper part of the line).

[83] The *akṣara* is inserted below the line.

[84] Or: *tya*. Sh reads: *[r]tya*.

[85] There is a dot above *kā* but it is placed too high for an *anusvāra* (being almost at the bottom of the preceding line) and too low for a half-*daṇḍa* (belonging to the line above).

[86] There is a dot above the line, between *śā* and *na*, but this, too, is quite irregular for either an *anusvāra* or a half-*daṇḍa*.

[87] The *anusvāra* is very faint.

[88] Or: *ha* | (?). The scribe may have intended *ha* followed by *daṇḍa*, but the *akṣara* looks more closer to: *hā*.

[89] The half-*daṇḍa* is very small and faint.

[90] Sh (without any emendation mark or note): °*naṁ*. Sh probably mistook the scribal insertion mark (which roughly looks like × and is placed above the line, immediately following *na*) for *anusvāra*. The reading °*naṁ* is required grammatically (see Skt. crit. ed.), but the MS has no *anusvāra*.

ḍā[93] **(MS 118a1L)** la mba na ma dhi mu cya te | so ki ñca na saṁ jñā dhi mu kta e va bha va ti | sa ta sya saṁ jñā dhi mo kṣa sya ba hu lī kā rā nva yā dā kiṁ ca **(MS 118a1M)** nyā ya ta na sā ma nta kaṁ sa ma ti kra mya ' yā va tpra yo ga ni ṣṭhā ma na si kā rā nmau laṁ pra yo ga ni ṣṭhā pha le sa mā pa dya te | **(MS 118a1R)** te nā ha | sa rva śo vi jñā nā na ntyā ya ta naṁ sa ma ti kra mya nā sti ki ñci di tyā ki ñca nyā ya ta na mu pa saṁ pa[94] ḍyạ[95] **(MS 118a2L)** vi ha ra tī ti |

3.28.3.8.1. te nā ha | saṁ jñī ya du ta ki ñca nyā ya ta nā du cca li taḥ | ā ki ñca nyā ya ta na saṁ jñā yā mau dā ri ka saṁ jñī ā **(MS 118a2M)** dī na va saṁ jñī ā ki ñca nyā ya ta na saṁ jñāṁ vyā va rtta ya ti |

te na pū rvva mā ki ñca nyā ya ta na sa mā pa tti kā le ' ki ñca na saṁ jñā ' sa ma **(MS 118a2R)** ti krā ntā ' e ta rhya kiṁ ca na saṁ jñā sa ma ti krā nto bha va ti || ◎ ||[96] nā ha saṁ jñī ya du ta ki ñca na saṁ jñā yā vā ' a ki ñca na **(MS 118a3L)** saṁ jñā yā vā ' a ki ñca na saṁ jñā vā '

3.28.3.8.2. na ca pu naḥ sa rvve ṇa sa rvvaṁ sā sya saṁ jñā ni ru ddhā bha va ti | ta dya thā ā saṁ jñi `ke´[97] vā ni ro dha sa **(MS 118a3M)** mā pa ttau vā ' nā nya tra sū kṣmā sā saṁ jñā ni mi ttā la mba ne pra va rtta te | te nā ha | nai va saṁ jñā ' nā saṁ jñā '

3.28.3.8.3. e vaṁ ta dā ya ta nā dhi **(MS 118a3R)** mu ktaḥ sa sā ma nta ka mau la mā ki ñca nyā ya ta naṁ sa ma ti kra mya nai va saṁ jñā ' nā saṁ jñā ya ta na sā ma nta ka ñca yā[98] **(MS 118a4L)** va tpra yo ga ni ṣṭhā nma na si kā rā tpra yo ga ni ṣṭhā pha laṁ mau laṁ sa mā pa dya te | te nā ha | sa rva śa ' '[99] ā kiṁ ca **(MS 118a4M)** nyā ya ta na sa ma ti kra mya nai va saṁ jñā nā saṁ jñā ya ta na mu pa sa mpa dya vi ha ra tī ti || ◎ ||

3.28.3.9. ta tra dhyā na sa mā pa tti kā le ' a dho **(MS 118a4R)** ra sā ta la pra ve śa va t | kā ya saṁ pra khyā na liṁ gaṁ | ā rū pya sa mā pa tti kā le ā kā śā tpa ta na va t | ta tra śa ma **(MS 118a5L)** thā kā le nā dhyu pe kṣa ṇā tsa mya kpra yo gaḥ || ◎ ||

3.28.4.1. ta tra dve a ci tti ke sa mā pa ttī ' a saṁ jña sa mā pa tti ni[100] ro dha sa **(MS 118a5M)** mā pa tti śca | ta trā saṁ jña sa mā pa tti saṁ jñā vi mu khe na ' ma na

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[91] The *akṣara* is written below the line, is of smaller size and is not very clear. Sh (p. 457, n. 1) notes: 'a separate hand adds this'. It is, however, difficult to draw a certain conclusion about this.

[92] Or: *tya*. The *akṣara* is very unclear.

[93] The *akṣara* is barely visible.

[94] Sh appears to decipher *spṛ* and emend to *pa*. The bottom of the *akṣara* is blotted and this may have led to such a decipherment. See also note to Skt. crit. ed.

[95] Or: *śya* (?). Sh appears to deciphers *śya* and emend to *dya*. The middle of the *akṣara* is faint and makes the decipherment difficult. Compared with other occurrences, *dya* is, however, the most likely reading.

[96] It seems that the scribe mistook this place for the end of a section.

[97] The *akṣara* is inserted below the line. The scribal insertion is not the usual × but a thin vertical stroke (looking rather like a half-*daṇḍa*) placed above the line between *jñi* and *vā*.

[98] There is a rather blotted dot (half-*daṇḍa*?) after the *akṣara*.

[99] There is a space of about three *akṣaras* between the half-*daṇḍas*. The space is left for the insertion of *ke* into the line above (see note 97 above).

[100] Sh and W seem to decipher: *rni*. They both read: *samāpattir*, without any emendation mark or note for the addition final °*r*. It is true that superscribed *r*(*a*) is often difficult to decipher, but as far as I can judge, the *akṣara* here is *ni* and not *rṇi*.

skā re ṇa pṛ tha gja na e va sa mā pa dya te ' ni ro dha sa mā pa ttiṁ pu **(MS 118a5R)** na rā rya e va | ta tra dvā bhyā ma na skā rā bhyā ma na yoḥ sa mā pa ttyoḥ sa mā pa tti pra ve śo bha va ti | ṭa dya thā saṁ **(MS 118a6L)** ⇒ jñā vi mu khe na ca ' ma na skā re ṇā saṁ jña ' sa mā pa tteḥ ' nai va saṁ jñā nā saṁ jño cca li **(MS 118a6M)** te nā la mba na sa nni ru ddhe na ca ma na skā re ṇa ' ni ro dha sa mā pa tteḥ '

3.28.4.2. ta tra[101] saṁ jñā ro gaḥ ' saṁ jñā ga ṇḍaḥ ' saṁ jñā ' śa lyaḥ ' **(MS 118a6R)** e ta cchā nta me ta tpra ṇī taṁ ' ya du tā saṁ jñi ka mi ti | saṁ jñā vi mu khaṁ ma na skā raṁ pa ri gṛ hyo tpa nno tpa nnā[102] **(MS 118a7L)** ⇒ su[103] saṁ jñā sva[104] smṛ tya ma na si kā rā nu ca re ti | ta **(MS 118a7M)** sya bhā va nā nva yā tpra yo ga mā rge sa ci tti kā va sthā bha va ti | sa ma na nta ra sa mā pa nna sya ca pu na ści ttaṁ na pra va rtta ta i ti **(MS 118a7R)** | sa e vaṁ niḥ sa ra ṇa saṁ jñā ' pū rvva ke ṇa ma na skā re ṇa ' śu bha kṛ tsna vī ta rā ga sya bṛ ha tpha le bhyo vī ta rā **(MS 118a8L)** ⇒ ga sya ci **(MS 118a8M)** tta cai ta si kā nāṁ dha rmā ṇāṁ ni ro dha i ya mu cya te saṁ jñā sa mā pa ttiḥ | e vaṁ ca pu na ra syāḥ prā pti rbha va ti | |

3.28.4.3. ta tra nai va saṁ jñā nā **(MS 118a8R)** saṁ jñā ya ta na lā bhī ā ryaḥ pa re ṇa śā nte na vi hā re ṇa ' vi ha rtu[105] kā maḥ nai va saṁ jñā ' nā saṁ jñā ya ta nā cci tta mu ccā **(MS 118b1L)** lla ya ti | ta cci tta mu ccā li ta mā la mba naṁ na la bha te | a la bha mā naṁ ni ru dhya te | na pra va rtta te i ti | ya e va mā ki ñca **(MS 118b1M)** nyā ya ta na vī ta rā ga sya śai kṣa syā rha to vā ' vi hā ra saṁ jñā pū rva ke ṇa ma na skā re ṇa ci tta cai ta si kā nāṁ dha rmā ṇāṁ ni ro dha **(MS 118b1R)** i ya mu cya te ' ni ro dha sa mā pa tti re vaṁ ca pu na ra syāḥ prā pti rbha va ti || ◎ ||

3.28.5.1. ta tra dhyā na sa nni śra ye ṇa paṁ cā nā ma bhi jñā nā **(MS 118b2L)** ma bhi ni rhā ro bha va ti | ka thaṁ ca pu na rbha va ti | ya thā pi ta ddhyā yī lā bhī bha va ti | pa ri śu ddha sya dhyā na sya sa ta tpa ri śu **(MS 118b2M)** ddhaṁ dhyā naṁ ni śri tya yo ne nā bhi jñā dhi pa ta ye ' dha rma śru to bha va tyu dgṛ hī taḥ | pa rya vā ptaḥ ' [ṛ][106] ya du ta ṛ ddhi vi ṣa ya mvā ra **(MS 118b2R)** bhya pū rvve ni vā sa di vya śro tra cyu tyu pa pā da ce taḥ pa ryā ya mvā ta me va ma na si ku rva n sa mā hi ta bhū mi ke na ma na skā **(MS 118b3L)** re ṇā rtha pra ti saṁ ve dī ca bha va ti | dha rma pra ti saṁ ve dī ca | ta syā rtha pra ti saṁ ve di no dha rmaḥ pra ti saṁ ve di na sta thā **(MS 118b3M)** sta thā ci ttā nya bhi saṁ sku rva[107] to ba hu lī kā rā nva yā dbha va ti | sa kā lo bha va ti sa ma yo ya da sya bhā va[108] nā pha lā pa ñcā bhi **(MS 118b3R)** jñā u tpa

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[101] After *tra* there is a blank space of about one *akṣara* and a small dot, which could be a faint half-*daṇḍa* or a stain on the palm-leaf.

[102] The *akṣara* is blotted, and this makes it difficult to decipher with precision. Sh, too, reads: °*nnā*°.

[103] Sh apparently deciphers: °*ma*°. The *akṣara* has, however, the lower vocalic mark for *u*, and though the distintion between *m(a)* and *s(a)* is difficult to make, the reading here is, in most likelihood, *su*. See also Skt. crit. ed.

[104] Or: *su* (?). It is, however, more likely that the lower buckle noting *va* was written too small and became blotted, thus making the *akṣara* look slightly more similar to *su* than the usual *svà*. Sh omits this *akṣara*.

[105] Or: *rttu*. Sh reads: *rttu*.

[106] Neither Sh nor W notes this cancelled *akṣara*.

[107] The buckle of *va* is unclear (too small or blotted?).

[108] Sh reads *ja* and emends to *va*. The *akṣara* is somehow unusual having thicker strokes than the rest of the *akṣaras* (as if traced again or its initial shape corrected?), but it is not *ja*. One

dya nte |

3.28.5.2.1. a pi ca ta thā rtha pra ti saṁ ve dī dha rma pra ti sa mve dī sa rvvā bhi jñā ni rhā rā ya dvā da śa saṁ jñā bhā va ya ti ' **(MS 118b4L)** ta dya thā la ghu saṁ jñā | mr̥ du saṁ jñā | ā kā śa dhā tu saṁ jñāṁ kā ya ci tta sa ma dhā na saṁ jñā ma dhi mu kti saṁ jñāṁ pū rvvā[109] nu bhū ta **(MS 118b4M)** ca ryā nu kra mā nu smr̥ ti saṁ jñāṁ nā nā pra kā ra śa bda sa nni pā ta ni rgho ṣa saṁ jñā ma va bhā[110] sa rū pa ni mi tta saṁ jñā kle śa kr̥ ta **(MS 118b4R)** rū pa vi kā ra saṁ jñā dhi[111] mo kṣa saṁ jñā ma bhi bhvā ya ta na saṁ jñā '[112] kr̥ tsnā ya ta na saṁ jñā ñca |

3.28.5.2.2. ta tra la ghu saṁ jña yā[113] la ghu ka **(MS 118b5L)** mā tmā na ma dhi mu cya te | ta dya thā tū la pi cu rvvā ' ka rpā sa pi cu rvvā ' vā yu ma ṇḍa la ke vā ' sa ta thā dhi mu cya mā naḥ ' **(MS 118b5M)** ta tra pre ra ya tyā dhi mo kṣi ke ṇai va ma na skā re ṇa ta dya thā ma ñcā tpī ṭhā nma ñce | e vaṁ ma ñcā ttr̥ ṇa saṁ sta ra kā nmaṁ ce |

3.28.5.2.3. **(MS 118b5R)** ta tra mr̥ du saṁ jñā | mr̥ du kaṁ kā ya ma dhi mu cya te | ta dya thā kau śe[114] ya mvā ka cca mvā pa ṭṭa(?)[115] mvā ' i tī yaṁ mr̥ du saṁ jñā yā ' **(MS 118b6L)** ⇒ la ghu saṁ jñā yā po ṣi kā a nu grā ha kā ` ' ya ' ˊ[116] yā nu gr̥ hya mā ṇā la ghu **(MS 118b6M)** saṁ jñā ' pr̥ thu vr̥ ddhi vai ka lya tāṁ ga ccha ti |

3.28.5.2.4. ta trā kā śa dhā tu saṁ jñā ' ya yā saṁ jña yā la ghu tāṁ ca mr̥ du tā ñcā tmā no dhi mu cya **(MS 118b6R)** te | sa ce tkva ci dga ntu kā mo bhā va ti | ta tra ya

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could conjecture that this might be *ba* or *rdha*, but *va* is the most likely reading here. W also reads: *va* (without any note, however).

[109] What appears to be a horizontal stroke marking *ā* is quite short, and it is possible that the scribe actually wrote: *rvva*. Sh and W read: *rvā* (without any emendation note or mark).

[110] Or: *dā*. The latter is also a possible decipherement, and a definitive conclusion is very difficult. To me, it rather looks closer to allograph *bhā3* in Suzuki 1995, 10. W apparently deciphers: *bhā*. Sh seems to deciphers: *dā*. See note to Skt. crit. ed.

[111] The correct reading here would require *vi*. It is true that *dhi* and *vi* are very similar, but the *akṣara* here looks much closer to *dhi*. Sh and W also seem to decipher: *dhi*. It is easy to imagine that the scribe may have (mis-)copied *dhi* instead of *vi* under the influence of the frequently occurring *adhimokṣa*° and its related forms. See note to Skt. crit. ed.

[112] Or full *daṇḍa*. An occurrence very difficult to determine.

[113] Or: *yāṁ* (?), as read by Sh. It rather seems, however, more likely that the bottom of the *akṣara* on the line above (i.e., *jñā*) extends onto the top of our *yā* making it look as if having *anusvāra*. See also note to Skt. crit. ed.

[114] Sh seems to decipher: *śa*. He reads the entire word here as *kauśayam vā* and notes: 'the correct reading seems to be (*kauśeyaṁ vā*)' (p. 462, n. 2). However, the MS clearly reads: *śe*.

[115] It is difficult to determine whether this is the correct decipherment of the *akṣara*. Another possibility would be: *ṅga*. Sh reads: *dga*, which is, I believe, less likely. At most, if we wish to stay in the 'vicinity' of Sh's decipherment, it should be *dgā*. I think, however, that *ṭṭa* or *ṅga* are more probable, and I opt for the first reading. We must note, however, that neither *ṭṭa* nor *ṅga* are recorded in Suzuki 1995, and this makes the comparison here even more difficult. See also notes to Skt. crit. ed. and Engl. tr.

[116] The *akṣara* is written under the line and inserted between two half-*daṇḍa*s probably in order to avoid being misread as part of the line below. Above the line, there is a faint dot which may also serve the purpose of drawing the attention to this addition. Sh says that the *akṣara* seems to be 'added by separate hand' (p. 462, n. 4). This is difficult to determine, but as far far as I can see, the shape of this *ya* does not differ from other similar occurrences in our MS.

da nta rā laṁ vi ba ndha dha raṁ rū pi ga taṁ ga ma nā ya ' ta dā kā śa ma dhi mu cya **(MS 118b7L)** ⇒ te | ā dhi[117] mo kṣi kaṁ ca ma na skā **(MS 118b7M)** re ṇa |

3.28.5.2.5. ta tra ci tta kā ya sa ma va dhā na saṁ jñā ya yā ci tta mvā ' kā ye sa ma va da dhā ti | kā ya mvā ci tte ' ye nā sya kā yo la **(MS 118b7R)** ghu ta ra śca bha va ti mṛ du ta ra śca 【bha】【va】【ti】[118] | ka rma ṇya ta ra śca ' pra bhā sva ra ta ra śca ' ci ttā nva ya ści tta pra ti ba ndha ści ttaṁ ni **(MS 118b8M)** ⇒ śri tya va rtta te |

3.28.5.2.6.1. ta trā dhi mo kṣa saṁ jñā ' ya yā saṁ jña yā dū[119] ra ga mā sa nne dhi mu cya te | ā sa nnaṁ dū re ' a ṇu **(MS 118b8R)** sthū laṁ sthū la ma ṇu pṛ thi vī ā paḥ ā paḥ pṛ thi vī e va me kai ke na ma hā bhū te nā nyo nyaṁ ka ra ṇī yaṁ | vi sta re ṇa ta **(MS 119a1L)** thā ni rmi taṁ cā dhi mu cya te ' rū pa ni rmi taṁ vā ' śa bda ni rmi taṁ vā '

3.28.5.2.6.2. i tyā bhiḥ pa ñca bhiḥ saṁ jñā bhi rbhā va nā yā pa ri ni ṣpa **(MS 119a1M)** nnā bhi ra ne ka vi dha mṛ ddhi ṣa yaṁ pra tya nu bha va tye ko bhū tvā ba hu dhā tmā na mu pa da rśa ya ti | ya du tā dhi mo kṣi ka yā nai rmā **(MS 119a1R)** ṇi ka yā ' saṁ jña yā ta tra ba hu dhā pu na rā tmā na mu pa da rśa ye ccai kī bha va ti | ya du ta ni rma ṇā nta rdhā yi ka yā **(MS 119a2L)** dhi mu kti saṁ jña yā ' ti raḥ ku ḍyaṁ ti raḥ śai laṁ ti raḥ prā kā ra ma sa jja mā ne na kā ye na ga ccha ti | ye na ga ccha ti | **(MS 119a2M)** pṛ thi vyā mu nma jja ni ma jja naṁ ka ro ti | ta dya tho da ke ' u da ke bhi dya mā ne na ' sro ta sā[120] ga ccha ti | ta dya thā pṛ thi vyā mā **(MS 119a2R)** kā śe ' pa rya ṅke nā krā ma ti | ta dya thā pa kṣī śa ku ni i mau vā sū ryā ca ndra ma sā ve vaṁ ma ha rdhi kau ma hā nu bhā **(MS 119a3L)** vau pā ṇi nā ā mā rṣṭi | pa ra mā rṣṭi | yā va dbra ma lo kā tkā ye na ' va śe va rtta ya ti | la ghu mṛ dvā kā śa dhā tu **(MS 119a3M)** ci tta kā ya sa ma va dhā na saṁ jñā pa ri gṛ hī ta yā a dhi mu kti saṁ jña yā sa rva me ta tka ro ti | ya thā yo ga mve di ta vyaṁ |

(MS 119a3R) ta tra dvi vi dhā bra hma lo ka sya kā ye na va śe va rtta nā[121] ga ma ne na ca | va śe va rtta ya ti | ya the ṣṭyā dhi mu ktyā vā bra hma lo **(MS 119a4L)** kā da dha śca tu rṇṇāṁ ma hā bhū tā nāṁ ' ta de ka tya sya co pā dā ya rū pa sya

3.28.5.2.7. ta tra pū rvvā nu bhū ta ca ri tā nu kra mā nu smṛ ti saṁ jñā **(MS 119a4M)** ya yā ku mā ra ka bhā va mu pā dā ya ' ya trā sya smṛ tiḥ pra va rtta te | na vyā ha nya te | ya trā yaṁ ga to bha va ti sthi to ni ṣa **(MS 119a4R)** ṇṇaḥ[122] śa yi to vi sta re ṇa ' sa rvvāṁ pū rvvā nu bhū tāṁ ca ryā mau dā rau dā ri kau dā ri ka ta yā a nu pa ri vā ṭi ka **(MS 119a5L)** yā ' a vyu tkra ma nti | ka yā sa ma nu sma ra nsaṁ jā nā ti | ta syā bhā va nā nva yā dbhā va nā pha la ma ne ka vi dhaṁ pū rvve ni vā saṁ **(MS 119a5M)**

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[117] There is a space between *ā* and *dhi* to make room for the addition of `' *ya* '´ into the line above (see preceeding passage).

[118] Cancelled with one stroke placed at the top of each *akṣara*.

[119] Sh apparently deciphers *bhū* and emends to *dū*. Though there are instances when the two *akṣaras* look quite similar, the MS most likely reads here *dū*.

[120] The *akṣara* has a faint, long stroke above which continues up to the top of the next *akṣara*. This is probably an accidental stroke.

[121] Or: *tā*. Sh reads: *nā*.

[122] Or: *ṇṇu* (?). Sh seems to decipher *ṇṇu* (but emends to *ṇṇa*) (see note to Skt. crit. ed.). The bottom part of the subscribed *ṇa* is indeed unusual (like a buckle drawn high upwards) and may have been intended to be a mark for *u*. If true, it would, however, be quite an irregular *u*-mark.

sa ma nu sma ra ti | yā va tsa nsā[123] raṁ so dde śaṁ ' vi sta re ṇa

3.28.5.2.8. ta tra nā nā pra kā ra śa bda sa nni pā ta ni rgho ṣa saṁ jñā '[124] ya smi **(MS 119a5R)** n grā me vā ni ga me vā ' śre ṇyā mvā pū ge vā pa rṣa di vā ā ya ta vi śā le vā gr̥ he a va va ra ke vā ṉā ṉā pra **(MS 119a6L)** kā ra sya ja na kā ya sya sa nni ṣa ṇṇa sya ' sa nni pa ti ta sya ' yo vya ti mi śro vi ci tro ni rgho ṣo ni śca ra ti | yaḥ ka la **(MS 119a6M)** ka la śa bda i tyu cya te | ma ha tyā vā na dyā va ha tyā ni rgho ṣaḥ ta tra ni mi tta mu dgr̥ hya yā saṁ jñā bhā va nā ' ya yā sa mā hi ta bhū mi **(MS 119a6R)** ke na ma na si kā re ṇā ryā nā rye ṣu śa bde ṣu ' di vya mā nu ṣya ke ṣu dū rā nti ke ṣvā bho gaṁ vā ra ya ti | ṯa[125] syā ṣ̄c̄a[126] ḇa hu **(MS 119a7L)** lī kā ṟā ṉya[127] yā dbhā va nā pha laṁ di vyaṁ śro traṁ pra ti la bha te | ye na di vya mā nu ṣya kāṁ ccha[128] ndāṁ[129] śr̥ ṇo ti | ye pi dū re ye pya **(MS 119a7M)** nti ke '

3.28.5.2.9. ta trā va bhā sa rū pa ni mi tta saṁ jñā pū rva va dā lo ka ni mi tta mu dgr̥ hya ta de va ni mi ttaṁ 【ka】[130] ma na si ka ro ti | sa tva vai ci tryā cca **(MS 119a7R)** ni mi tta mu dgr̥ hya ku śa lā ku śa la ka rma kri yā di bhe de na ta de va ni mi ttaṁ ma na si ka ro ti | i ya ma va bhā ṣ̱a ṟū p̱a **(MS 119b1L)** ni mi tta saṁ jñā ' ta syā bhā va nā nva yā dbhā va nā pha laṁ cyu tyu pa pā da jñā naṁ pra ti la bha te | ye na di vye na ca kṣu ṣā vi śu ddhe na **(MS 119b1M)** vi sta re ṇa yā va tkā ya sya bhe dā tsu ga[131] tau sva rga lo ke de ve ṣū pa pa dya nte |

3.28.5.2.10. ta tra kle śa kr̥ ta rū pa vi kā ra saṁ jñā | ya yā ra kta dvi ṣṭa **(MS 119b1R)** mū ḍhā nāṁ[132] kro dho pa nā ha mra[133] kṣa pa ri dā ha mā yā śā ṭṭhyā hrī kyā na pa trā pya kle śo pa kle śa pa rya va na ddha ci ttā nāṁ sa tvā nāṁ ' **(MS 119b2L)** rū pā va stha[134] mu pa la kṣa ya ti | pa ri chi na tti ' e vaṁ rū pā ra kta sya rū pā va sthā bha va ti | rū pa vi kr̥ tiḥ | ta dya thā u ddha te **(MS 119b2M)** ndri ya tā ' u nna te ndri ya tā ' smi ta mu kha tā ' e vaṁ rū pā dvi ṣṭa sya rū pā va sthā bha va ti | rū pa vi kr̥ tiḥ | ta dya thā mu kha vi va rṇṇa **(MS 119b2R)** tā ' sa ga dga da sva ra tā | kr̥ ta bhr̥ ku ṭi tā | e vaṁ rū pā mū ḍha sya pa rya va sthā bha va ti | rū pa vi kr̥ tiḥ | ta dya thā mū ka tā ' **(MS 119b3L)** a rtha ni dhya ptā va pra ti pa dya na tā ' prā kr̥ tā prā kr̥ tā vā gvyā hā ra tā i

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[123] Or: *tsā*. Sh reads: *nsā*.

[124] After the half-*daṇḍa* there is a blank space of about two *akṣara*s.

[125] Only the top horizontal stroke of the *akṣara* is legible. Sh also reads: *ta*.

[126] Or: *sya* (?), as read by Sh.

[127] The bottom of these two *akṣara*s is practically illegible.

[128] Or: *btha*. Sh deciphers: *śa*.

[129] Sh seems to decipher: *bdāṁ*. See also note to Skt. crit. ed.

[130] Cancelled with one stroke on the *akṣara* top. Sh has no note or sigla.

[131] Or: *rga*. The top of the *akṣara* is very faint and does not allow an accurate decipherment. Sh has *rga* (but his reading of the word here is wrong). See also note to Skt. crit. ed.

[132] The *anusvāra* is very faint.

[133] Or: *pra* or *sra*? The former is Sh's reading (but his reading of the word here is wrong). The three *akṣara*s are virtually indistinguishable, but the correct reading of the word here is <u>*mrakṣa*</u>. See also note Skt. crit. ed.

[134] There is a stroke on the top of the *akṣara* resembling a cancellation mark (?). The correct *akṣara* here should be *sthā*, and the stroke might be taken here as an attempt (by the scribe or a 'proofreader') to write the long vocalic mark for *ā*. This is, however, not very likely: its position would be irregular for an *ā*-vocalic marker which is usually written on the right side of the *akṣara*. Or did this happen for lack or space? Or was it carelessly written?

tye bhi rā kā rai re vaṁ bhā gī yai ryā va dā hrī kyā na **(MS 119b3M)** pa trā pya pa rya va sthi ta sya yā rū pā va sthā bha va ti | rū pa vi kr̥ tiḥ | ta to ni mi tta mu dgr̥ hya ma na si ka ro ti | ta dya thā ba hu lī kā rā nva yā dbhā va nā pha laṁ ce taḥ pa ryā ya jñā na mu tpa dya te | ye na pa ra sa tvā nāṁ pa ra pu dga lā nāṁ vi ta rki[135] taṁ vi **(MS 119b4L)** ca ri taṁ ma no ma na sā ya thā bhū taṁ pra jā nā ti |

3.28.5.2.11. ta tra vi mo kṣā bhi bhvā ya ta na kr̥ tsnā ya ta na saṁ jñā bhā va nā pū rvva va dve di **(MS 119b4M)** ta vyā | ta dya thā sa mā hi tā yāṁ bhū mau | ya yā bhā va na yā ā ryā mr̥ ddhi ma bhi ni rha ra ti | va stu pa ri ṇā mi nīṁ nai ryā[136] ṇi kī **(MS 119b4R)** mā dhi mo kṣi kīṁ | ta dya thā a ra ṇā pra ṇi dhi jñā naṁ | ca ta sraḥ pra ti sa mvi daḥ ta dya thā | dha rma pra ti saṁ vi da rtha **(MS 119b5L)** pra ti sa mvi nni ru kti pra ti saṁ vi tpra ti bhā na pra ti sa mvi tta[137]

3.28.5.3. trā ryā yā ścā nā ryā yā śca r̥ ddhe ra yaṁ vi śe ṣaḥ | ā rya yā **(MS 119b5M)** r̥ ddhyā ' ya dya de va va stu pa ri ṇā ma ya ti | ya dya de va ni rmi taṁ ni rmi ṇo ti | ta tta thai[138] va bha va ti ' nā nya thā | sa rvve ṇa ca te na **(MS 119b5R)** kā ryaṁ śa kya te ka rtu m | a nā rya yā na pu na rna ta thai[139] va bha va tya pi tu | mā yā kā ra ka syai va saṁ da rśa na mā tra kaṁ[140] khyā[141] ti | **(MS 119b6L)** e va mā bhi rdvā da śa bhiḥ saṁ jñā bhi rbba hu lī kā rā nva yā dya thā yo gaṁ pa ñcā nā ma bhi jñā nā mā ryā ṇāṁ ca gu ṇā nā ma pr̥ **(MS 119b6M)** tha gja na sa ndhā ra ṇā nāṁ ya thā yo ga ma bhi ni rhā ro ve di ta vyaḥ || ◎ ||

3.28.6.1. ta tra pra tha me dhyā ne mr̥ du ma dhyā dhi mā tra pa ri bhā **(MS 119b6R)** vi te na ya thā yo gaṁ bra hma kā yi kā nāṁ bra hma pu ro hi tā nāṁ ma hā bra hma ṇāṁ de vā nāṁ sa bhā ga tā yā mu pa sa mpa dya te '

3.28.6.2. **(MS 119b7L)** ⇒[142] dvi tī ye dhyā ne mr̥ du ma dhyā dhi mā tre bhā vi te ' ya thā yo gaṁ pa rī ttā bhā nā mā bhā sva rā ṇāṁ ca de vā nāṁ sa bhā ga tā **(MS 119b7M)** yā mu pa saṁ pa dya te |

3.28.6.3. tr̥ tī ye dhyā ne mr̥ du ma dhyā dhi mā tra bhā vi te ' ya thā yo gaṁ pa rī tta śu bhā nāṁ ma[143] pra mā ṇa śu bhā nāṁ ' **(MS 119b7R)** śu bha kr̥ tsnā nāṁ ca de vā nāṁ sa bhā ga tā yā mu pa sa mpa dya te |

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135 The *akṣara* is very unclear.

136 Sh has: *rmā* (without any emendation note or mark). The correct reading of the word here is *nairmāṇikīm* (see note to Skt. crit. ed.), but the MS clearly reads *ryā*.

137 The MS does not mark the end of the sentence. The *akṣara*-based romanisation obliged me to write *tta* together. Cf. Skt. crit. ed.: °*pratisaṁvit* [new passage] *tatra*°.

138 Or: *ccai*, as W reads. The lower part of the *akṣara* is blotted, and this makes its precise decipherment more difficult. See also note below.

139 W reads *ccai*, but here the *akṣara* is clearly *thai*.

140 The *anusvāra* is very faint.

141 The *akṣara* is hardly legible. Both Sh and W also read: *khyā*.

142 The sign seems here rather superfluous. The usual meaning of this sign is to mark that a part of or the whole of a segment has to be skipped because of the irregular shape of the palm-leaf. Here, however, only a space amounting to about one *akṣara* is skipped, and (as much as I can judge from the reproduction) the shape of the palm-leaf shows no irregularity.

143 Or: *sa*, as Sh appears to decipher. As usual, the two *akṣaras* are very difficult to distinguish, but *ma* seems more likely here. Besides, its presence is easier to explain: the scribe probably intended to write *parīttaśubhānām apramāṇaśubhānāṁ* but mistakenly added a superfluous *anusvāra*. See also note to Skt. crit. ed.

3.28.6.4. ca tu rthe dhyā ne ' mr̥ du ma dhyā dhi mā tra bhā vi te | **(MS 120a1L)** ya thā yo ga ma na bhra kā nāṁ pu ṇya pra sa vā nāṁ br̥ ha tpha lā nāṁ ca de vā nāṁ sa bhā ga tā yā mu pa sa mpa dya te | sa ce tpu na **(MS 120a1M)** ra nā gā mī ' a nā sra ve ṇa dhyā ne na ' ca tu rthe na sā sra vaṁ vya va kī rṇ̥ṇaṁ bhā va ya ti | ta smiṁ mr̥ du ma dhyā dhi mā trā dhi mā tra ta **(MS 120a1R)** rā dhi mā tra ta ma bhā vi te ya thā yo gaṁ pa ñcā nāṁ śu ddhā vā sā nāṁ de vā nāṁ sa ha bhā ga tā yā mu pa sa mpa dya te | ta dya **(MS 120a2L)** thā a vr̥[144] he ṣva ta pe ṣu ' su dr̥ śe ṣu su da rśa ne ṣu ' a ka ni ṣṭhe ṣu

3.28.6.5. ā kā śa vi jñā nā ki ñca nya nai va saṁ jñā nā saṁ jñā ya **(MS 120a2M)** ta ne ' mr̥ du ma dhyā dhi mā tra bhā vi te ' ā kā śa vi jñā nā kiṁ ca nya nai va saṁ jñā nā saṁ jño[145] ya ta no pa gā nāṁ de vā nāṁ sa bhā ga **(MS 120a2R)** tā yā mu pa sa mpa dya te ' a rū pi ṇa śca de vā sta smā tte ṣāṁ sthā nā nta ra kr̥ to bhe do nā sti vi hā ra kr̥ ta stu vi **(MS 120a3L)** śe ṣo[146] bha va ti |

3.28.6.6. a saṁ jñi sa mā pa ttyāṁ bhā vi tā yā ma saṁ jñi sa tvā nāṁ de vā nāṁ sa bhā ga tā yā mu pa sa mpa dya te |

3.28.7. (MS 120a3M) ta tra ka ta mā ni ' 【vi】[147] vī ta rā ga sya 【ndri yā ṇi】[148] | liṁ gā ni | ā ha | sthi ra kā ya ka rmā nto bha va tya ca le ndri yaḥ na cā sye ryā **(MS 120a3R)** pa tha ā śu pa ryā dī ya te | e ke nā pī ryā pa the na ci raṁ kā la ma ti nā ma ya tya pa ri ta sya mā naḥ | ṇa[149] ca[150] śu ī **(MS 120a4L)** ryā nta raṁ spr̥ ha ya ti | ma nda bhā ṇī ca bha va ti | pra śā nta bhā ṇī ca na saṁ ga ṇi kā rā mo na saṁ sa rgā rā mo dhī rā cā 【ra】[151] **(MS 120a4M)** sya vā gprá va rtta te | ca kṣu ṣā rū pā ṇi dr̥ ṣṭvā rū pa pra ti sa mve dī bha va ti | na rū pa rā ga pra ti saṁ ve dī | e vaṁ śa bda ga **(MS 120a4R)** ndha ra sa spra ṣṭa vya pra ti saṁ ve dī bha va ti | no tu yā va tspra ṣṭa vya rā ga pra ti saṁ ve dī | vi śā ra da śca[152] bha va ti | ga mbhī ra **(MS 120a5L)** bu ddhi rvi pu la pra śra bdhi ci tta kā yo pa gū ḍhaḥ | | a na bhi dhyā lu ra vi kṣo bhyaḥ | kṣa mā vā nna cā sya ' kā ma vi ta rkā da ya**(MS 120a5M)**ḥ[153] pā pa kā ści ttaṁ kṣo bha ya nti | i tye vaṁ bhā gī yā ni vī ta rā ga liṁ gā ni ' ve di ta vyā nī[154]

tya yaṁ tā va t lau ki ka mā **(MS 120a5R)** rga ga ma na sya vi bhā gaḥ | |

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[144] Or: *br̥*. The two *akṣara*s are virtually indistinguishable, and here both spellings are possible. See note to Skt. crit. ed.

[145] Sh reads (without any emendation mark or note): *jñā*. This is the correct reading (which I also adopt in my critical edition), but the *akṣara* clearly has a horizontal stroke on its right side which combined with the mark on the left side mean that this is a vocalic sign for *o*. Cf. also *jño* in Suzuki 1995, 5. The error is probably an *aberratio oculi* under the influence of the following *ya ta no*.

[146] The upper part of the *akṣara* is blotted and not very clear.

[147] Sh does not mention the presence of this cancelled *akṣara*.

[148] Sh does not mention the presence of these cancelled *akṣara*s.

[149] The *akṣara* is hardly legible. Sh also reads: *na*.

[150] MS is not clear. It could also be: *a* (or even: *tsa/tma/tā/bhā*?). Sh appears to deciphers: *tā*. See also note to Skt. crit. ed.

[151] The cancellation mark is very faint. Sh does not note the presence of this cancelled *akṣara*.

[152] The bottom of the *akṣara* is not very clear.

[153] *Visarga* is placed at the beginning of the new segment and thus separated from the *akṣara*.

[154] The MS does not mark the end of the sentence. The *akṣara*-based romanisation obliged me to write *nī* together. Cf. Skt. crit. ed.: *veditavyāni* [new paragraph] *ity*.

CHAPTER THREE

Critical Edition of the Sanskrit Original

Śrāvakabhūmiḥ

Caturthaṁ Yogasthānam[1]

3.27. (MS 113a7M; Sh 437, 2; W 125, 2) tatra labdhamanaskārasya yoginaḥ evaṁ parīttaprahāṇaratipraviṣṭasya tadūrdhvaṁ dve gatī bhavataḥ[2], ananye. katame dve? tadyathā: laukikī ca lokottarā ca. tatrāyam ādikarmiko yogācāraḥ samanaskāraḥ "laukikayā[3] vā gatyā gamiṣyāmi, lokottarayā vā" iti tam eva manaskāraṁ bahulīkaroti. yathā yathā bahulīkaroti, tathā tathā sā praśrabdhiś cittaikāgratā ca teṣāṁ teṣāṁ rātridivasānām atyayāt pṛthuvṛddhivaipulyatāṁ gacchati. yadā cāsya *dṛdhaḥ*[4], sthiraḥ, kharaś ca manaskāraḥ saṁvṛtto[5] bhavati, pariśuddhaś[6] cālambanādhimokṣaḥ pravartate, śamathavipaśyanāpakṣyāc ca[7] nimittāny udgṛhītāni[8] bhavanti, tadā sa laukikena mārgeṇa gantukāmas tatra *vā*[9] prayogam ārabhate, lokottareṇa vā mārgeṇa.[10]

3.28.1.1. (MS 113b1L; Sh 437, 17; W 125, 14) tatra kati pudgalāḥ ye dṛṣṭe dharme laukikenaiva[11] **(Sh 438, 1)** mārgeṇa gacchanti[12], na lokottareṇa? āha: catvāraḥ.

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[1] *Śrāvakabhūmiḥ* and 'Caturthaṁ Yogasthānam' at the beginning of the critical edition represent a modern convention. Traditionally, Indian manuscripts have the title at the end of the work and/or of each of the large textual units. In our case, too, we find *Śrāvakakabhūmau caturthaṁ yogasthānam* at the end of the Yogsthāna IV (MS 129a2L; Sh 511, 5; Schmithausen ed. 474; W 134). Cf. also Tib. ed. and Ch. ed.

[2] W: *bhavati.*

[3] The MS reads so. In view of the preceding *laukikī*, which is the regular form, one would have expected to see here **laukikyā.*

[4] MS: *dṛṣṭi.* Sh: *dṛṣṭa.* W: *dṛdhaḥ.* My emendation is based upon Tib. and Ch.

[5] Wayman reads *saṁkatto* and emends to *saṁkaṭo.*

[6] Sh: *pariśrabdhaś.*

[7] W: *śamathavipaśyanāpakṣyāś ca.* See note 18 to Engl. tr.

[8] Wayman's reading and emendation to *nimittā [a]bhyudgṛhītāni* is very unlikely. MS clearly reads *nimittāny udgṛhītāni.* The collocation of *nimitta* with *ud-√grah* is very common in the ŚrBh (e.g. Sh 411, 16; 413, 9-10f.; 414, 19; 415, 5; 416, 2; etc.). On the other hand, the verb **abhyud√grah* is not attested (a fact actually noticed by Wayman himself, p. 126). Note also that Tib. contains no prefix which would suggest *abhi-*. (Tib. *yongs su* usually translates *pari-*). Tib. *yongs su zin pa* also renders *parigṛhīta* in the YoBh (cf. YoBh-D, s.v.), but there is no need to suppose such a form here. The MS reading *udgṛhītāni* is perfectly meaningful and well-attested in the above collocation.

[9] MS, Sh, W: *ca.* Both Tib. and Ch. suggest a disjunctive conjunction. Semantically, too, *vā* is required by the context.

[10] Wayman does not separate this phrase from the following sentence: */ lokottareṇa vā mārgeṇa tatra kati pudgalāḥ /*. The meaning (as well as the half *daṇḍa* in the MS, though admittedly its usage is rarely reliable) makes it clear that we have two different passages. In Wayman's English translation, the two passages are actually separated.

[11] W: *laukikena ca.*

tadyathā: sarva itobāhyakaḥ; ihadhārmiko 'pi mandaḥ[13] pūrvaśamathacaritaḥ; tathā tīkṣṇo 'py[14] aparipakvakuśalamūlaḥ; bodhisattvaś cāyatyām[15] bodhim anuprāptukāmaḥ, no tu dṛṣṭa eva dharme. amī catvāraḥ pudgalā dṛṣṭa eva dharme laukikamārgayā*y*ino[16] bhavanti.

3.28.1.2. (MS 113b2L; Sh 438, 8; W 126, 6) tac ca laukikamargagamanaṁ dvividhaṁ: sakalabandhanānāṁ[17] ca pṛthagjanānāṁ vikalabandhanānāṁ ca śaikṣāṇāṁ. tat punaḥ katamat? kāmānām audārikatāṁ paśyataḥ prathame ca dhyāne <*sa*>samāpattyupapattike[18] śāntatāṁ[19] paśyatas tatkāmavairāgyagamanam, evaṁ yāvat ākiṁcanyāyatanavairāgyaṁ veditavyam; tathāsaṁjñisamāpattiḥ[20], **(Sh 439, 1)** dhyānasamāpattisaṁniśrayeṇa[21] cābhijñānānāṁ[22] pañcānām abhinirhāraḥ.

3.28.2.1.1. (MS 113b3L; Sh 439, 3; W 126, 23) tatra kāmavairāgyāya prayukto yogī saptabhir mana{*ḥ*}skāraiḥ[23] kāmavairāgyam anuprāpnoti. **(Choi 166, § 20.0.)** katame punas te sapta manaskārāḥ? āha: lakṣaṇapratisaṁvedī, ādhimokṣikaḥ[24] prāvivekyaḥ[25], ratisaṁgrāhakaḥ, mīmāṁsāmanaskāraḥ[26], prayoganiṣṭhaḥ, prayoganiṣṭhāphalaś[27] ca.

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[12] Sh: *pṛ(ga)cchanti.*
[13] W: *mṛduḥ.*
[14] Sh: *bhūyo [']pi.*
[15] Sh: *bodhisattvasyāyatyāṁ.*
[16] I adopt here the emendation suggested by Shukla: *laukikamārgayāni(yi)no*. It is not impossible to construe Skt. **yānin* as 'possessor of [/traveller by] the carriage [/way] of', but I could not find the term attested in other sources. On the other hand, we have a term like *ṛddhipādayānayāyin* (Av 1.327, 6 and 8; cf. BHSD, s.v. *ṛddhipāda*).
[17] Sh: *saka[la]bandhanānāñ.*
[18] Emendation supported by Tib. *snyoms par 'jug pa dang skye ba dang bcas pa'i bsam gtan.* The loss of the first *sa* can easily be explained as a haplography. We actually find the compound *sasamāpattyupapattike* at ŚrBh MS 15b2M; Sh 35, 7; W 66. The first *sa* appears to be interpreted by W and Sh (at least, judging from the latter's spelling *sa* separate from *samāpattyupapattike*) as the personal pronoun *sa*, but this would be stylistically rather odd. Tib. (P Wi 17b6-7) reads: *snyoms par 'jug pa dang skye ba yod la.* (= D Dzi 15a6, which differs only in the last part: °*yod pa*), with *yod la/pa* clearly suggesting *sa-*. Ch. 若定若生 (T30.401c23) is not relevant as to the precise wording of the Skt.
[19] MS, Sh: °*upapattikleśāntatāṁ*. W correctly has: °*upapattike śāntatāṁ* (though he does not indicate that this is an emendation). Tib. and Ch. support the emendation.
[20] MS: *tathā asaṁjñisamāpattiḥ*. W emends to: *tathā asaṁjñisamāpattiṁ*. The emendations suggested by Wayman here and below are discussed in note 33 to Engl. tr.
[21] W emends to: *dhyānasamāpatti(ṁ) saṁniśrayenābhijñānāṁ* (see note above).
[22] Sh reads: °*sanniśrayena ṣa[ḍvi]jñānānāṁ* (see also p. 439, n. 1). W gives the MS reading in square brackets but emends to: °*saṁniśrayenābhijñānāṁ*. Though the form *abhijñā* (feminine) is much more frequent, we also find *abhijñāna* (neuter) (e.g., Laṅk 81, 13, although one MS used by Suzuki reads *abhijñā*; see Laṅk p. 81, n, 11; cf. Tib. also translation of the latter). A scribal error is not excluded, but since *abhijñāna* is an attested form, I have kept the MS reading as such.
[23] Neither Sh nor W notes the presence of the superfluous *visarga* before *s-*.
[24] W: *ādimokṣikaḥ.*
[25] MS, Sh, W, Choy: *prāvivekyo.*
[26] W: *mīmāṁānaskāraḥ.*
[27] W: *prayoganiṣthaphalaś*. MS: *prayoganiṣṭhāphala* (with long *ā*). Tib. and Ch. do not offer

3.28.2.1.2.1. (MS 113b4L; Sh 439, 9; W 126, 34; Choi 166, § 21.0.) tatra lakṣaṇapratisaṁvedī manaskarāḥ katamaḥ? āha: yena manaskāreṇa kāmānām audārikalakṣaṇaṁ pratisaṁvedayate, prathame ca dhyāne śāntalakṣaṇam. kathaṁ ca punar audārikalakṣaṇaṁ pratisaṁvedayati? āha: kāmānāṁ ṣaḍ vastūni paryeṣamāṇaḥ[28] **(end of fragment edited by W)**, arthaṁ, vastu, lakṣaṇaṁ[29], pakṣaṁ, kālaṁ, yuktiṁ ca.

3.28.2.1.2.2. (MS 113b5L; Sh 439, 17; Choi 166, § 21.0.) tatraudārikārthaṁ tāvat paryeṣate: itīme kāmāḥ sādīnāvāḥ, bahūpadravāḥ, bahvītikāḥ, bahūpasargā iti. yā eṣu kāmeṣu bahvādīnavatā, yāvad bahūpasargatā, ayam audārikārthaḥ.

3.28.2.1.2.3. (MS 113b5M; Sh 439, 20; Choi 166, § 21.0.) tatra vastu paryeṣate. asty adhyātmaṁ kāmeṣu kāmacchandaḥ, asti bahirdhā kāmeṣu kāmacchanda iti.[30]

3.28.2.1.2.4. (MS 113b5R; Sh 439, 22; Choi 167, § 22.0.) tatra svalakṣaṇaṁ paryeṣate. amī kleśakāmāḥ, amī vastukāmāḥ. te punaḥ sukhasthānīyāḥ, duḥkha(**Sh 440, 1**)sthānīyāḥ, aduḥkh*ā*sukhasthānīyāś [31] ca. sukhasthānīyāḥ kāmarāgādhiṣṭhānāḥ, saṁjñācittaviparyāsādhiṣṭhānāḥ. duḥkhasthānīyāḥ [32] punar dveṣādhiṣṭhānāḥ krodhopanāhādhiṣṭhānāḥ. aduḥkhāsukhasthānīyāḥ [33] mrakṣapradāśamāyāśāṭhyāhrīkyānapatrāpyādhiṣṭhānā [34] dṛṣṭiviparyāsādhiṣṭhānāś ca. evam amī kāmāḥ praduṣṭavedanānugatāś ca pra*du*ṣṭakleśānugatāś[35] ca. evaṁ kāmānāṁ svalakṣaṇaṁ

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any clue here. Though it lacks parallelism with the preceding *prayoganiṣṭhaḥ,* I prefer to follow the MS reading, which is not limited to this occurrence (see also passage 3.28.2.2.3. below; MS 120a6L = Sh 470, 9-10; Schmithausen ed. 472, 3-2 = Sh 510, 11-12; etc.). On the grammatical peculiarity of this compound, see Choi, p. 134, n. 486.

[28] W: *paryeṣamānaḥ*. I follow the MS spelling (see also MS 99a2M: *sa paryeṣamāṇaḥ*, actually correctly transliterated by Wayman at W 111) which actually applies here standard *sandhi* rules (cf. Whitney [1924] 1994, 64-66; Abhyankar and Shukla 1986, 174).

[29] Sh reads: *arthanya svūlakṣaṇaṁ*, and adds in brackets: *arthaṁ, svalakṣaṇaṁ, sāmānyalakṣaṇaṁ*.

[30] Sh omits: *kāmeṣu kāmacchandaḥ, asti bahirdhā*, reading only: *asty adhyātmaṁ kāmeṣu kāma(c)chanda iti |*.

[31] MS: *aduḥkhasukha°*. The usual spelling is: *aduḥkhāsukha* (*aduḥkha+asukha*), though the *aduḥkhasukha* is also attested (BWDJ, s.v.; SWTF, s.v., vol. 1, p. 31; etc.). The latter form can be explained as *a-duḥkhasukha* or *aduḥkha+asukha*, with the long *ā* shortened to *a*, a frequent phonetic phenomenon in Middle Indo-Aryan languages (see BHSD, vol. 1, pp. 24-25), or with one *a* elided as in Pali (see Geiger [1916] 2000, p. 61, § 69). The MS is not consistent: in the first occurrence here, it clearly spells as *aduḥkhasukha*, but a few sentences later, on the same line (3.28.2.1.2.4. below), it has *aduḥkhāsukha*. It is not certain whether *aduḥkhasukha* is a scribal error or an alternative spelling, but I have adopted here the more frequent *aduḥkhāsukha*, also attested in our MS. For the spelling *aduḥkhāsukha* in the ŚrBh, see also MS 85b1R (ŚrBh-Gr (18) 38, 11), MS 85b2L (ŚrBh-Gr (18) 38, 13), MS 85b2M (ŚrBh-Gr (18) 38, 14), MS 85b2R (ŚrBh-Gr (18) 38, 16), MS 85b5R (ŚrBh-Gr (18) 42, 2-3), and MS 85b6L (ŚrBh-Gr (18) 42, 4).

[32] Sh: *duḥkhasthānīyā[h]*. See also note to Skt. dipl. ed.

[33] Ch. contains here an additional term: 是愚癡依處 **mohādhiṣṭhānāḥ*. Tib. reads the same as the extant Skt. MS. See note 35 to Ch. ed. as well as note 49 to Engl. tr.

[34] Sh: *°kyāma(kyā)na°*.

[35] MS: *pravyaṣṭa°*. Sh: *pratyasta°*. See note 10 to Skt. dipl. ed. Emendation based upon Tib. *rab tu gnod pa'i* and Ch. 極惡.. Cf. also immediately preceding *praduṣṭavedanānugatāś*. Choi makes the same emendation as the one suggested above.

paryeṣate.

tatra kathaṁ sāmānyalakṣaṇaṁ paryeṣate? sarva ete kāmā jātiduḥkhatayā jarāduḥkhatayā yāvad icchāvighātaduḥkhatayā samasamam anubaddhāś cānuṣaktāś[36] ca. ye <'>pi [37] kāmopabhogino mahatyāṁ kāmasaṁpadi vartante [38], te <'>pi [39] jātyādidharmatayā avinirmuktāḥ. tāvatkālikī sā teṣāṁ sampat. evaṁ sāmānyalakṣaṇaṁ paryeṣate.

3.28.2.1.2.5. (MS 113b8M; Sh 440, 16; W 127, 7; Choi 167, § 23.0.) kathaṁ pakṣaṁ paryeṣate? kṛṣṇapakṣapatitā ete kamāḥ. asthikaṁkālopamāḥ, māṁsapeśyupamāḥ, tṛṇolkopamāḥ, aṁgārakarṣūpamāḥ, āśīviṣopamāḥ, svapnopamāḥ, yācitakālaṁkāropamāḥ[40], vṛkṣaphalopamāś[41] ca **(end of fragment edited by W)**. paryeṣamāṇā api sattvāḥ [42] kāmān paryeṣaṇākṛtaṁ duḥkhaṁ pratisaṁvedayanti, ārakṣākṛtaṁ, snehaparibhraṁśakṛtam, atṛptikṛtam[43], asvātantryakṛtaṁ, duścarita(**Sh 441, 1**)kṛtaṁ ca duḥkhaṁ pratisaṁvedayanti. pūrvavad eva tāvat sarvaṁ veditavyaṁ.

tathā kāmān pratiṣevataḥ pañcādīnavā uktāḥ Bhagavatā: "alpāsvādāḥ kāmāḥ bahu*d*uḥkhā[44], bahvādīnavāḥ. kāmān khalu pratiṣevamāṇasya nāsty alaṁtā v*ā*[45] tṛptitā v*ā*[46] paryāptitā vā. anena paryāyeṇa kāmā vigarhitā buddhair buddhaśrāvakaiś ca, sadbhiḥ, samyaggataiḥ, satpuruṣaiḥ. kāmān khalu pratiṣevamāṇasya saṁyojanāny upacayaṁ gacchanti. nāsti cāsya kiṁcit pāpakam akuśalaṁ karmākaraṇīyaṁ vadāmi."[47]

itīme kāmā atṛptikarakāḥ[48], bahusādhāraṇāḥ[49], adharmaviṣamacaryāhetavaḥ, kāmatṛṣṇāvivardhakāḥ, satāṁ vivarjanīyāḥ, kṣipraṁ vilayagāminaḥ[50], pratyayādhīnāḥ[51],

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[36] Sh: *°śaktāś*.

[37] Sh, Choi also add *avagraha*. Note that there is a sign for *avagraha* in the MS (see Suzuki 1995, 16), but its usage appears to be very rare.

[38] Sh seems to decipher as *vartate* and emend to *varta[n]te*.

[39] Sh, Choi also add *avagraha*.

[40] Sh: *yācikālaṁkāro°*.

[41] Sh: *tṛṇaphalo°*.

[42] MS: *satvāḥ*. This seems to be an alternative spelling of *sattva* seen in our ŚrBh MS as well as in other manuscripts, too (e.g. DaśBh MS A, fol. 17a3L: *satvadhātuṁ*; cf. DaśBh Rahder ed., 32, 2, spelling *satva°*; Kondō ed., 53, 11, spelling *sattva°*). In the critical edition, I follow the regular orthography and consistently write: *sattva°*. I shall not, however, note or mark when my spelling differs from the MS, since this is not an emendation proper. Sh, Choi also spell here: *sattvāḥ*. In other similar cases, Shukla also appears to adopt the standard orthography tacitly.

[43] The emendation of the MS *ātṛpti°* to *atṛpti°* is semantically motivated and also supported by Tib. and Ch. Choi: same emendation as above. Sh: °कृतम(ा)तृप्ति°.

[44] MS: *bahusuḥkhā*. Sh: *bahusu(duḥ)khā*. Choi: same emendation as above.

[45] Choi also emends the MS *va* to *vā*. Sh emends to *°alaṁ tāva(t)*. On this and the similar emendation below, see notes 60 and 63 to Engl. tr.

[46] Choi also emends the MS *va* to *vā*. Sh: *ca*.

[47] On the syntactic peculiarity of this *vadāmi* without *iti*, see Choi 2001, pp. 120-1, n. 367; cf. also ibid., p. 120, n. 358.

[48] Sh: *atṛptik[ā]rakā[ḥ]*. The classical Sanskrit *kāraka* has in Pali and Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit the form *karaka* (see BHSD, s.v.; cf. Choi 168, n. 216).

[49] Sh: *sādhāraṇā*.

[50] MS, Sh: *viṣayagāminaḥ*. Choi: *vināśagāminaḥ*. My emendation is based upon *vilayagāminaḥ* in a parallel passage in the *Ābhiprāyikārthagāthā*, ver. 45 (Maeda 1991, 89; Wayman 1984, 356). Tib. *jig pa* and Ch. 消滅 suggest a reading like *vilaya°*, *vināśa°*, etc.

pramādabhūmayaḥ, riktāḥ, anityāḥ, tucchāḥ, mṛṣāmoṣadharmāṇaḥ[52], māyopamāḥ, bālalāpanāḥ[53]. ye ca dṛṣṭadhārmikāḥ kāmāḥ, ye ca sāṁparāyikāḥ, ye ca divyāḥ, ye ca mānuṣyakāḥ, {*mā*}mārasyaiṣa[54] gocaro, mārasyaiṣa nivāpo[55], yatreme <'*ne*>kavidhāḥ[56] pāpakā akuśalā dharmā mānasāḥ saṁbhavanti, yadutābhidhyā, vyāpādaḥ[57], saṁrambho vā, ye vā punar āntarāyikā bhavanty āryaśrāvakasy*a*[58] śikṣamāṇasya. anekaparyāyeṇa[59] kṛṣṇapakṣapatitā ete kāmā yadbhūyasā. evaṁ pakṣaṁ paryeṣate.

3.28.2.1.2.6. (MS 114a4R; Sh 442, 1; Choi 169, § 24.0.) <*kathaṁ kālaṁ paryeṣate*?>[60] **(Sh 442, 1)** atītānāgatapratyutpanneṣv adhvasu {*a*}nityaṁ[61] nityakālaṁ, dhruvaṁ dhruvakālam ete kāmā[62] evaṁ bahūpadravāḥ[63], bahūpasargāḥ, bahvādīnavāḥ ity evaṁ kālaṁ paryeṣate.

3.28.2.1.2.7. (MS 114a5M; Sh 442, 4; Choi 169, § 25.0.) kathaṁ yuktiṁ

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[51] Sh: *pratyayādhipā*.

[52] Tib. has *chos can*, which suggests rather **dharmiṇo*, but the MS clearly reads °*dharmāṇo*.

[53] As also suggested by the Tib. and Ch. translations, the words which make up the compound must be *bāla* 'fool' and *ullāpana* 'deceiving', i.e. 'deceiving fools'. The compound is well-attested in Buddhist literature, but its spelling shows considerable variation: *bāla-ullāpana* (LalVis 176,4), *bālollāpana* (ŚikṣSam 77,3; RāṣṭrPar 39,13), and *bālālāpana* (DaśBh Kondō ed. 82, 13; Rahder ed. 43,6; DaśBh MS B folio 26a2L spells: *bālalāpanā*°) (see also BHSD, s.v. *ullāpana*). Edgerton suggests that the last spelling should be emended to *bāllollāpana*, but we could have here a BHS reminescence, which is also witnessed by our MS spelling: *bālalāpanāḥ*. The latter can be explained as resulting from the drop of the initial *u* in *ullāpana* (see Geiger [1916] 2000, 111, § 70, for Pali; BHSD, vol. 1, p. 32, § 4.16, for BHS) and the loss of one *l*. The form *bālalāpana* is actually attested in a parallel passage at MN II 261, 26 (see also note 66 to Engl. tr.). The MS spelling here (as well as in the DaśaBh) probably reflects an old BHS spelling/variant.

[54] MS *māmārasyaiṣa* must be a dittography. Sh: *mā[ra]mārabhyaiṣa*.

[55] See note 68 to Engl. tr. as well as note 47 to Ch. ed.

[56] MS: *yatreme kavidhāḥ*. Emendation based upon Tib. *rnam pa du ma* and Ch. 無量. Sh, Choi: same emendation as above.

[57] Sh: व्यापाद(ा)[:].

[58] Sh: *āryaśrāvakasyā*. Choi: *āryaśrāvakasya*. See note to Skt. dipl. ed.

[59] Sh spells *śikṣamāṇasyānekaparyāyeṇa*. For *anekaparyāyeṇa*, see notes to Tib. ed., Ch. ed. and Engl. tr.

[60] The introductory question lacks in MS and Sh. Both Tib. and Ch. contain equivalent sentences, which, in conjunction with the similar constructions in parallel passages, pleads for this addition. Choi: same emendation as above.

[61] MS *anityaṁ* emended in the light of Tib. and Ch. as well as *dhruvaṁ dhruvakālam*. Choi: same emendation as above. Sh. reads: *anityaṁ nityakālaṁ(ma) dhruvaṁ dhruvakālam*.

[62] MS, Sh: *kāmāḥ* | . Choi: *kāmāḥ** (In Choi's edition, the asterisk stands for *daṇḍa* in the MS).

[63] MS contains a second *bahūpadravā*, which was later cancelled by the scribe or a proofreader. It is hard to decide whether we have to do with a simple dittography or a scribal *aberratio oculi* instead of a different compound in the original. Tib. (P, G, N stemma) suggests a Skt. wording identical with the one transmitted by our MS (see, however, note 89 to Tib. ed.). Ch., on the other hand, suggests an additional compound and a different word order (cf. note 49 to Ch. ed.): 多諸過患, 多諸損惱, 多諸疫癘, 多諸災害 **bahvādīnāvāḥ, bahūpadravāḥ, bahvītikāḥ, bahūpasargāḥ* (reconstruction supported by a parallel phrase occurring in 3.28.2.1.2.2). 有多疫癘 **bahvītikāḥ* lacks in the extant Skt. MS and Tib. (cf. Choi, p. 169, n. 227; also p. 123, n. 393), but these two textual witnesses may reflect here a corrupt or slightly different MS version.

paryeṣate? mahatā{*ṁ*} saṁrambheṇa[64], mahatyā paryeṣṭyā, mahatā pariśrameṇa vividhair vicitraiḥ śilpakarmasthānaiḥ kāmāḥ saṁhriyante, nirvartyante, upacīyante. te punaḥ sūpacitā api, suni<*r*>vartitā[65] api, yāvad e{*r*}va[66] bahirdhā parigrahavastuno[67] mātāpitṛputradāradāsīdāsakarmakarapauruṣeyamitrāmātyajñātisālohitānāṁ[68], asya vā punaḥ kāyasyādhyātmikasya rūpiṇa audārikasya caturmahābhūtikasyaudana-kulmāṣopacitasya[69] [70] nityotsadanasnapanap*a*rimardanabhedana*c*chedanavikiraṇa-vidhvaṁsanadharmaṇa[71] [72] utpannotpannaduḥkhamātrapratīkārāya saṁvartante. kṣudduḥkhapratīkārāya bhojanam. śītoṣṇaduḥkhapratīghātāya hrīkopīna-praticchādanāya[73] ca vastraṁ. nidrāklamaduḥkhapratīghātāya ca śayanāsanam, caṅkramasthānaduḥkhapratighātāya ca. vyādhiduḥkhapratighātāya ca glāna<*pratyaya*>bhaiṣajyam[74], iti duḥkhapratīkārabhūtā ete kāmāḥ, iti naite raktena paribhoktavyāḥ, na saktena, nānyatra vyādhigrastenevātureṇa[75] vyādhimātropaśamāya

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[64] Cf. Tib. *rtsol ba* (var. lec. *brtsal ba*) and Ch. 資糧; see also note 91 to Tib. ed. and note 51 to Ch. ed.

[65] The exact MS decipherment is difficult. See note to Skt. dipl. ed. Sh reads: *sunirvartitā* (without any emendation mark or note). Choi deciphers *sunivatitā* and emends as above.

[66] Sh: *yāvad eṣa.*

[67] MS, Sh, Choi: *parigrahavatunaḥ*. I have applied regular *sandhi* rules.

[68] Sh: *mātā (tṛ)*°.

[69] MS, Choi: *catur*°; Sh emends to *cātur*°. There seems to be some hesitation in Buddhist sources between *cāturmahābhūtika* and *caturmahābhūtika.* It is true that the former is frequent (e.g., Avad 257, 15, Divy 652, 13, etc.; BHSD, s.vv. *cāturmahābhūtika* and *cāturmahābhautika*), but the form *caturmahābhautika* is also attested. Thus, SWTF, fascicle 11, p. 228, s.v., registers both *caturmahābhautika* and *cāturmahābhūtika* as well as *cāturmahābhautika* (ibid., p. 240, s.vv.). The YoBh MS clearly reads *caturmahābhūtikā* at folio 9b6 (though Bhattacharya ed. YoBh 31, 3, spells *cāturmahābhūtikā*, without any note or sigla). The Patna MS of the BoBh also appears to read *caturmahābhautikena* (folio 41a5), but on top of the *akṣara*, there is a very faint trace of what may be a correction of *a* to *ā* (photo unclear) (I am indebted to Prof Schmithausen for kindly checking the MS readings in these two occurrences.) However, BoBh Wogihara ed. 61, 7, reads here: *cāturmahābhutikena* (without any note or sigla), and Dutt ed. 42, 18, also has *cāturmahābhautikena* (without any note or sigla about the MS *catur*°/*cātur*'?). In the KaPari (Stäl-Holstein ed. § 152 as well as Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya ed. p. 53 = folio 76 verso, line 2), we also find the form *caturmahābhūtika.* These occurrences suggest that *caturmahābhūtika* may have been an alternative spelling of the compound.

[70] Sh: °*kalmā*°.

[71] MS, Sh: °*pārimardana*°; Choi reads °*parimardana*° but has no note concerning the MS spelling and/or the emendation.

[72] MS, Choi: °*bhedanachedana*. Sh applies regular *sandhi* rules as above.

[73] MS, Sh: *kopana*. The context makes it clear that the original must have meant *kopīna*, a BHS word (cf. also Pali *kopīna*) equivalent to Classical Sanskrit *kaupīna* 'a small piece of cloth worn over the private parts' (see BudCar 11, 37). Tib. *pa car* also points in the same direction (cf. Mvyut # 5850: *kaupīnam = pa car*). Choi: same emendation as above.

[74] MS, Sh: *glānabhaiṣajyam*. This reading also makes sense but Tib. *na ba'i gsos sman* and Ch. 病緣醫藥 plead for the emendation above. Buddhist literature offeres plenty of examples of the compound *glānapratyayabhaiṣajya* (see BoBh 193, 4; Divy 143, 6; Mvyut # 6139 and # 5839, but here Sakaki's reading *na baḥi gos* must be corrected to *na baḥi gso*; see also BWDJ, s.v.).

[75] Sh: °*grastenaiva*°.

bhaiṣajyam.[76]

āptāgamo <'>py eṣaḥ, yathaite[77] kāmā evaṁ caivaṁ caudārikāḥ. pratyātmam api me jñānadarśanaṁ **(Sh 443, 1)** pravartate[78]. ānumāniko <'>py eṣa vidhiḥ. prakṛtiś caiṣā kāmānām anādikālikā prasiddhadharmatā aci*ntya*dharmatā[79]. sā na cintayitavyā{*ḥ*}[80], na vikalpa*yitavyā*[81]. ity evaṁ yuktiṁ paryeṣate.

3.28.2.1.2.8. (MS 114b1M; Sh 443, 5; Choi 170, § 26.0.) sa evaṁ kāmanām audārikalakṣaṇaṁ pratisaṁvedya[82], yaduta ṣadbhir vastubhiḥ, prathame dhyāne śāntalakṣaṇaṁ pratisaṁvedayati: nāsty etat sarvaśa audārikatvaṁ prathame dhyāne, yad etat kāmadhātāv iti;[83] ane{*na*}naudārikatven*a*[84] virahit<*atv*>āc[85] chāntaṁ prathamaṁ dhyānam iti.[86] evaṁ prathame dhyāne śāntalakṣaṇaṁ pratisaṁvedayate. iti yena samāhitabhūmikena manaskāreṇa kāmeṣv audārikalakṣanaṁ pratisamvedayate,[87] prathame ca dhyāne śāntalakṣaṇam, ayam ucyate lakṣaṇapratisaṁvedī manaskāraḥ. sa khalv eṣa manaskāraḥ śrutacintāvyavakīrṇo[88] veditavyaḥ.

3.28.2.1.3. (MS 114b3L; Sh 443, 12; Choi 171, § 27.0.) sa evaṁ kāmān parijñāya prathamaṁ <*ca*> dhyānaṁ[89] yathāvat paryeṣṭaudārikaśāntalakṣaṇena,[90]

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[76] Sh continues the sentence without any punctuation mark: *bhaiṣajyamāpta°.*

[77] Sh: *tathaite.*

[78] Sh: *pravarteta.*

[79] MS: *acitta°*. Cf. Tib. *bsam kyis mi kyab pa'i chos nyid*; Ch. 法性難思. Choi: same emendation as above. Sh conjectures the same reading: *acitta(-cintya?)dharmatā.*

[80] MS: *°tavyāḥ* |. Sh: °तव्या(:) |. Choi: same emendation as above.

[81] MS: *yatetyevaṁ*. Choi: same emendation as above. Sh: *vilpayate(yitavye)tyevaṁ*. Cf. MS 100b8M; ŚrBh 377, 5-6: *sā na cintayitavyā, na vikalpayitavyā.* (MS, Sh: reads: *sā ca°*, which should be emended as above; cf. Tib. tr. at P Wi 166b6: *de ni bsam par mi bya | rnam par brtag par bya'i* [...]; Ch. tr. at T30.453a25-26: 不應思議，不應分別.)

[82] Sh: *pratisaṁvejya.*

[83] Choi: *kāmadhātau* <:> *ity.* The difference results from the punctuation which I adopt rather than from a different deciperment or understanding of the passage.

[84] MS: *anena naudārikatvenā*. The scribe probably made a dittography by first writing *na* and then *nau*, this time applying *sandhi*. Sh reads *°anenaudārika°*, without giving any explanation and then omitting a good part of the following fragment (see note 87 below). Choi reads: *anenaudārikatvena,* emending the MS *ā* but not mentioning the superfluous *na.*

[85] MS: *virahitāc*. Choi: same emendation as above. The emendation is grammatically required. The parallel passage at AbhSamBh 80, 6 reads: *tadabhāvāc ca*, therefore also suggesting a noun (for this passage, see note 93 to Engl. tr.). The term *virahitatva* is attested at BoBh 101, 10 (though in a different context and grammatical construction).

[86] Choi reads: *dhyānam* <:> *ity evam*, and notes: *Oder "°nam iti / evam" (da die mit pratisaṁvedayati eingeleitete Überlegung hier zu ende geht). Viell. "iti" in doppelter Funktion* (p. 171, n. 250). Choi punctuation and understading is possible, but I think that a reading in line with Choi's second alternative is preferable (see also my Engl.tr.).

[87] Sh: *yad etat kāmadhātāv ity anenaudārikalakṣaṇaṁ pratisaṁvedayate* |. Sh thus omits all words between *anenaudārika°* and *audārikalakṣaṇaṁ.*

[88] Sh: *°vyavakī[r]ṇṇo*. Choi: *vyavakīrṇo*. See note to Skt. dipl. ed.

[89] Choi similarly surmises: *prathamaṁ <ca?> dhyānaṁ*. See note 94 to Engl. tr.

[90] I read with the MS: *yathāvatparyeṣṭau°*. Sh suggests: *yathāvatparyeṣṭau(ṣyau)°*. The reasons for my choice are discussed in note 94 to Engl. tr. The MS *paryeṣṭa* is a BHS alternative form for the standard past participle *paryeṣita*. The latter form is also employed in our MS two sentences below (see *yathāparyeṣitām*). The form *aparyeṣṭam* is attested at, for example,

śrutaṁ ca cintāṁ ca vyatikrāmyaikāntena [91] bhāvanākāreṇaivādhimucyate. tannimittālambanām [92] eva śamathavipaśyanāṁ bhāvayati. bhāvayaṁś ca yathāparyeṣitām[93] audārikaśāntatāṁ punaḥ punar adhimucya*te*.[94] ity ayam ucyate[95] <*ā*>dhimokṣiko[96] manaskāraḥ.

SadPuṇḍ 101, 8 (the form adopted by Kern and Nanjio actually represents the reading of two Nepelase manuscripts, i.e. the so-called Cb. MS (dated 1683) and K. MS, acquired by Ekai Kawaguchi in Nepal). Cf. also Edgerton, BHSD, s.v. *paryeṣati*, who also refers to this occurrence, and calls the form 'a possibility'. Cf. also BHSD, vol. 1, pp. 205-206, s.v. *iṣ* (especially, the past participle *adhyeṣṭa*).

[91] The standard form in classical Sanskrit is *vyatikramya* (see parallel passage at AbhSamBh 80, 9; cf. also Laṅk 121, 10; Aṣṭa 108, 26 as well as AbhisamĀl 109, 3). I have, however, kept the MS reading because *vyatikrāmya* may represent a BHS gerund used in the ŚrBh original (cf. also Choi (p. 171, n. 254), who likewise adopts the MS reading). Edgerton (BHSD, vol. 1, p. 172, § 35.12) points out that in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, 'present stems [...] play the role of "roots" before gerund suffixes' and gives as one of his examples *parākrāmya* (citing from UdVar X I .1). We must note, however, that the reading *parākrāmya* is not found in all MSS used by Bernhard, who actually adopts the reading *parākramya* for his edition (p. 185; ver. X I . 1a) (most probably, the later MSS tended towards more standardisation, while the older ones display the BHS from). Whitney (1924 [1994], p. 357, §992.b) mentions in connection with the *ya* gerund a number of roots with both stronger and weaker forms (a phenomenon of which Edgerton is also aware).

[92] See note 74 to Ch. ed. as well as note 95 to Engl. tr.

[93] Sh: *yathā yathātām*. Cf. Choi p. 171, n. 255.

[94] MS, Sh: °*taḥ*. Emendation based on Ch. 起勝解 as well as parallel passage in AbhSamBh *adhimucyate* (for the latter, see note 97 to Engl. tr.). Choi: same emendation as above.

[95] Sh: *itya [u]papadyate*.

[96] MS: *ucyatedhimokṣiko*. Sh emends similarly: *[ā]dhimokṣiko*. Choi reads: <'>*dhimokṣiko* on the basis of the MS reading of the parallel passage at AbhSamBh 80, 10 (Tatia emends this, however, to: *[ā]dhimokṣikaḥ*). I hesitate as to the necessity of emending the MS reading *adhimokṣika* and replacting it with the more frequent and standard *ādhimokṣika*. The latter form is often met with in the ŚrBh MS: e.g., MS 113b3R (edited as passage 3.28.2.1.1. above); MS 125a7M-R = Sh 495, 20-21; and MS 127a1M = Sh 502, 13 (Sh reads *adhimokṣiko* but the MS clearly has *ādhimokṣiko*). The same *ādhimokṣika* is also attested, for example, at AKBh 425, 9; 425, 14; 425; 16; AbhSamBh 80, 21 (actually in the same paragraph with the occurrence mentioned above); 118, 15; 118, 17; MahSūt 172, 3; AbhisamĀl 82, 3. It must, however, be noted that the ŚrBh MS shows a certain indecision concerning the *vṛddhi* in some similar cases. For example, we find *mahābhūtiko* (MS 101a6R = Sh 378, 20; see also edited passage in Maithrimurthi 1999, p. 279, l. 18), *mahābhūtike* (MS 112b3M = Sh 431, 15), or *mahābhūtika*° in passage 3.28.2.1.2.7. above) instead of the form *mahābhautika* (for *mahābhautika*, see, e.g., Laṅk 125, 3). The form *adhimokṣika* is attested at least in two MS witnesses, i.e., the ŚrBh occurrence here and AbhSamBh 80, 10 (the latter, however, in a passage most probably based on the ŚrBh), and it is not impossible that *adhimokṣika* may have been an acceptable alternative form (cf. note 69 above for forms like *cāturmahābhūtika* and *caturmahābhūtika* which seem to have been also accepted in some texts). This **adhimokṣika* has the additional advantage of easily expaining the scribe's error in the passage here: simply failing to mark *avagraha*, which is anyway seldom used in our MS. I think, however, that in view of the majority of occurrences in the ŚrBh which prefer *ādhimokṣika* as well as the other similar form in many other Buddhist sources, my (tentative) emendation above is at least acceptable.

3.28.2.1.4. (MS 114b4L; Sh 443, 19; Choi 171, § 28.0.) tasyāsevanānvayād[97] bhāvanānvayād bahulīkārānvayāt tatprathamataḥ kleśa{*ḥ*}prahāṇāya[98] mārga utpadyate. kleśaprahāṇāya ca mārge samutpanne, yas tatsahaga{*va*}to[99] manaskāraḥ, ayam ucyate prāvivekyāḥ.

3.28.2.1.5. (MS 114b4R; Sh 443, 23; Choi 172, § 29.0.) sa tatprathamataḥ kāmāvacarakleśādipraheyaprahāṇāt ta**(Sh 441, 1)**tpakṣyadauṣṭhulyāpagamāc[100] ca tadūrdhvaṁ prahāṇārāmo bhavati, vivekārāmaḥ. tasmiṁś ca prahāṇ*e*[101] <'>nuśaṁsadarśī[102] parīttapravivekaprītisukhasaṁspr̥ṣṭaḥ. kālena kālaṁ prasadanīyena[103] manaskāreṇa saṁpraharṣayati, saṁvejanīyena manaskāreṇa saṁvejayati, yāvad eva styānamiddhauddhatyāpagamāya. ayam ucyate ratisaṁgrāhako manaskāraḥ.

3.28.2.1.6. (MS 114b5R; Sh 444, 8; Choi 172, § 30.0.) tasya tathā prahāṇārāmasya bhāvanārāmasya samyakprayuktasya sataḥ, kuśalapakṣa-prayogopastambh<*āt*>[104] kāmapratisaṁyuktaṁ kleśaparyavasthānaṁ[105] carato vā viharato vā na samudācarati. tasyaivaṁ bhavati: "kiṁ santam evāhaṁ kāmeṣu kāmacchandaṁ na[106] pratisaṁvedayāmy, āhosvid asantam?" parimīmāṁsayitukāmaḥ anyatamānyatamaṁ prasadanīyaṁ śubhanimittaṁ manasikaroti. tasyāprahīṇatvāt sarveṇa sarvam anuśayasya tan nimittaṁ manasikurvataḥ sevanānimnaṁ cittaṁ bhavati, sevanāpravaṇaṁ, sevanāprāgbhāraṁ[107]. nopekṣā[108] *santiṣṭha*te[109], na nirvi<*t*>,

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[97] Sh: *ta(ya)syā°*.

[98] Sh: *kleśa(ḥ)*. Choi also emends the superfluous *visarga*.

[99] Sh: *yastadbhagavato*, a reading which must have resulted from the unclear *ha* in the MS (see note to Skt. dipl. ed). Choi also emends to *tatsahagato*. The emendation is guaranteed by Tib. *de dang ldan pa'i yid la byed pa* and Ch. 俱行作意. Cf. also AbhSamBh 80, 10-11: *prahāṇamārgasagato manaskāraḥ prāvivekyaḥ*.

[100] Sh: *°pakṣye dauṣṭhulyā°*.

[101] MS, Sh: *prahāṇānu°*. Choi: same emendation as above. The reading *prahāṇānu°* is not impossible (i.e. 'the benefit of abandonment with regard to this'), but Tib. *spong ba de la* and Ch. 於諸斷中 as well as the parallel passage at AbhSamBh Tatia ed. 80. 12-13 suggest the emendation above.

[102] Sh: *°da[r]śī.*

[103] The form in Classical Sanskrit is *prasādanīya*, but Buddhist Sanskrit uses *prasadanīya* and *prasadaniya* side by side with *prasādanīya* (cf. BHSD, s.v.). As attested by other occurrences in the ŚrBh (ŚrBh-Gr (18) 10, 18; ibid. 10, 22; see also passage 3.28.2.1.11. below), our text employs *prasadanīya*.

[104] MS, Sh: *°pastambhakāma°*. Together with Choi (p. 172, n. 265), I emend here to the ablative form. Cf. Ch. 由[...]任持 as well as the parallel phrase occurring at AbhSamBh 80, 15: *kuśalapakṣaprayogopastabdhatvāt*.

[105] Sh: *kleśakarma°*.

[106] Sh omits: *na*.

[107] Sh: *°prābho(bhā)raṁ*. See also note to Skt. dipl. ed.

[108] Sh: *nāpekṣā*.

[109] MS: *pattiṣute*. Sh apparently deciphers *pattiyute* and spells it together with the following *na* (thus: °पत्तियुतेन). Choi deciphers *pattiṣute* and emends to *santiṣṭhate*. Tib.: *mi gnas la*. Ch.: 不能住. Neither Tib. nor Ch. allows a precise reconstruction of the original Skt. word. The canonical phrase *upekhā* [...] *na saṇṭhāti* (MN I 186, 30-31), pointed out by Choi (p. 173, n. 272), makes *santiṣṭhate* the most likely candidate for the emendation above.

j*u*gupsā[110], prativāniḥ, pratikūlatā [111]. tasyaivaṁ bhavati: "na me samyag viraktaṁ vimuktaṁ cittaṁ yaduta kāmebhyaḥ; saṁskārābhinigr̥hītaṁ me cittam, vārivad dhr̥taṁ, <*na*> [112] dharmatābhinigr̥hītam. ya<*n*> [113] nv ahaṁ [114] bhūyasyā mātrayā tasyānuśayasyāśeṣaprahāṇāya bhūyasyā mātrayā prahāṇārāmo vihareyam, bhāvanārāmaḥ." ayam ucyate[115] mīmāṁsāmanaskāraḥ.

3.28.2.1.7. (MS 115a1M; Sh 445, 1; Choi 173, § 31.0.) sa bhūyasyā mātrayā prahāṇārāmo viharati, bhāvanārāmaḥ, śamathavipaśyanāyuktaḥ, paunaḥpunyena ca mīmānsate. tasya pratipakṣaṁ ca bhāvayataḥ kālena ca kālaṁ[116] prahīṇāprahīṇatāṁ[117] mīmānsamānasya ca[118] sarvebhyaḥ kāmāvacarebhyaḥ kleśebhyaś cittaṁ visaṁyujyate, tāvatkālikayogena. na tv atyantād bījasamudghāto bhavati. tasmiṁś ca samaye *prathama*dhyānaprayogamārgaparyavasānagataḥ[119] sarvakleśaprātipakṣiko manaskāraḥ samutpanno bhavati. ayam ucyate prayoganiṣṭho manaskāraḥ.

3.28.2.1.8. (MS 115a3L; Sh 445, 10; Choi 174, § 32.1.) tasya ca samanantara<*ṁ*> <*tat*>pratyayaṁ[120] taddhetukaṁ <*maulaṁ*> prathamaṁ dhyānaṁ[121] samāpadyate. maulaprathamadhyānasahagato yo manaskāraḥ, ayam ucyate prayoganiṣṭhāphalo manaskāraḥ.

3.28.2.1.9.1. (MS 115a3M; Sh 445, 13) tatra prāvivekye manaskāre vartamāno[122] ratisaṁgrāhake ca vivekajena prītisukhena kāyaṁ pratiprīṇayati[123], kadācit kadācit[124]

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[110] MS: *nirvijagupsā*. Sh: *nirvijugupsā*. See note to Skt. dipl. ed. Choi: *nirvij jugupsā*, applying continous *sandhi* rules.

[111] Sh: *(prati)vā niḥpratikūlatā*.

[112] I emend on the basis of Ch. 未. Choi also conjectures *na*. Sh reads with the MS: *dharmatābhinigr̥hītaṁ*, without negation. For a detailed discussion of this passage and the necessity of the above emendation, see note 111 to Engl. tr.

[113] Sh, Choi: same emendation as above.

[114] MS: *ya nva [yā] haṁ.*

[115] Sh: *ayam ucte.*

[116] Sh: *kālena kālaṁ.*

[117] Sh: *prahīṇā[']prahīṇatāṁ.*

[118] Neither Sh nor Choi read this *ca*.

[119] MS: *prayogadhyānaprayoga*°. Sh reads with the MS. The emendation above is based upon Tib. *dang po* and Ch. 初. This is also supported by the parallel passges in the *Xiangyang lun* (Choi ed. , p. 85, § 31.0) and the AbhSaṁBh (80, 18). Choi: same emendation as above. The first *prayoga* in the MS must be a dittography under the influence of *dhyānaprayoga*.

[120] Sh: *samanaskārapratyayaṁ*. Choi also emends: *samanantara<ṁ tat>pratyayaṁ*. The emendation above is based on Tib. and Ch. The adverbial form of *samanantara<ṁ>*, preferable to the MS *samanantara*, is suggested by both the Tib. *de'i mjug thogs kho nar* (cf. Choi p. 174, n. 286) and Ch. 從此無間, where 無間 is construed adverbially. See also parallel passage at AbhSamBh, Tatia ed. 80, 19: *tadanantaraṁ* as well as similar wording in ŚrBh passage 3.28.3.1.4. below.

As for <*tat*>*pratyayaṁ*, the addition of *tat* is supported by the Tib. *rkyen de* and *tatpratyayaṁ* in ŚrBh passage 3.28.3.1.4. below (cf. also *taddhetukaṁ* in this passage). Ch. 由是因緣 also supports but this possibility.

[121] Emended on the basis of the Tib. *dngos gzhi* and Ch. 根本. Choi also emends: <*maulaṁ*> (cf. also p. 174, n. 287). Sh reads with MS: *prathamaṁ dhyānaṁ.*

[122] Sh reads *vartamāno,* (with comma but applying continous *sandhi*).

[123] Tib. *yongs su tshim par byed* suggests **pariprīṇayati*. See notes to Tib. ed. and Engl. tr.

pratanukasaṁmukhībhāvayogena[125]. pr*a*yoganiṣṭhāmanaskārakāle spharati[126], kadācit kadācid ghanavipulatarasaṁmukhībhāvena[127] [128]. prayoganiṣṭhāphale punar manaskāre vartamānasya nāsti kiñcid asphuṭam [129] bhavati spharaṇīyaṁ [130] sarvataḥ kāyād yaduta[131] vivekajena prītisukhena. sa tasmin[132] samaye vivikta<*ṁ*> kāmair[133] viviktaṁ pāpakair akuśalair dharmaiḥ savitarkaṁ savicāraṁ [134] vivekajaṁ prītisukhaṁ prathamaṁ dhyānaṁ pañcā<*ṅ*>gam [135] upasaṁpadya viharati. kāmāvacarapratipakṣamārgabhāvanāphale[136] sthitaḥ, kāmavairāgyatā**(Sh 446, 1)**m[137] anuprāpta ity ucyate.

3.28.2.1.9.2. (MS 115a5M; Sh 446, 2) tatra lakṣapratisaṁvedinā manaskāreṇa yat prahātavyaṁ tat samyak parijānāti[138]. yat prāptavyaṁ tad api samyak prajānāti[139].[140]

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[124] Sh: *kadācit kenacit.*

[125] The MS reading is also supported by Ch. 微薄現前, but Tib. *bde ba'i dngos po chung ngu'i tshul gyis* suggests: **pratanukasukhībhāvayogena.* This is discussed in detail in note 123 to Engl. tr.

[126] Sh: *prā(a)yoganiṣṭhāmanaskārakālasyārati[ḥ].*

[127] Sh: *kadācit kadācit dhyāna°*. (But even this wrong decipherment/reading should be emended, if regular *sandhi* is adopted, to *kadācit kadācid dhyāna°*.)

[128] The MS reading is also supported by Ch. 深重現前, but Tib. *bde ba'i dngos po shin tu mang po dang | shin tu rgya chen po'i tshul gyis* rather suggests **ghanavipulatarasukhībhāva-yogena.* See note 125 above. Tib. *°tshul gyis* is used here as well as in *pratanukasaṁmukhī-bhāvayogena* to translate *°yogena*, but the MS *ghanavipulatarasaṁmukhībhāvena* (and not *°bhāvayogena* as above) raises no special problems as far the meaning is concerned. Though lacking stylistic parallelism, the MS reading can be kept as such.

[129] Sh: *kiñcidasyā(sya).*

[130] Sh: *smāraṇīyam*. The phrase *nāsti kiñcid asphuṭam bhavati spharaṇīyaṁ* is discussed in detail in note 125 to Engl. tr.

[131] Sh: *kāyādyuta(dyaduta)* (Sh's emendation is precisely the MS reading!).

[132] Sh also spells: *tasmin*. MS *tasmiṁ* appears to be an alternative spelling rather than a scribal mistake.

[133] MS, Sh: *viviktaiḥ kāmaiḥ*. The emendation suggestsed above fits better the sentence and is also supported by a parallel passage at ŚrBh-Gr 20, 23-24 (without *pañcā<ṅ>gam*) and ŚrBh-Gr (17) 8, 6-9 (slightly different in the latter half) as well as at Pañca 167, 4-5; LalVis 100, 6-7; etc. For other sources, see note 127 to Engl. tr.

[134] Sh: *savitarkasavicāraṁ.*

[135] Sh also emends: *paṁcā[ṅ]gam*. See also note 127 to Engl. tr.

[136] Sh: *°pratipakṣabhāvanāphale.*

[137] Sh: *kāmavairāgya[tā]m.*

[138] Sh has here *prajānāti* but does not give any reasons for his reading (did he confuse the verb here with the next verb?—see also his omission below). The MS *parijānāti* is guaranteed by both Tib. (*yongs su shes par byed*) and Ch. (了知) as well as by the parallel passage at AbhSamBh 80, 20, which contains *parijñāya* (for the complete sentence, see note 132 to Engl. tr.). We should also mention that *pari-√jñā* and its derivates have a particularly strong connotation of cognitive action leading to the elimination of defilements (e.g., *parijñā* at the AKBh 322 ff.). The only problem might be the usage of a different verb in the next sentence, which is constructed along a syntactic pattern similar with this sentence (see note below).

[139] Semantically, *prajānāti* poses no special problems, but both Tib. and Ch. use the same verb as above: *yongs su shes par byed* and 了知 respectively. I have left the MS reading as such since it seems to represent a variant rather than an error.

prahātavyasya ca prahāṇāya prāptavyasya ca prāptaye cittaṁ praṇidhatte. ādhimokṣikeṇa ca manaskāreṇa prahāṇāya prāptaye ca samyak prayogam ārabhate. prāvivekyamanaskāreṇādhimātrān[141] kleśāñ[142] jahāti. ratisaṁgrāhakena madhyaṁ[143] kleśaprakāraṁ jahāti. mīmāṁsāmanaskāreṇa prāpti{*r*}nirabhimānatāyāṁ[144] cittam avasthāpayati. prayoganiṣṭhena mṛduṁ kleśaprakāraṁ jahāti. prayoganiṣṭhāphalenaiṣāṁ *manaskāra*prakārāṇāṁ[145] bhāvitānāṁ subhāvitānāṁ bhāvanāphalaṁ pratyanubhavati.[146]

3.28.2.1.9.3. (MS 115a7R; Sh 446, 12) api ca yaś ca lakṣaṇapratisaṁvedī manaskāraḥ, yaś cādhimokṣikaḥ, ayam ucyate ānulomiko manaskāro vidūṣaṇāpratipakṣasahagataḥ[147]. yaś ca prāvivekyo manaskāraḥ, yaś ca prayoganiṣṭhaḥ, ayaṁ[148] prātipakṣiko manaskāraḥ prahāṇapratipakṣ*asahagataḥ*[149]. tatra yo ratisaṁgrāhako manaskāraḥ, ayaṁ prātipakṣikaś ca prasadanīyaś ca. tatra yo mīmāṁsāmanaskāraḥ, ayaṁ pratyavekṣaṇāmanaskāra ity ucyate. evaṁ sati ṣaṭsu[150] manaskāreṣu catvāro manaskārāḥ praviṣṭā[151] veditavyāḥ, tadyathā: ānulomikaḥ, prātipakṣikaḥ, prasadanīyaḥ, pratyavekṣaṇīyaś ceti.

3.28.2.2.1. (MS 115b2M; Sh 447, 1; Choi 174, § 32.2.; W 127, 21) yathā prathamadhyānasamāpattiḥ saptabhir manaskārair, evaṁ dvitīyatṛtīya-caturthadhyānasamāpattiḥ ākāśavijñānākiṁcanyāyatananaivasaṁjñānāsaṁjñāyatana-samāpattiḥ saptabhir eva manaskāraiḥ.

3.28.2.2.2. (MS 115b3L; Sh 448, 1) tatra yena vitarkeṣv[152] audārikalakṣaṇaṁ pratisaṁvedayate, avitark*e*[153] ca dvitīye dhyāne[154] śāntalakṣaṇaṁ, sa lakṣaṇapratisaṁvedī manaskāro dvitīyadhyānasamāpattaye.[155] **(W 127, 34)** tatra

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[140] Sh omits: *yat prāptavyan tad api samyak prajānāti.*
[141] Sh: °*mātrajña.*
[142] Sh: *śāṁ(tāṁ).*
[143] Sh reads *sa* instead of *madhyaṁ.*
[144] MS appears to read *prāptir°* (see note to Skt. dipl. ed.). Sh reads *prāpti* but has no emendation mark or note.
[145] MS, Sh: *kleśaprakārāṇāṁ.* Such a reading would hardly make a sense. Though Tib. and Ch. as well the parallel passage in the AbhSamBh (see note below) do not correspond to the Skt. perfectly, they, too, seem to support the emendation to *manaskāra.*
[146] Tib. suggests: **eṣāṁ manaskāraprakārāṇāṁ bhāvanāphalaṁ pratyanubhavati.* Ch. seems to presuppose: **eṣāṁ manaskārāṇāṁ subhāvitānāṁ phalaṁ pratyanubhavati.* The parallel passage at AbhSamBh (Tatia ed. 80, 25) reads: *eṣāṁ manaskārāṇāṁ subhāvitānāṁ bhāvanāphalaṁ pratyanubhavati.*
[147] Sh: *manaskāro [']pi dūṣaṇāpratipakṣasahagataḥ.*
[148] MS: *prayoganiṣṭhoyaṁ.* Sh: *prayoganiṣṭho [']yaṁ.* My spelling is not an emendation but a change in *sandhi* dictated by the different punctuation conventions.
[149] MS: °*pratipakṣabhagavataḥ.* Sh: °*pratipakṣagavataḥ (-kṣagataḥ).* My emendation is based on the similar occurrence above as well as on Tib. *dang ldan pa* and Ch. 俱行.
[150] Sh: *ṣaṭṣu.*
[151] Sh: *pravighnā.*
[152] Here and below, *vitarka* appears in locative plural. See note 141 to Engl. tr.
[153] MS, Sh: *avitarkaś ca.* Emendion based on grammatical grounds. This is supported by the similar occurrence below (end of this passage) as well as Tib. and Ch.
[154] Sh: *dvitīyadhyāne.*
[155] Sh also adds *daṇḍa* in square brackets. This punctuation is also supported by Tib. and Ch.

<*prathama*>dhyānasamāpannaḥ, prathamadhyānalābhī[156] vitarkeṣv evam[157] audārikatām paśyati[158]: "yaḥ samāhitabhūmiko vyagrālambanacārī[159] tatprathamopanipātitayā cālambane audāriko manojalpaḥ, ayam vitarkaḥ[160]. tadanubandhānucārī vyagracāry evālambane[161] sūkṣmataro manojalpo[162] vicāraḥ. ete punar vitarkavicārāś[163] caitasikāḥ[164], cetasy utpadyamāne[165] utpadyante, sahabhuvaḥ, saṁprayuktāḥ[166], ekālambanavṛttayaḥ **(end of fragment edited by W)**. evam ete adhyātmam utpadyante,[167] bāhyāyatanasaṁgṛhītāś ca. sarva eva cātītānāgatapratyutpannāḥ[168], hetusamutpannāḥ, pratītyasamutpannāḥ, ā*yāpā*yikāḥ[169], tāvatkālikāḥ, itvarapratyupasthāyinaḥ, cittasaṁkṣobhakarāḥ, iñjakā apraśāntākāreṇa vartante. uparimāṁ bhūmim ārabhya duḥkhavihārānugatatvāt kṛṣṇapakṣyāḥ, kāmavivekajaprītisukha*leśā*nuśaṁsānugatāḥ[170]. bhūmiś caiṣā tādṛśī prakṛtyā yatra sthitasya nityaṁ nityakālaṁ dhruvaṁ dhruvakālaṁ savitarkaḥ savicāraś cittapracāraḥ pravartate, na śāntapraśāntaḥ" ity evamādibhir ākārair vitarkeṣv audārikalakṣaṇaṁ pratisaṁvedayate. **(Sh 449, 1)** sarvaśo nasty etad audārikalakṣaṇam avitarke dvitīye dhyāne, ity ataḥ śāntaṁ dvitīyaṁ dhyānam, asyaudārikatvasyāpagamāt.

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[156] Sh reads with the MS. W has: *tatra prathama dhyāna-samāpannaḥ / prathama-dhyānalābhī*, without, however, giving any explanation for his reading. My emendation is based on Tib. *de la bsam gtan dang po la snyoms par zhugs pa | bsam gtan po thob pa* and Ch. 已證入初靜慮定已得初靜慮者.

[157] Sh omits *evam*. Let us note that neither Tib. nor Ch. contains the equivalent of *evaṁ*, but in the Skt. senetence here, it makes good sense and may even be indispensable from a structural point of view.

[158] W: *paśyato*.

[159] Sh: *°bhūmiko [']pyugrālambaṇabhārī*. Tib. *mnyam par bzhag pa'i sa pa'i dmigs pa la mi brtan par spyod pa* would rather suggest: **samāhitabhūmikāmbane vyagracārī*. For the Chinese translation, which brings further complications, see note 119 to Ch. ed. See also note 143 to Engl. tr.

[160] MS, Sh: *vitarkas*. This reading is due to taking the word with the following sentence and applying no punctuation mark.

[161] MS reads: *vya gra cā rye cā* [clearly *cā*] *la mba ne*. Sh: *vyagracāry evālambane* (without, however, any emendation sigla or note). W reads with the MS: *vyagracārye cālambane*. Emending, however, the MS reading to *vyagracāry evālambane* makes, however, the best sense, and the scribal error can be easily accounted for: *vā* and *cā* are quite similar *akṣara*s.

[162] Sh: *manojalpaḥ*.

[163] Sh: *vitarkavihā(cā)rāś*.

[164] W: *caritasikāś*.

[165] MS, Sh, W read: *utpadyamānā*, which is not an impossible reading. The emendation above, corraborated by Tib. and Ch., makes, however, a better sense.

[166] Sh: *saṁprayuktā[ḥ]* | . W: *saṁprayuktā /*.

[167] Sh places *daṇḍa* here and starts a new paragraph.

[168] MS: *cā tī tā `cā'nā ga ta*. Sh: *cātītā, ānāgatapratyutpannā*. See also Skt. dipl. ed.

[169] MS, Sh: *ākāyikās*. This word and the emendation above are discussed in note 147 to Engl. tr.

[170] MS, Sh: *kāmavivekajaprītisukham evānuśaṁsānugatāḥ*. This reading would hardly make sense. Tib. *chung zad* and Ch. 少分 strongly support an emendation. Another possibility would eb to emend to *kāmavivekajaprītisukham<ātr>ānuśaṁsānugatāḥ*. Surmising *°leśa°* has, however, the advantage of better explaining the scribal error: *le* was corrupted into *me* and *śa* into *va*. For Ch. 少分 rendering *leśa*, see BCSD, s.v.

śeṣā[171] manaskārā dvitītyadhyānasamāpattaye yathā{*pi*}yogaṁ[172] pūrvavad veditavy*āḥ*[173].

3.28.2.2.3. (MS 116a1L; Sh 449, 4) evaṁ bhūmau bhūmau yāvan naivasaṁjñānāsaṁjñāyatanasamāpattaye yathāyogaṁ sapta manaskārā veditavyāḥ. **(Choi 174, § 32.3.)** audārikalakṣaṇaṁ punaḥ sarvāsv adharimāsu bhūmiṣu yāvad ākiṁcanyāyatanāt samāsena dvividhaṁ veditavyaṁ: duḥkhatara{*ṁ*}vihā*ri*tā[174] cādh*o*bhūmīnām[175] apraśāntataravihāritā[176] ca alpāyuṣkatar<*at*>ā[177] ca **(end of fragment edited by Choi)**. ity etad dvividham audārikalakṣaṇaṁ ṣaḍbhir vastubhir yathāyogaṁ paryeṣate, yasyā yasyā bhūmer vairāgyaṁ kartukāmo bhavati, upariṣṭāc ca yathāyogaṁ śāntalakṣaṇaṁ yāvat prayoganiṣṭhāphalān manaskārāt.[178]

3.28.3.1.1. (MS 116a2M; Sh 449, 14; Sakuma 28, § H.1.1.)[179] tatra **"viviktaṁ kāmair"** iti: dvividhāḥ kāmāḥ, kleśakāmā vastukāmāś ca. **(Sh 450, 1)** kāmavi*ve*ko[180] 'pi dvividhaḥ, saṁprayogaviveka ālambanavivekaś ca.

3.28.3.1.2. (MS 116a2R; Sh 450, 2; Sakuma 28, § H.1.2.) "viviktaṁ pāpakair akuśalair dharmair" iti: upakleśāḥ, kāmahetukā[181] akuśalā dharmās tadyathā: kāyaduścaritam, vāgduścaritam, manoduścaritam, daṇḍādānam, śastrādānam, kalahabhaṇḍanavigrahavivādaśāṭhyavañcananikṛtimṛṣāvādāḥ sambhavanti. teṣāṁ prahāṇād viviktaṁ pāpakair akuśalair dharmai*ḥ*[182].

3.28.3.1.3. (MS 116a3R; Sh 450, 7; Sakuma 29, H.1.3.) {*a*}vitarkavicāreṣv[183]

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[171] MS: *śeṣo*. Sh: *śeṣo(ṣe)*.

[172] Sh: same emendation as above.

[173] MS, Sh: *veditavyam*. The subject is *manaskārāḥ*. See also next sentence in passage 3.28.2.2.3. below. The scribal error may be an *aberratio oculi* due to the preceding *yathāyogaṁ*.

[174] MS: *duḥkhataraṁ vihāvitā*. Sh: *duḥkhataraṁ vihāvito(ritā)*. Choi: same emendation as above. The emendation is supported by the parallel passage at AbhSamBh, Tatia ed. 80, 28: *duḥkhataravihāritā*. Cf. also Tib. *ches sdug bsngal bar gnas* and Ch. 苦住增上.

[175] MS: *cādharbhūmīnām*. Sh: *cādharmū(dhobhū)mīnām*. Choi: same emendation as above.

[176] Sh: *apraśāntavihāritā*.

[177] MS, Sh: *alpāyuṣkatarā*. Choi: same emendation as above. The emendation is supported by the parallel passage at AbhSamBh, Tatia ed. 80, 28-29: *alpāyuṣkataratā* [Tatia spells: °*yuska*°]. Cf. also Tib. *ches tshe thung bar gnas pa*. Ch. has a different wording (see Ch. ed.).

[178] Sh follows MS punctuation (without any explanation): *manaskārāttatra*. See note to Skt. dipl. ed.

[179] Tib. contains an additional passage with the standard definition of the attainment of the first absorption. The passage appears, however, to be an editorial edition of the Tibetan translators. See note 157 to Engl. tr.

[180] MS, Sh: *kāmavitarko*. The emendation above is based on Tib. *'dod pa las dben pa* and Ch. 離 (Ch. has, however, no equivalent for *kāma* = 欲). The context also clearly supports the emendation (see °*viveka* below). Sakuma: same emendation as above.

[181] Tib. *gang dag yin pa* may suggest a relative pronoun. Cf. also Sakuma p. 29, n. 189 (*kāmahetukā ye 'kuśalā*...(?)) and p. 133, n. 745. Ch. seems to suggest **kleśakāmahetukāḥ* (see note 144 to Ch. ed.). For a discussion of the syntax of the sentence as well as parallels, see notes to passage 3.28.3.1.2. in Engl. tr.

[182] Sh, following the MS, spells continuously: *dharmairavitarka*°. See also note to Skt. dipl. ed.

[183] MS, Sh: *avitarka*°. Sakuma: same emendation as above. Tib. *rtog pa dang dpyod pa dag la* and Ch. 於尋伺 support the emendation.

adoṣadarśanāt svabhūmikair vitarkavicāraiḥ [184] kāmapr̥ātipakṣikaiḥ [185] kuśalaiḥ [186] **"savitarkaṁ savicāram".** [187]

3.28.3.1.4. (MS 116a4L; Sh 450, 9; Sakuma 29, § H.1.4.) prayoganiṣṭho manaskāraḥ kāmaviveka*ḥ* [188] . tasyānantaram utpannaṁ [189] taddhetukaṁ [190] tatpratyayam[191]. tenāha: **"vivekajam".** [192]

3.28.3.1.5. (MS 116a4M; Sh 450, 11; Sakuma 29, § H.1.5.) īpsitābhilaṣitārtha-saṁprāpteḥ[193], prītau *c*ādoṣadarśanāt[194], sarvadauṣṭhulyāpagamāc ca vipulapraśrabdhi-cittakāyakarmaṇyatayā[195] **"prītisukham".** [196]

3.28.3.1.6. (MS 116a4R; Sh 450, 14; Sakuma 29, § H.1.6.) anupūrveṇa gaṇayataḥ tatprathamataś ca kāmadhātūccala*n*āt [197] **"prathamam".** samyagālambanopanidhyānād ekāgrasmr̥{*ti*}tyupanibandhād **"dhyānam".** [198]

3.28.3.1.7. (MS 116a5M; Sh 450, 16; Sakuma 30, § H.1.7.) prayoganiṣṭhāphalatvād **"upasaṁpadya".**

3.28.3.1.8. (MS 116a5M; Sh 450, 17; Sakuma 30, § H.1.8.) uttaratra ca bhāvanābahulīkāraniṣpā**(Sh 451, 1)**danāt nikāmalābhī akr̥cchralābhī akisaralābhī [199] tayā [200] dhyānasamāpattyā rātrim apy [201] atināmayati, divasam api, yāvad

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[184] Sakuma: °*vicārair*.

[185] Sh, Sakuma: same emendation as above. We may, however, see in *pratipakṣika* a vestige of an alternative BHS form. The equivalent Pali word is *paṭipakkhika*. BHSD registers both forms, though Edgerton makes it clear that *pratipakṣika* is seen only once in the BoBh MS (see BoBh Wogihara ed., p. 392, n. 2).

[186] Sh adds *daṅḍa*.

[187] Sh does not mark the end of the sentence and spells: *savicāraṁ*. Sakuma: *savicāraṁ* </>.

[188] MS: *kāmavivekaṁ*. Sh, Sakuma: same emendation as above.

[189] Sh: *utpannaṁ(nnaḥ)* | . See note 191 below.

[190] Sh: *taddhetukaṁ(kas)*. See note 191 below.

[191] Sh: *tatpratyayaṁ(yas)*. This as well as the two emendations above are not necessary. Tib. *rgyu de dang rkyen des* and Ch. 由此爲因, 由此爲縁 clearly support the MS reading. See also passage 3.28.2.1.8. above (the definition of the *prayoganiṣṭhāphalo manaskāraḥ*) for a similar wording: *tasya ca samanantara<ṁ> <tat>pratyayaṁ taddhetukaṁ*. Sakuma also reads with the MS.

[192] Sh follows the MS punctuation and does not divide the sentences: *vivekajamīpsitābhilaṣitārtha*. See also note to Skt. dipl. ed.

[193] Sh: °*prāptaḥ*.

[194] MS, Sh: *vādoṣadarśanāt*. Sakuma: *cādoṣadarśanāt* (without any note or emendation sigla). See also note to Skt. dipl. ed.

[195] Sh spells *vipulapraśrabdhi* as a separate word.

[196] Sh follows MS punctuation: °*suhkamānupūrvveṇa*. See also note to Skt. dipl. ed.

[197] MS: °*dhātūccalatāt*. Sh: °*dhātūccala(i)tāt* (emending *la* to *li* and reading, with the MS, °*tāt*). Sakuma: same emendation as above.

[198] Sh, following MS punctuation, does not mark the end of the sentence and spells: *dhyānaṁ*. Sakuma: *dhyānaṁ* </>.

[199] Sh: *akisara(akr̥tsna?)*°. MS *akisaralābhin* is a BHS compound (see also, Pali *akasiralābhi(n)*). *Kisara* or 'difficulty' appears only in the compounds *akisaralābhin* and *alpakisareṇa*. See BHSD, s.vv. *kisara* and *a-kisara-lābhin*.

[200] Sh: *tathā*.

[201] Sh omits: *apy*. The word *api* after *rātrim* here and *divasam* below stresses the idea of completeness (see MW, s.v.).

ākāṁkṣamāṇaḥ sapta rātriṁdivasāni. tenāha: "**viharatīti**".

3.28.3.2.1. (MS 116a6L; Sh 451, 4; Sakuma 30, § H.2.1.) savitarkasavicārasamādhinimittebhyaś[202] cittaṁ vyāvartayitvā[203] avitarkāvicārasamādhinimitteṣūpanibadhnāti[204]. vyagracāriṇa ālambanād vivecya avyagracāriṇy ālambane ekarasatayā[205] śāntaṁ prasannaṁ cittaṁ pravarta*yati*[206], vyavasthāpayati. tenāha: "**vitarkavicārāṇāṁ vyupaśamād adhyātmasaṁprasādanāt**".[207]

3.28.3.2.2. (MS 116a7M; Sh 451, 10; Sakuma 30, § H.2.2.) sa bhāvanābhyāsāt tasyaivāvitarkāvicārasya[208] samādheḥ vitarkavicārasa<*c*>chidrasāntar*ā*m[209] avasthām atikramya ni<*ś*>chidranirantarām[210] avasthāṁ prāpnoti. tenāha: "**cetasa ekotībhāvāt**".[211]

3.28.3.2.3. (MS 116b1L; Sh 451, 13; Sakuma 31, § H.2.3.) sarveṇa sarvaṁ vitarkavicāraprahāṇād "**avitarkam avicāram**".[212]

3.28.3.2.4. (MS 116b1M; Sh 451, 14; Sakuma 31, § H.2.4.) prayoganiṣṭho manaskāraḥ samādhiḥ.[213] tasyānantaraṁ taddhetukaṁ tatpratyayam utpadyata[214] iti, tenāha: "**samādhijam**".[215]

3.28.3.2.5. (MS 116b1R; Sh 451, 17; Sakuma 31, § H.2.5.) īpsitā<*bhilaṣit*>ārthaprāpteḥ[216] prītau cādoṣadarśanāt[217] sasaṁpraharṣagataṁ[218]

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[202] Sh: *savitarkasavicāraviviktebhyaś*. Tib. suggests: **sasavitarkasavicāraviviktebhyaś*, which is also a possible (even better) reading. If the Tib. represents the original reading, the omission of the first *sa* could easily be explained as a haplology.

[203] Sh: *cittam vyāvartayitvā(ttaṁ vyāvartya)*. Sh emends according to the rules of classical Sanskrit, but Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit forms the gerund by adding *-itvā* to a '"root" abstracted from the present stem' (BHSD, vol. 1, 173) and does not distinguish between simple and compounds roots (BHSD, vol. 1, 173-174). The ŚrBh is not consistent in its usage of BHS forms, and we also see below at 3.28.3.6.1. the classical form *vyāvartya.*

[204] Sh: *avitarkā[']vicāra*°.

[205] Sh: *ekadharmatayā.*

[206] MS: *pravarttata* (see note to Skt. dipl. ed.). Sh: *pravarttate.* Sakuma: same emendation as above. Cf. Tib. *'jug par byed.* Ch. might rather suggests *pravartate*, but this is not clear.

[207] Sh, following MS punctuation, does not divide the sentence.

[208] Sh: *tasyaivā[']vitarkā[']vicārasya.*

[209] Sakuma: same emendations as above. Sh: *tasyaivā[']vitarkā[']vicārasya samādheḥ, vitarkavicārasya samādheḥ, sa[c]chidrasāntar[ā]m* (the long vowel sign for °*r[ā]*° is inserted between square brackets: र[ा].).

[210] Sh: *niśchi*° (without any emendation mark or note). Sakuma: same emendation as above.

[211] Sh, following MS punctuation, continues the sentence without any punctuation mark.

[212] Sh, following MS punctuation, continues the sentence without any punctuation mark and spells: *avicāraṁ*. Sakuma: *avicāraṁ* </>.

[213] MS, Sh: *samādhis* (with no punctuation mark and, therefore, following the continous *sandhi* rules).

[214] Sh: *tatpra(kastatpra)tyayam utpa(yautpa)dyata.*

[215] Sh, following MS punctuation, continues the sentence without any punctuation mark and spells: *samādhijaṁ*. Sakuma: *samādhijaṁ*</>.

[216] MS: *īpsitānininditārtha*°. Sh: *īpsitā[']ninditārtha*°. Sakuma: *īpsitā*<*bhilaṣita*>*ninditārtha*°. Tib. and Ch. read the same as in the parallel passage 3.28.3.1.5. above. I believe that emending in the light of the latter passage is the safest solution. Another possibility is to emend to *īpsitābhinanditārtha*° (cf. Sakuma 31, n. 204), which has the advantage of being closer to the

<*sa*>*sau*manasyagataṁ [219] vitarkavicāraprathamadhyānakleśapakṣasarvadauṣṭhulyāpagamāt tatprātipakṣikapraśrabdhicittakāyakarmaṇyatāsukhānugatvāt "**prītisukham**".[220]

3.28.3.2.6. (MS 116b2M; Sh 451, 20; Sakuma 31, § H.2.6.) anupūrveṇa gaṇayato "**dvitīyaṁ**" bhavati.[221] evaṁ sarvaṁ pūrvavad veditavyam.

3.28.3.3.1. (MS 116b2M; Sh 451, 23; Sakuma 32, § H.3.1.) prītinimitteṣu doṣaṁ paśyati. tenāha: "**prīter vi(Sh 452, 1)rāgāt**".

3.28.3.3.2. (MS 116b2R; Sh 452, 1; Sakuma 32, § H.3.2.) tasmiṁś ca samaye dvividho <'>sya cittakṣobhakaro <'>pakṣālo[222] vigato[223] bhavati, niṣprītike[224] tṛtīye dhyāne cittaṁ pradadhataḥ: dvitīye ca dhyāne vitarkavicārāḥ, etarhi ca prītiḥ. tenāha: "**upekṣako viharati**". etau hi dvau dharmau cittasaṁkṣobhakarau nirantarāyā upekṣāyā vighnakārakau. tatra prathame dhyāne vitarkavicārā bhavanti, yena nirantaropekṣā na pravartate. dvitīye dhyāne prītir bhavati, yenātrāpi nirantaropekṣā na pravartate. ten<*aiṣopekṣā*>[225] prathamadvitīyeṣu dhyāneṣu[226] nāsti. ten<*āyaṁ dhyāyī*>[227] tṛtīye

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MS. Semantically, this emendation also makes sense ('a goal at which one is delighted'/ 'a goal which one eagerly expects') but is, I think, less appropriate in this context. Besides, it is not supported by Tib. and Ch. For *īpsitābhinanditārtha*°, one would expect **mngon par 'dga ba* or *dga' ba* in Tib. (cf. YoBh-D, s.v. *abhi-√nand*, etc.).

[217] Sh: *vā doṣadarśanāt* | .

[218] Sh spells: *sa saṁpraharṣagataṁ.*

[219] MS, Sh: *daurmanasyagataṁ*. Obviously, *daurmanasya*° here is a scribal error. The emendation is guaranteed by Tib. and Ch. as well as by parallel descriptions in other Buddhist sources (see notes to passage 3.28.3.2.5. in Engl. tr.). Tib. actually seems to suggests: **sasaṁpraharṣasasaumanasyagatatvāt* (see note 350 to Tib. ed.). The addition of *sa* to *saumanasyagataṁ* is, I think, also preferable in the in light of the preceding compound *sasaṁpraharṣagataṁ* which has a similar structure.

[220] Sh: | *prītisukham anupūrveṇa* (adopting the MS *daṇḍa* and continuing the sentence without any punctuation mark).

[221] Sh, following MS punctuation, does not divide the sentence and spells: *bhavaty*. Sakuma: *bhavaty* </>.

[222] Sh and Choy follow the MS *sandhi*: *cittakṣobhakaraḥ apakṣālo.*

[223] Sh: *[']dhigato*. See also note to Skt. dipl. ed.

[224] MS, Sh, Sakuma: *niḥprītike*. The regular form appears to be *niṣprītika* (e.g., MVastu 1.228, 8 (no *var. lec.*); LalVis 100, 11 and 285, 7; Mvyut # 1480; cf. BHSD; BWDJ, s.v.). The form *niḥprītike* probably originated from the application of the *sandhi* rules (*-ḥ+p-*) inside the word.

[225] Or: *ten<eyam upekṣā>*. MS, Sh: *tenāyaṁ dhyāyī*. The phrase makes no sense here and actually belongs to the next sentence. Most likely, it is a scribal mistake due to *aberratio oculi.* Tib. *de lta bas na bsam gtan* [...] *de dag la btang snyoms shas cher med pas* (rather suggesting *ten<aiṣūpekṣā>*) and Ch. 是故此捨 support the emendation above. Sakuma also emends to: *ten<aiṣopekṣā>*. Cf. notes to Tib. ed. and Ch. ed., too.

[226] Sh suggests the following emendation (without applying, however, regular *sandhi* rules): *prathamadvitīyeṣu(yayoḥ) dhyāneṣu(yayoḥ)*. From the viewpoint of classical Sanskrit, the MS reading is indeed wrong and should be emended to: *prathamadvitīyayor dhyānayor*. Here we may have, however, a reading reflecting a BHS grammatical peculiarity. In BHS, 'duals are very extensively replaced by plurals' (BHSD, vol. 1, p. 38). Alternatively, it might be a deliberate usage of the plural in the sense of repeated occurrences of the first and second absorptions. At any rate, I surmise that we can keep the MS reading as such.

[227] MS, Sh: *tena*. The phrase *ayaṁ dhyāyī* belongs to this sentence. This is supported by Tib. *bsam gtan pa de ni* and Ch. 由是因緣修靜慮者. Sakuma: same emendation as above.

dhyāne "**upekṣako viharati**" ity ucyate[228].

3.28.3.3.3. (MS 116b4M; Sh 452, 11; Sakuma 32, § H.3.3.) sa upekṣakaḥ saṁs tathā[229] tathopasthitasmṛtir viharati yathā yathā te prītisahagatāḥ saṁjñāmanasikārā[230] <*na*> [231] samudācaranti [232]. sacet punar abhāvitatvāt tṛtīyasya dhyānasya smṛtisaṁpramoṣāt kadācit karhacit[233] {*cit*}te[234] prītisahagatāḥ saṁjñāmanasikārāḥ samudācaranti, tān laghu **(Sh 453, 1)** laghv eva prajñayā pratividhyati, samyag eva prajānāti, utpannotpannāṁś ca nādhivāsayati, prajahāti, vinodayati, vyantīkaroti, cittam adhyupekṣate. tenāha: "**smṛtaḥ saṁprajānaḥ**" iti [235].

3.28.3.3.4. (MS 116b5R; Sh 453, 4; Sakuma 33, § H.3.4., 1st paragraph)[236] tasya tasmin samaye evam upekṣakasya viharataḥ [237] smṛtasya saṁpraj*āna*syāsevanānvayād [238] bhāvanānvayād [239] bahulīkārānvayāt prītisahagataṁ <*veditaṁ*> [240] prahīyate taccittaudbilyakaram [241], **niṣprītikaṁ** [242] ca [243] śāntaṁ praśāntaṁ cet*a*si veditam[244] utpadyate prītiprātidvandvyena.

3.28.3.3.5. (MS 116b6R; Sh 453, 8; Sakuma 34, § H.3.4., 2nd paragraph) <*sa*>[245] tasmin samaye rūpakāyena manaḥkāyena veditasukhaṁ ca praśrabdhisukhaṁ <*ca*>[246] pratisaṁvedayate. tenāha: "**sukhaṁ ca kāyena pratisaṁvedayate**".[247]

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[228] Sh spells: *viharitīty ucyate.* Sakuma: *viharatīti ucyate.*

[229] MS: *upekṣakas sans tathā.* Sh: *upekṣakas sans tathā (ssaṁs tathā).* Choi: *upekṣakas saṁs tathā.*

[230] On the form *manasikāra*, see note 303 below.

[231] Sh, following MS, does not read *na*. My emendation is based on semantic grounds as well as Tib. and Ch. Sakuma: same emendation as above.

[232] Sh reads with MS (which also means a different *sandhi*): *saṁjñāmanasikārāḥ samudācaranti.* Choi: *saṁjñāmanasikārāḥ <na> samudācaranti.*

[233] Sh: *karh[i]cit.* Sh's emendation is based on the Classical Sanskrit which has only this form. According to the BHSD, s.v., *karha-cid* is an old BHS form coinciding with the Pali *karaha-ci.*

[234] Sh reads with MS: *cite.* Sakuma: same emendation as above. Cf. Tib. and Ch.

[235] Sh: *saṁprajān[āna] iti.* MS and Choi apply continuous *sandhi*: *saṁprajāna iti.*

[236] The order of passages 3.28.3.3.4., 3.28.3.3.5., and 3.28.3.3.6. is different in Tib. See notes to Tib. ed.

[237] Sh: *viharatā.* See note to Skt. dipl. ed.

[238] Sakuma: same emendation as above. Sh reads with MS: *saṁprajanyasyāsevanānvayād* but suggests that 'this might be emended as *saṁprajānānasya*' (p. 453, n. 1). Here *saṁprajānasyā*° makes the best reading (see *saṁprajāna* in the preceding paragraph).

[239] Sh omits: *bhāvanānvayād.* Sakuma reads: *bhāvananvāyāt.*

[240] Sh reads with the MS. My emendation is based on semantic as well as grammatical grounds. It is also supported by similar occurrences below as well as by Tib. and Ch. Here, *veditaṁ* is a noun (see BHSD, s.v.). Sakuma: same emendation as above.

[241] Sh: *taccittauddhatyakaraṁ.*

[242] MS, Sh, Sakuma: *niḥprītikaṁ.* See note 224 above.

[243] Sh omits: *ca.*

[244] MS: *cetisi.* See note to Skt. dipl. ed. Sh reads: *cetasi* (but has no note or emendation mark). Sakuma: same emendation as above.

[245] Emendation based upon Tib. and Ch. Sakuma: same emendation as above. Sh reads with MS.

[246] Emendation based on grammatical grounds and supported by Tib. and Ch. Sakuma: same emendation as above. Sh reads with the MS.

[247] Sh omits: *tenāha sukhaṁ ca kāyena pratisaṁvedayate.*

3.28.3.3.6. (MS 117a1L; Sh 453, 10; Sakuma 34, § H.3.5.) tṛtīyāc ca dhyānāt adhas tadrūpaṁ sukhaṁ nāsti, nāpi nirantarā upekṣā. tṛtīyā<*c ca*>[248] dhyānād ūrdhvaṁ yad apy upekṣopalabhyate, na tu sukhaṁ. tatrādhaḥ sukhopekṣābhāvād ūrdhvaṁ ca sukhābhāvāt idaṁ tad āyatanaṁ yaduta tṛtīyaṁ dhyānaṁ, "**yat tad āryā ācakṣate** (yatpratilambhavihāriṇaṁ pudgalam adhikṛtya) **upekṣakaḥ**[249] **smṛtimā*n***[250] **sukhavihārī" tṛtīyaṁ dhyānam upasaṁpadya viharati**" iti. "**āryāḥ**" punar[251] buddhāś[252] ca buddhaśrāvakāś[253] ca.[254]

3.28.3.4.1. (MS 117a2M; Sh 453, 18; Sakuma 34, § H.4.1.) tatr*a*[255] tulyajātīyatvāt pratipakṣasya, sukhasya prahāṇapratipakṣo nākhyātaḥ[256], yad eva tatpratipakṣakṛtaṁ sukhaprahāṇaṁ tad evākhyātam. kaḥ punar asau pratipakṣaḥ? yadutopekṣā smṛtisaṁprajanyaṁ ca. tasya ca niṣevaṇābhyāsāt tṛtīyadhyān*o*ccalito[257] yat{*ra*}[258] **(Sh 454, 1)** tṛtīyadhyānabhūmikaṁ sukhaṁ[259] tat prajahāti. tenāha: "**sukhasya ca prahāṇāt**". {*pūrvam eva ca saumanasyadaurmanasyayor astagamāt. tatra caturthadhyānasamāpattikāle*}[260]

3.28.3.4.2. (MS 117a3R; Sh 454, 3; Sakuma 35, § H.4.2.) tasmin samaye sa dhyāyī sukhaduḥkhavyatikramam anuprāpnoti. tena ya*c* ca[261] pūrvaprahīṇaṁ yac caitarhi[262] prahīyate, tasya saṁkalanaṁ kurvann evam āha: "**sukhasya ca prahāṇād duḥkhasya ca prahāṇāt pūrvam eva ca saumanasyadaurmanasyayor astagamāt**"[263].

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[248] Sakuma: same emendation. Sh: *tṛtīyā[d]*.
[249] Sh omits: *upekṣakaḥ*.
[250] Sh, Sakuma: same emendation as above. It is not excluded, however, that MS °*māṁ* represents an alternative spelling rather than a scribal error.
[251] MS, Sh, Sakuma: *punaḥ*. In MS, *punaḥ* is followed by *daṇḍa*.
[252] Sh: *vṛddhaś*.
[253] Sh: *vṛddhaśrāvakāś*.
[254] Tib. contains a further gloss (see passage 3.28.3.3.7. in Tib.).
[255] MS and Shukla read *tatrā*, but neither Tib. nor Ch. suggests a negation. Sakuma: same emendation as above.
[256] Sh: °*pratipakṣānākhyātaḥ (kṣo 'nākhyātaḥ)*.
[257] MS, Sh: *tṛtīyadhyānāc calito*. This reading also makes sense, but Tib. *bskyod* suggests *uccalito* (see YoBh-D, s.v. *bskyod pa*; cf. also TSD, s.v., *bskyod pa* = *calana*), which fits better the context here and also appears in passage 3.28.3.8.1. below used in a similar way (*yadutākiñcanyāyatanād uccalita*). Moreover, we find the close form *uccalana* employed in passage 3.28.3.1.6. above. See also *uccalita*° at AKBh 117, 11 (for other relevant occurrences, cf. Sakuma, p. 35, n. 237). Sakuma reads *tṛtīyadhyānāc calito* in the main text but notes *viell. ist °noccalito zu lessen* (p. 35, n. 237).
[258] Sh reads with MS, but *yatra* is as the correlative of *tat* is improbable. Cf. Tib. *gang yin pa*. Sakuma: same emendation as above.
[259] Sh: °*bhūmikasukhaṁ*.
[260] This represents, most likely, a dittography of the identical phrases in passage 3.28.3.4.2. below. There is no equivalent in Tib. and Ch. Sakuma: same emendation as above. Sh reads with MS, making, however, an emendation: *asta(ṅ)gamāt*. On the latter form, see note 263 below.
[261] MS: *yaś ca*. Sh: *yaś(c) ca*. Sakuma (without any note or emendation mark): *yac ca*.
[262] Sh: *yaścai(ccai)tarhi*.
[263] Sh: *asta[ṅ]gamāt*. In Buddhist literature, *astaṅgama* is the most usual form, but *astagama* appears to be an alternative spelling employed in a number of sources. The ŚrBh seems to prefer

3.28.3.4.3. (MS 117a4R; Sh 454, 8; Sakuma 35, § H.4.2.) tatra [264] caturthadhyānasamāpattikāle sukhasya ca prahāṇāt, dvitīyadhyānasamāpattikāle duḥkhasya, tṛtīyadhyānasamāpattikāle saumanasyasyāstagamāt [265], prathamadhyānasamāpattikāle daurmanasyasya, [266] asti tāvat sukhaduḥkhasya prahāṇād [267] aduḥkhāsukhaivāsya vedanā{*na*}*va*śiṣṭā [268] bhavati. tenāha: "**aduḥkhāsukh*am***"[269].

3.28.3.4.4. (MS 117a5R; Sh 454, 14; Sakuma 36, § H.4.3.) tasmin samaye prathamaṁ dhyānam upādāya sarve 'dhobhūmikā apakṣālāḥ[270] prahīṇā bhavanti, tadyathā: vitarkavicārāḥ prītir āśvāsapraśvāsāḥ. teṣāṁ ca prahāṇād yā tatropekṣā smṛtiś ca sā pariśuddhā [271] bhavati, paryavadātā yenāsya tac [272] cittaṁ caturthadhyānasamāpannasyāniñjyaṁ santiṣṭhate, sarveñjitāpagatam[273]. **(Sh 455, 1)** tenāha: "**upekṣāsmṛti**{*ra*}**pariśuddham**"[274] iti.

3.28.3.4.5. (MS 117b1L; Sh 455, 1, Sakuma 36, § H.4.4.) tatra "**caturtham**" iti pūrvavad veditavyam, yathā pra*tham*ādiṣu[275] dhyāneṣu [276].

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the latter: apart from the passage here, at MS 3a8L, we see (similarly, in the stock-phrase of the fourth absorption): *astagamād*; in passage 3.28.3.5.2. below, it also reads *astagamāt*. The DhSk reads *astaṁgamān* at p. 29, l. 30, but *astagamād* at p. 64, l. 8, and *astagamān* at p. 65, l. 15. Cf. also SWTF (s.v., fascicle 8, p. 574). We see a similar usage of alternative forms in the AKBh: °*astagamaṁ* (43, 5) but *'staṁgamaḥ* (93, 24), °*astaṁgamaś* (342, 14), and °*astaṁgamād* (440, 20). This alternation actually goes back to the Pali Canon where the variation is much more frequent (cf. CPD, s.v. as well as related forms at CPD, vol. 1, p. 105). Things may have been complicated by the fact that Classical Sanskrit uses *astagamana*, meaning *Untergang* (PW, s.v.), 'setting (of the sun)' (MW, s.v.) and also, according to Apte 1958 (p. 286, s.v. *astaḥ*), 'death, sunset of life'. See also the forms derived from *astaṁ-√gam* in the sense of *zur Ruhe eingehen, aufhören, vergehen, sterben* (PW, s.v. *asta*). We actually see in the DaśBh both the Buddhist Sanskrit form *astaṁgamād* (Kondō ed. 56, 4; Rahder ed. 34, 8), *astaṁgamān* (Kondō ed. 56, 5: with final *sandhi* resolution: °*āt*; Rahder ed. 34, 10) and the classical Sanskrit °*astagamanam* (Rahder ed. 77, 11-12; DaśBh MS A 42a2R spells *astagamaṁ*; DaśBh MS B 50b3R has *astagāma*°; Kondō ed. 161, 4 reads *astaṅgamanaṁ*, with no *var. lec.*), both with basically the same meaning of 'vanishing'.

[264] Sh: *tanna*.

[265] Sh: *saumanasyasyā[']staṅgamāt*. On the form *astaṅgamāt*, see note 263 above.

[266] MS continues with no punctuation mark. Sh adds comma. Sakuma uses slash (i.e., his equivalent for *daṇḍa*).

[267] Sh: *sukhaduḥkhasya(yoḥ) prahāṇād*.

[268] MS, Sh: *na viśiṣṭā*. Sakuma: *vedanā vaśiṣṭā*. The reading *avaśiṣṭā* (from *ava-√śiṣ* 'to be left as a remnant, to remain'; cf. Pali *avasiṭṭha*, *avasissati*) is guaranteed by Tib. *lhag ma* and Ch. 所餘 (see YoBh-D, s.v. and YoBh-I, s.v. as well as TED, s.v. *lhag ma*; cf. also BoBh 47, 23 and 96, 7).

[269] Sh reads with MS: *aduḥkhāsukhā*, and continues without any punctuation mark. Sakuma reads: *aduḥkhāsukhkham* </> (without any note or emendation mark).

[270] Sh and Choi follow the MS *sandhi*: *sarve adhobhūmikāḥ apakṣālāḥ*.

[271] Sh and Sakuma decipher *pariśuddha* and emend to *pariśuddhā*. MS, however, reads: *pariśuddhā*. See note to Skt. dipl. ed.

[272] Sh: *etac*.

[273] Sh: *sarvveñjitāyatanaṁ*.

[274] Neither Sh nor Sakuma notes the presence of the superfluous *ra*.

[275] Emendation supported by Tib. and Ch. The MS and Sh read: *pramāṇā*°. Sakuma: same

3.28.3.5.1. (MS 117b1L; Sh 455, 4) tatrākāśādhimokṣ*ād* yā[277] varṇasaṁjñā nīlapītalohitāvadātādipratisaṁyukt*ā* tām *anābhasaga*tayā(?)[278] nirvi<*dvi*>rāgatayā[279] ca samatikrānto bhavati. tenāha: **"rūpa(Sh 456, 1)saṁjñānāṁ samatikramāt"**.

3.28.3.5.2. (MS 117b1R; Sh 456, 1) *tāsāṁ*[280] samatikramād anābhāsagamanahetor yānekavidhā bahunānāprakārā varṇapracayahetukāvaraṇa-saṁjñā[281] sā[282] vigatā bhavati. tenāha: **"pratighasaṁjñānām astagamāt"**.[283]

3.28.3.5.3. (MS 117b2M; Sh 456, 4) tāsāṁ *ca*[284] punar vigamahetor yā aupacayikīsaṁjñās[285] teṣv avaśiṣṭeṣu[286] viśiṣṭeṣu saṁghāteṣu pravṛttās tadyathā:

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emendation as above.

[276] Sh: *sthāneṣu* (without any note or mark). Sakuma has in the main text *dyhāneṣu* but notes that the MS reads *sthāneṣu* (p. 36, n. 248). MS, however, clearly reads *dhyāneṣu*.

[277] MS: *tatrākāśādhimokṣasyā*. Sh: *tatrākāśādhimokṣasya*. The emendation to ablative of the MS reading °*ākāśādhimokṣasya* is supported by Tib. *nam kha' mos par byed pa'i phyir* and Ch. 以於虛空起勝解故. Taking the next *akṣara* as a relative pronoun is a possibility for which we have a parallel phrase in the next passage: *yā* [...] *sā*. Tib. contains no relative construction here. I, nevertheless, keep *yā*, which makes good sense in the Skt. sentence. In this way, we can also stay close to the MS.

[278] MS, Sh: °*pratisaṁyuktatāmasātāmasātayā*. My emendation is conjectural. Another possibility would be to emend to: °*yuktā tām asāv anābhāsagatayā*, or even to: °*yuktā {tāma}sānābhāsagatayā* (in the latter case, we would also have to emend *samatikrānto* below to *samatikrāntā*). The corresponding Tib. *mi snang zhing* and Ch. 不顯現故 suggest a word like *anābhāsagatā, anābhāsagamana* (see next passage), etc. The MS reading, corrupt as it may be, ends in °*tayā*, and this makes *anābhāsagatayā* the most likely candidate. The form is actually attested in the ŚrBh at MS 109a6R (= Sh 417, 8) and MS 110a5M (= Sh 421, 14): °*anābhāsagatāyāṁ*.

[279] MS, Sh: *nirvirāgatayā*. Emendation based on Tib. *skyo la 'dod chags dang bral bas* and Ch. 厭離欲. In the YoBh, *skyo ba* variously renders *udvigna, udvega, nirviṇṇa, nirvid, saṁvega*, etc. (YoBh-D, s.v.), while 厭離 is similarly used for *udvigna, udvega, saṁvega, saṁvejana*, etc. (YoBh-I, s.v.). I have chosen *nirvid* because MS *nir*° suggests its beginning and because we have quite a few canonical *loci* in which Pali *nibbidā* occurs together with *virāga* (DN I 189, 1-2; SN V 82, 21; 179, 15; 255, 17; 361, 17-18; AN III 83, 6; etc.). In BHS, too, we have examples of *nirvidā* used together with *virāga* (e.g., MVastu 3.331, 4-5), though, admittedly, they do not appear in a *dvandva* compound as above. On the abstract suffix *-tā* added to abstract nouns (without bringing a change in their meaning) in BHS, see BHSD vol. 1, p. 123, §§ 22.41-22.43.

[280] MS: *nāsau*. Sh omits: *samatikramān nāsau*. My emendation is based on *tāsāṁ* at the beginning of the next passage (cf. °*saṁjñānāṁ* above) as well as Tib. <u>de dag</u> *las yang dag par 'das shing* and Ch: 超越彼想.

[281] MS: *hetuka* or *hetukaṁ* or *hetukā* (?) (see note to Skt. dipl. ed.). Sh: °हेतुका[ा]° .

[282] Sh: °*saṁjñāsā (yā) sā*.

[283] Sh: °*asta[ṅ]gamāt*. See note 263 above.

[284] MS, Sh: *vā*, which is grammatically and semantically unlikely. Neither Tib. nor Ch. contains anything equivalent to *ca/vā punar*.

[285] The feminine ending of *aupacayikī*° in the compound is irregular from the viewpoint of Classical Sanskrit. According to the rules of the latter, the first member of compound used in an attributive sense should have the masculine stemm form even if its original gender is feminine, like, for example, *kumāra-śramaṇā* 'a young female recluse' (see Wackernagel and Debrunner [1954] 1987, vol. II.1, p. 50, § 21.b). One possibility would be to regard *aupacayikīsaṁjñās* as

bhojanapānayānavastrālaṁkāragr̥hodyānavanasenāparvatādisaṁjñā<*ḥ*>,[287] *tāsu*[288] sarveṇa sarvam ābhogo <'>py asya na pravartate.[289] tenāha: **"nānātvasaṁjñānām amanasikārāt"**.

3.28.3.5.4. (MS 117b3L; Sh 456, 9) sa evaṁ rūpapratighanānātvasaṁjñā <*vi*>bhāvayitvā[290] anantākāreṇākāśam adhimukto[291] bhavati. tenāha: **"anantam ākāśam"**[292].

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representing two words and emend to *aupacayikyaḥ saṁjñās*, but in BHS, the first member in nominal compounds may also appear inflected (see BHSD, vol. 1, §§ 23.5-23.9, especially § 25.8). Therefore, a form like *aupacayikīsaṁjñās* was probably a grammatically acceptable compound in BHS.

[286] Tib. and Ch. suggest another reading. See note 215 to Engl. tr.

[287] Sh omits: °*yāna*°. Sh. also emends to °*saṁjñā[ḥ]*.

[288] MS, Sh: *teṣu*. The most logical reading is to see here a reference to the ideations mentioned above, and thus emend the demonstrative pronoun to feminine locative plural. We could, however, have here an anacoluthic sentence, and *teṣu* may represent a (rather careless) wording in which the author forgot about the 'ideations' and thought instead of the 'objects' (**teṣu vastuṣu*?) mentioned above. Tib. seems to suggest **tās teṣu*. See also note 289 below.

[289] There are also some other possibilities of emending the sentence. One is to take *saṁjñāḥ* (plural) as the subject and emend to: *yā aupacayikīsaṁjñās teṣu* [...] *saṁghāteṣu pravr̥ttās tadyathā* [...] *saṁjñā<ḥ>, <tās> teṣu sarveṇa sarvam ābhoge* <'>*py asya na pravarta<n>te* (the readings *tās teṣu* and *ābhoge 'py* are suggested by Tib.; see note 288 above). Another alternative would be to take *saṁjñā* (in singular, as it appears in the two preceding passages, in spite of its being in plural in the canonical formula to be commented upon) as subject and have: *y{ā}aupacayikī saṁjñā{s} teṣu* [...] *saṁghāteṣu pravr̥ttā{s} tadyathā* [...] *saṁjñā <sā> teṣu* [or: *teṣu <sā>*] *sarveṇa sarvam ābhoge* <'>*py asya na pravartate* (the form *yā aupacayikī* can be easily explained as the MS failure to apply regular *sandhi*). Yet another possibility would be to keep *saṁjñā* in singular and take *ābhogo* as subject: *y{ā}aupacayikī saṁjñā*{s} *teṣu* [...] *saṁghāteṣu pravr̥ttā*{s} *tadyathā* [...] *saṁjñā, teṣu* [anacoluthic] *sarveṇa sarvam ābhogo* <'>*py asya na pravartate*. My emendation in the main text above has the advantage of staying as close as possible to the original.

[290] Sh reads with MS: *bhāvayitvā*. Emendation based on Tib. *rnam par bshig nas* and Ch. 除遣 [...] 已. The verb *vibhāvayati* in the sense of 'destroy', 'annihilate' must be a BHS form corresponding to Pali *vibhāveti*. (Conze 1967, 359, translates it as 'annihilate (by meditation)'; BHSD registers only the forms *vibhava, vibhūta*, etc.; BWDJ, s.v., lists 除遣 amongst the Classical Chinese renderings of *vi-*$\sqrt{}$*bhū*, but does not mention this meaning in the entry of modern Japanese equivalents.) The verb is actually found in a number of sources and is often associated with the elimination of ideations (*saṁjñā*), images (*nimitta*), false ideas, etc.. E.g., *ya evaṁ vibhāvayanti* (the direct object is here the 'idea' of *bodhi*) (SuvParPP 20, 5; see also ibid. 72, 17-73, 7, with the repeated paronomastic usage of *vibhāvayati* and *bhāvayati*); *sarvasaṁjñā sā vibhūtā bhavati* (BoBh 50, 1); *sā ca saṁjñā 'sya vibhūtā bhavati. vibhava ucyate prahāṇāṁ tyāgaḥ* (BoBh 50, 13-14); *sarvadharmanimittāni vibhāvayantaḥ* (AbhSamBh 139, 11); *bhūtapratyavekṣāṁ vibhāvayati* (once the faculty of Wisdom (*prajñendriya*) is attained, even the insight into Reality, with its discrimination between 'false' and 'true', must be abandoned) (MadhVibhBh 73, 4); AbhisamĀl 20, 7; 33, 17; 78, 18; 908, 4; etc. See also Part One, Chapter Five, Section II above.

[291] Sh: *anantākāreṇā[' ']kāśādhimukto*.

[292] Sh: *ākāśama(saṁsa)*. See beginning of next paragraph. Sh, like the MS, does not mark the end of the sentence and passage here.

3.28.3.5.5. (MS 117b3M; Sh 456, 11) sa sāmantakam atikramya prayoganiṣṭhān manaskārād[293] ūrdhva<ṁ>[294] prayoganiṣṭhāphalaṁ[295] maulaṁ samāpadyate. tenāha: **"ākāśānantyāyatanam upasampadya viharati"**. tasya yāvan maulaṁ na samāpadyate, tasyākāśam ālambanam. samāpannasya punas tac ca tadanye ca skandhāḥ svabhūmikāḥ. sāmantake punar adharabhūmikā[296] api skandhāḥ.

3.28.3.6.1. (MS 117b4M; Sh 457, 1) *sa yena*[297] vijñānenānantam ākāśam adhimucyate, tad eva vijñānam anantākārākāśādhimokṣikam[298] vijñānānantyāyatanaṁ samāpattukāma ākāśānantyāyatanasaṁjñā<ṁ>[299] vyāvartya[300], tad eva vijñānam anantākāreṇādhimucyate. sasāmantak*a*maulam[301] ākāśānantyāyatanaṁ samatikramyate. tenāha: **"sarvaśa ākāśānantyāyatanaṁ samatikramya 'anantaṁ vijñānam' iti"**.

3.28.3.6.2. (MS 117b5M; Sh 457, 7) sa vijñānānantyāyatana{*miti*}sāmantakaṁ[302] samatikramya yāvat prayoganiṣṭhān manasikārān[303] maula<ṁ> prayoganiṣṭhāphalaṁ[304]

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[293] Sh: *°manasikād.*

[294] MS: *ūrdhva°*. Sh: *ucca°*. See note to Skt. dipl. ed. Reading, with the MS, *ūrdhva* as if being the first member of a compound like *ūrdhvaprayoganiṣṭhāphalaṁ* does not make sense since there is no practice after *prayoganiṣṭhāphala*. It makes more sense to take it as a postposition going together with *prayoganiṣṭhān manaskārād*. Thus the meaning of *ūrdhva<ṁ> prayoga-niṣṭhāphalaṁ maulaṁ samāpadyate* become clear: 'after [the contemplation] attaining the culmination of the practice, he reaches the [attainment] proper'. This makes *ūrdhvaṁ* a better reading. Tib. also seems to presuppose *ūrdhvaṁ*. See, however, note 515 to Tib. ed.

[295] Sh: *ucca°*. Cf. Tib. and Ch.

[296] Sh reads (without any emendation mark or note): *°adho°*.

[297] MS, Sh: *samayena*. The reading *sa* (personal pronoun) is supported by Tib. *de*. For *yena* there is no direct equivalent in either Tib. or Ch. (though for the latter a word-to-word correspondence with Skt. is much more difficult to ascertain). Another possibility is to read *sa tena* (cf. Ch. 由此識), but this would be less natural in Skt.

[298] Sh: *°anantākārā[' ']kāśādhimokṣikaṁ.*

[299] The emendation to *°saṁjñāṁ* is preferable (cf. also *ākiṁcanyāyatanasaṁjñāṁ vyāvartayati* in passage 3.28.3.81.1. below). Sh also reads *°saṁjñāṁ* (but has no sigla or note to indicate that this is an emendation).

[300] Sh: *vyāva[r]tya*. See note to Skt. dipl. ed. Cf. the form *vyāvartayitvā* in passage 3.28.3.2.1 as well as note 203 above.

[301] MS, Sh: *sasāmantake maulam*. Tib. suggests: *sasāmantakaṁ maulam* or *sasāmantakamaulam*. Ch. suggests: *sasāmantakamaulam*. The compound *sasāmantakamaulam* is attested in passages 3.28.3.7.1. and 3.28.3.8.3. below. See also note 543 to Tib. ed. and note 231 to Ch. ed.

[302] MS, Sh read: *vijñānānantyāyatanam iti sāmantakaṁ*. A meaning like 'the liminal [attainment] called the station of the infinity of consciousness' does not fit well here. The sense is that of 'the liminal [attainment] of the station of the infinity of consciousness'. Tib. and Ch. contain no equivalent of *iti*. Tib. *rnam shes mtha' yas skye mched kyi nyer bsdogs* is clearly a genitive construction. Ch. 識無邊處所有近分 also appears to construe similarly (see note 233 to Ch. ed.). Besides, the similar phrases *vijñānānantyāyatana<ṁ>* and *ākiṁcanyāyatana-sāmantakaṁ* in passage 3.28.3.7.1. below appear without *iti*.

[303] ŚrBh usually employs *manaskāra* (especially, when used to denote the seven contemplations), but in several passages (e.g., 3.28.3.3.3. , 3.28.3.5.3., 3.38.3.7.1., 3.28.3.8.3., 3.28.4.1., etc.), we see the alterantive spelling *manasikāra* (cf. also see also MS 104b1R = Sh 395, 14: *°amanasikāra°*, etc.). This appears to be a form particularly favoured in BHS (see

samāpadyate. tenāha*[305]*: "**vijñānānantyāyatanam upasampadya viharati**" iti.

3.28.3.7.1. (MS 117b6L; Sh 457, 11) sa vijñānānantyāyatanād uccalito vijñānāt pareṇālambanaṁ[306] samanveṣamāṇo na punar labhate, kiṁcanapratisaṁyuktaṁ rūpi vā, arūpi vā. [307] sa tad ālambanam alabhamānaḥ sasāmantakamaulaṁ vijñānānantyāyatana<*ṁ*>[308] samatikramya nāsti kiṁcid anyad ālambanam <*ity*>[309] adhimucyate. so <'>kiṁcanasaṁjñādhimukta [310] eva bhavati. sa tasya saṁjñādhimokṣasya bahulīkārānvayād ākiṁcanyāyatanasāmantakaṁ samatikramya yāvat prayoganiṣṭhāmanasikārān[311] maulaṁ prayoganiṣṭhāphal<*aṁ*>[312] samāpadyate. tenāha: "**sarvaśo vijñānānantyāyatanaṁ samatikramya 'nāsti kiṁcid' ity ākiṁcanyāyatanam upasampadya**[313] **viharati**" iti.

3.28.3.8.1. [314] **(MS 118a2L; Sh 458, 1)** {*tenāha saṁjñī yaduta*} [315] <*sa*

BHDS, s.v.; cf. also Pali *manasikāra*). PW and MW also record *manasikāra*, but they cite Buddhist sources for this term. PW also refers to *manasikāra* in the *Amarakośa*, but this seems to be only one reading recorded in note i, p. 30, of Deslongchamps's ed. The note actually says: '*Également* मनसिकार:' for the main text reading *manaskāraḥ* (p. 30, l. 10). It is not clear to me whether this is a *varia lectio* and, if so, on what source it is based (for Deslongchamps's sources, see Preface, p. VIII). Ramanathan's edition (vol. 1, p. 92, l. 23) reads *manaskāraś*, without *var. lec.* (Similarly, no reading in the Commentaries edited by Ramanathan suggests *manasikāra*; see p. 93). To return to Buddhist literature, Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda sources use side by side *manasikāra* and *manaskāra*, without apparently making any semantic or doctrinal difference. E.g., YoBh 164, 4; ŚrBh-Gr 146, 24; ŚrBh-Gr (18) 8, 2 (quite relevantly, it starts with *tatra manasikāraḥ katamaḥ* | , and the immediately given answer is: *catvāro manaskārāḥ* |); BoBh Dutt ed. 76, 15; 126, 18; MadhVibhBh 64, 17; 65, 8 (but also using *manaskāra* in the same passages, see p. 64, l. 20 and p. 65, ll. 6-7, 12); MahSūt 15, 19; 25, 14; 51, 5 (*amanasikāra* in the Commetary text which glosses upon *amanaskāra* in *śloka*, p. 51, 3); etc. Tib. *yid la byed pa* and Ch. 作意 equally render both *manasikāra* and *manaskāra*.

[304] MS, Sh: *maulaprayoganiṣṭhāphalaṁ*. The MS form is possible, but the emendation above makes a better reading which is also supported by passages 3.28.3.7.1. (and *maulaṁ prayoganiṣṭhāphalaṁ* [MS:°*phale*]) and 3.28.3.8.3. (*prayoganiṣṭhāphalaṁ maulaṁ*) (both occurring in very similar contexts).

[305] Sh reads: °*ha* | (with no emendation mark or note). See note to Skt. dipl. ed.

[306] Sh: *pareṇā[' ']lambanaṁ*.

[307] See not 226 to Engl.tr.

[308] The emendation is grammatically required. Sh (without any emendation mark or note): *vijñānānantyāyatanaṁ*. See note to Skt. dipl. ed.

[309] The usage of *ity* here is grammatically preferable and supported by the usage of *zhes* in Tib.

[310] MS: *sokiñcana*°. Sh: *so [a]kiñcana*°.

[311] Sh: *prayoganiṣṭhā[n]*°.

[312] MS, Sh: *prayoganiṣṭhāphale*. The emendation is grammatically preferable and supported by Tib. and Ch. as well as the parallel phrase *prayoganiṣṭhāphalaṁ* [...] *samāpadyate* in passages 3.28.3.6.2. and 3.28.3.8.3.

[313] Sh: *upasaṁspṛśya(-sampadya)*. See also note to Skt. dipl. ed.

[314] In Skt. and Ch. there seems to be only one gloss (at least judging from the occurrence of *tenāha* and 是故說言 respectively) of what in Tib. clearly represents two glosses (cf. Tib. ed). For convenience's sake, I have divided this gloss into two paragraphs, the first one corresponding to Tib. 3.28.3.8.1a. and the second one to Tib. 3.28.3.8.1b.

[315] This appears to be a scribal error *aberratio oculi* (confusion with the similar phrase occurring at MS 118a2R?). Grammatically and semantically, there is no need for this phrase

ā>kiñcanyāyatanād [316] uccalita ākiṁcanyāyatanasaṁjñāyām [317] audārikasaṁjñī ādīnavasaṁjñy ākiṁcanyāyatanasaṁjñāṁ vyāvartayati.

tena pūrvam ākiṁcanyāyatanasamāpattikāle kiṁcanasaṁjñā samatikrāntā [318], etarhy akiṁcanasaṁjñā samatikrāntā[319] bhavati. <*te*>nāha: "<***naiva***>**saṁjñā**" yaduta kiṁcanasaṁjñā{*yā*} vā{*akiṁcanasaṁjñāyā vā*}akiṁcanasaṁjñā vā.[320]

3.28.3.8.2. (MS 118a3L; Sh 458, 7) [321]na ca punaḥ sarveṇa sarvaṁ {*sā*} asya[322] saṁjñā niruddhā bhavati, tadyathā āsaṁjñike vā[323] nirodhasamāpattau vā. nānyatra sūkṣmā sā saṁjñānimittālambane [324] pravartate. tenāha [325] :

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here. Tib. and Ch. do not support it either. Sh reads the phrase with the MS. See also note 316 below.

[316] The addition is grammatically required (see also beginning of passage 3.28.3.7.1. above) and is supported by Tib. and Ch. Sh makes a slight emendation to the MS and reads: यदुत[ऽऽ]कि°.

[317] Sh: *ākiṁcanyasaṁjñāyām.*

[318] Sh: *[a]kiṁcanasaṁjñāsamatikrāntā*. The emendation is not necessary. Cf. Tib. *ci yang gi 'du shes* and Ch. 有所有想.

[319] MS: *samatikrānto*. Sh: *samatikrāntā* (but without any emendation sigla or note). The MS reading is most probably a scribal error (cf. preceding *kiṁcanasaṁjñā samatikrāntā*).

[320] MS: *nāha saṁjñī yaduta kiñcanasaṁjñāyā vā akiñcanasaṁjñāyā vā akiñcanasaṁjñā vā*. Sh reads: *tenāha saṁjñī yaduta kiñcanasaṁjñāyā vā, akiñcanasaṁjñāyā vā, akiñcanasaṁjñā vā.* He emends only *tenāha* (but without any sigla or note) and reads the rest of the phrase with the MS. The MS is, however, clearly corrupt. My emendation above largely follows the Tib. version, which I think makes the most meaningful reading here. Another slightly different possibility would be to emend to: *tenāha "naivasaṁjñā" yaduta kiṁcanasaṁjñayā vākiṁcanasaṁjñayā vā {akiṁcanasaṁjñā vā}* (the instrumental would have to be construed as 'in the sense of [...]'). Ch. seems to suggest yet another reading: **tenāha na saṁjñī yaduta kiṁcanasaṁjñayā vākiṁcanasaṁjñayā vā.* [beginning of next gloss] *nāsaṁjñī*: *na ca punaḥ* [...] (Ch. 非有想 appears to stand for *na saṁjñī* not *naivasaṁjñā*, the latter being rendered as 非想; concerning *nāsaṁjñī*: *na ca punaḥ* [...], see note 321 below). This reading is, however, less likely since it would imply that the canonical compound *naivasaṁjñā* is not cited but paraphrased by *na saṁjñī*, a paraphrase which does not seem to be required grammatically or doctrinally. (It is true that extant Skt. MS contains *saṁjñī*, but the whole phrase here is full of scribal errors.) See also notes 321 and 326 below.

[321] Ch. 非無想 apparently reads at the beginning of this passage **nāsaṁjñī* (not *nāsaṁjñā* which is rendered by 非非想) as the antonym of *na saṁjñī* upon which it seems to gloss above. One could actually speculate that *akiñcanasaṁjñā vā* at (what I take to be) the end of the previous passage is a scribal mistake for this **nāsaṁjñī* or even for **nāsaṁjñā* (the latter being the canonical compound explained here). I think, however, that the former alternative (**nāsaṁjñī*) is quite unlikely because, as argued above, it is not probable that the Skt. original contained *na saṁjñī*. Therefore a gloss on its antonym would be out of place. Tib., too, does not support such a reading. As for the second alternative (**nāsaṁjñā*), this is not impossible, but neither would it be necessary since our Sanskrit text does not usually cite the canonical words or phrases at the beginning of its glosses. See also note 326 below.

[322] MS, Sh: *sāsya*. Tib. has no equivalent of *sā*. Besides, *sā* would not make sense here: all ideations are meant rather than a particular one.

[323] Sh: *tadyathā āsaṁjñi[ke]vā*. See also Skt. dipl. ed. and note.

[324] Sh spells: *saṁjñā nimittālambane*, but Tib. and Ch. clearly show that the intended meaning here is *saṁjñā ānimittālambane*. Cf. Engl. tr.

[325] Sh omits: *tenāha*.

"{*naivasaṁjñā*}**nāsaṁjñā**"[326].

3.28.3.8.3. (MS 118a3M; Sh 458, 11) evaṁ tadāyatanādhimuktaḥ sasāmantaka-maulam ākiṁcanyāyatanaṁ samatikramya naivasaṁjñānāsaṁjñāyatanasāmantakaṁ ca[327] yāvat prayoganiṣṭhān manasikārān prayoganiṣṭhāphalaṁ maulaṁ samāpadyate. tenāha: "**sarvaśa ākiṁcanyāyatana<*ṁ*>** [328] **samatikramya naivasaṁjñā-nāsaṁjñāyatanam upasampadya viharati**" iti.

3.28.3.9. (MS 118a4M; Sh 458, 16[329]**)** tatra dhyānasamāpattikāle adho Rasātalapraveśavat kāyasaṁprakhyānaliṅgam, ārūpyasamāpattikāle ākāś*o*tpatanavat [330]. tatra śamathākā*re*ṇādhyupekṣaṇāt[331] samyakprayogaḥ.

3.28.4.1. (MS 118a5L; Sh 458, 19; W 128, 20) tatra dve acittike samāpattī asaṁjñ*ā*(**Sh 459, 1**)samāpatti<*r*> [332] nirodhasamāpattiś ca. tatrāsaṁjñ*ā*samāpatti<*ṁ*>

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[326] MS, Sh: *naivasaṁjñānāsaṁjñā*. Ch. 非想非非想 also appears to support this reading. Tib., on the other hand, contains only the equivalent of *nāsaṁjñā*. One cannot rule out the possibility that the ŚrBh cited here the canonical compound *in toto*, i.e., *naivasaṁjñānāsaṁjñā*, but I think it is more likely that the original contained *nāsaṁjñā* only since the preceding gloss is dedicated *naivasaṁsjñā*. See also notes 320 and 321 above.

[327] Sh reads °*sāmantakasya* and omits *ca*.

[328] Emendation grammatically required. Cf. also the canonical formula in note 228 to Engl. tr. Sh: same emendation as above.

[329] Sh begins a paragraph here and continues into (what I consider to be) the next section. It thus appears that he considers this passage as belonging to the section on the two attainments without mental activity. Cf. also note 598 to Tib. ed. as well as note 233 to Engl. tr.

[330] MS, Sh: *ākāśātpatanavat*. But 'falling [/flying?] from the sky' would not make much sense. Tib. *la* construes the flying as taking place *in* the sky. Though rather different, Ch. also suggests that the act of 'flying' (or rather 'staying') happens *in* the sky. The most likely solution here is to emend to *ākāśotpatanavat* (i.e., *ākāśa+utpatanavat*).

[331] Sh: emends *śamathā*° to *śamatha*° and reads with the MS: °*kālenā*°. He thus construes the phrase as: *śamatha-kālena adhyupekṣaṇāt*. I follow Tib. *zhi gnas kyi rnam pas* and Ch. 由奢摩他相 which clearly suggest: *śamatha-ākāreṇa ādhyupekṣaṇāt*.

[332] MS: *asaṁjñasamāpatti*. The addition of *-r* is grammatically required. Sh also reads: *asaṁjñā(jñi)samāpattir* (without, however, any emendation sigla or note). W, too, has: *asaṁjñasamāpattir* (also without any emendation sigla or note). See note to Skt. dipl. ed.

As for MS *asaṁjña*°, this should be emended to: *asaṁjñā*° or *asaṁjñi*°. In the majority of Buddhist sources, the attainment of non-ideation is called *asaṁjñisamāpatti*. Less frequent, we find, however, *asaṁjñāsamāpatti*, which appears to be an alternative spelling. E.g., YoBh 68, 14-69, 1 (but also *asaṁjñisamāpatti* at YoBh 227, 5); SABh Schmithausen ed., 222, 10-11 (see also note 21); Mvyut Sakaki ed. # 1502, Csoma de Körös ed. § CCIV, # 10 (vol. 2, p. 287) (note that the same Mvyut Sakaki ed. # 1987 = Csoma de Körös ed. vol. 1, p. 110, § LXXVII, # 65, also contains the reading: *asaṁjñisamāpatti*). Emending to *asaṁjñi*°, as Sh suggests, is perfectly possible. Actually, in passage 3.28.1.2. above, the ŚrBh reads: *asaṁjñisamāpattiḥ*. However, adopting *asaṁjñā*° in our passage here better explains the scribal error: simply forgetting to add the long vowel mark.

We must also consider another possibility: here and in the next two occurrences in this passage, the ŚrBh MS reads *asaṁjñasamāpatti*, but at the end of this passage, we see *saṁjñāsamāpattiḥ* (to be emended to *asaṁjñāsamāpatti*). Could it be that *asaṁjñasamāpatti* was regarded as an acceptable alternative spelling? Sometimes, we meet with the form *asaṁjñasamāpattir* in other texts, too: e.g., PaVastu 8, 10. The latter, however, is more likely to be a scribal mistake (cf. Index of PaVastu, p. 29, which registers the compound as

[333] saṁjñāvimukhena manaskāreṇa pr̥thagjana eva samāpadyate, nirodhasamāpattiṁ punarārya eva. tatra dvābhyā<*ṁ*> [334] manaskārābhyām anayoḥ samāpattyoḥ samāpattipraveśo bhavati, tadyathā: saṁjñāvimukhena ca [335] manaskāreṇāsaṁjñ*ā*samāpatteḥ [336], naivasaṁjñānāsaṁjñoccalitenālambana-saṁniruddhena ca manaskāreṇa nirodhasamāpatteḥ.

3.28.4.2. (MS 118a6M; Sh 460, 1) tatra "saṁjñā rogaḥ, saṁjñā gaṇḍaḥ, saṁjñā śalyaḥ [337]; etac chāntam, etat praṇītam, yadutāsaṁjñikam" iti saṁjñāvimukhaṁ manaskāraṁ parigr̥hyotpannotpannāsu [338] saṁjñāsv [339] asmr̥tyamanasikār*a*<*m*> anucar*a*ti [340]. tasya bhāvanānvayāt prayogamārge sacittikāvasthā bhavati. samanantarasamāpannasya [341] ca punaś cittaṁ na pravartate – iti [342] *ya* [343] evaṁ

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asaṁjñāsamāpatti; the latter is actually the form adopted by von Simson in SWTF, s.v., fascicle 3, p. 199). It thus seems that the form *asaṁjña*° occasionally seen in the ŚrBh and PaVastu is too rare to be considered an alternative spelling.

[333] Emendation grammatically required. See also parallel construction below. Sh: *tatrāsaṁjñāsamāpatti[ṁ]* (without, however, emendation sigla or note for his reading °*asaṁjñā*° instead of MS °*asaṁjña*°). For the emendation of the MS *asaṁjña*° to *asaṁjñā*°, see note 332 above.

[334] Sh: *dvābhyāṁ* (without any emendation mark or note).

[335] Sh omits: *ca* (without any emendation mark or note).

[336] Sh: *manaskāreṇāsaṁjñā(jñi)*°. For this as well as MS *asaṁjña*° emended to *asaṁjñā*°, see note 332 above.

[337] Sh: *saṁjñāśalyaḥ (maṁ)*.

[338] Sh: °*pannāma*.

[339] Sh: *saṁjñā*° (omitting final *su*). See note 340 below.

[340] MS: *asmr̥tyamanasikārānucareti*. Sh: °*smr̥tyamanasikārānu(ramanu)careti(rati)*. Since Sh omits *sv* in *saṁjñāsv* (see above), he spells continuously: *saṁjñāsmr̥ty*°. This makes it difficult to say whether he construes the compound as *saṁjñā-asmr̥ty*° or as *saṁjñā-smr̥ty*°. The reading *asmr̥tyamanasikāra*<*m*> is guaranteed by Tib. *dran pa med pa dang | yid la byed pa med par byed pa* and Ch. 不念作意. The compound *asmr̥tyamanasikāra* is attested several times in the ŚrBh (MS 104a8R = Sh 395, 9; MS 105b1R (actually *smr̥tyamanasikāra*, but *avagraha* is to be supplied; MS rarely notes the *avagraha*) = Sh 395, 14; MS 104b3L = Sh 395, 23; and MS 104b4M = Sh 396, 8-9).

Concerning the verb, I emend the MS *anucareti* to *anucarati* (as Sh also does). The form *careti* of √*car* 'move' is employed in BHS (see BHSD vol. 1, p. 187, p. 211), but as far as I know, *anucareti* is not attested (cf. also Pali which has only *anucarati* and related forms but not *anucareti*; CPD, s.v.). Tib. *dran pa med pa dang | yid la byed pa med par byed pa*, however, suggests: **asmr̥tyamanasikāraṁ karoti* (cf. identical expression *asmr̥tyamanasikāraṁ karoti* at SamBh 176, 14, translated into Tib. as *dran par mi byed cing yid la mi byed par byed* , SamBh 343, 10-11). Ch. 精勤修習不念作意, on the other hand, seems to presuppose something like: **asmr̥tyamanasikāre yogaṁ karoti*.

[341] Sh: *samanaskārasamāpannasya*.

[342] MS, Sh do not treat the citation as an independent syntactic unit and apply corresponding *sandhi* rules: *pravartata iti*.

The function of *iti* here and in the following passage seems to be that of summing up the preceding process. If translated, it would sound something like: '[this process] thus (*iti*) [described]'. My usage of the dash tries to capture (imperfectly as it may be) this nuance. Tib. is rather inconsistent in that it apparently takes *iti* here in a causal sense (**iti hetoḥ*) but construes it as marker of a quote end in the next passage (though formally and semantically, the context is

niḥsaraṇasaṁjñāpūrvakeṇa manaskāreṇa Śubhakṛtsnavītarāgasya[344] Bṛhatphalebhyo <'>vītarāgasya[345] cittacaitasikānāṁ dharmāṇāṁ nirodhaḥ[346], iyam ucyate <'>saṁjñāsamāpattiḥ[347]. evaṁ ca punar asyāḥ prāptir bhavati.

3.28.4.3. (MS 118a8M; Sh 460, 11) tatra naivasaṁjñānāsaṁjñāyatanalābhy[348] āryaḥ pareṇa śāntena vihāreṇa vihartukāmo[349] naivasaṁjñānāsaṁjñāyatanāc cittam uccā{*l*}layati[350]. tac cittam uccālitam ālambanaṁ na labhate. alabhamānam, nirudhyate, na pravartate[351] — iti ya evam ākiṁcanyāyatanavītarāgasya śaikṣasyārhato vā vihārasaṁjñāpūrvakeṇa manaskāreṇa cittacaitasikānāṁ dharmāṇāṁ nirodhaḥ[352], iyam ucyate nirodhasamāpattiḥ[353]. evaṁ ca punar asyāḥ prāptir bhavati.

3.28.5.1. (MS 118b1R; Sh 460, 19; W 128, 26) tatra dhyānasaṁniśrayeṇa pañcānām abhijñānām abhinirhāro bhavati. kathaṁ ca punar bhavati? yathāpi tad dhyāyī lābhī[354] bhavati pariśuddhasya dhyānasya. sa tat pariśuddhaṁ dhyānaṁ niśritya yo <'>nenābhijñādhipat*e*yo[355] dharma<*ḥ*>[356] śruto bhavati, udgṛhītaḥ, paryavāptaḥ, **(Sh 461, 1)** yaduta ṛddhiviṣayaṁ vārabhya pūrvenivāsadivyaśrotracyutyupapāda-cetaḥparyāyaṁ vā, tam eva manasikurvan samāhitabhūmikena manaskāreṇārtha-pratisaṁvedī ca bhavati, dharmapratisaṁvedī ca. tasyārthapratisaṁvedino dharma{*ḥ*}pratisaṁvedinas[357] tathā{*s*} tathā[358] cittāny abhisaṁskurvato

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very similar). Ch. seems to ignore both occurrences of *iti*.

[343] MS, Sh: *sa*. Grammatically, *ya* makes a better reading, which is also supported by the parallel syntactic construction in the following passage as well as by Tib. *gang yin pa de ni* here and below.

[344] Sh: *śubhakṛtyavītarāgasya*.

[345] Sh does not note the omission of the *avagraha*. Though the *sandhi* does not change, the reading *bṛhatphalebhyo* <'>*vītarāgasya* (i.e., *avītarāgasya*) instead of *bṛhatphalebhyo vītarāgasya* makes an important difference. This is also supported by Tib. and Ch. Cf. also the parallel passage at AbhSam (10, 20): *śubhakṛtsnavītarāgasyoparya- vītarāgasya*. See also note 242 to Engl. tr..

[346] Sh reads with MS: *nirodha*, without any punctuation mark. See also note 352 below.

[347] MS: *saṁjñāsamāpattiḥ*. Sh: *[a]saṁjña(jñi)samāpattiḥ*. Supplying the negation is necessary and guaranteed by Tib. and Ch. See note to Skt. dipl. ed. as well as note 332 above.

[348] MS, Sh: °*lābhī*.

[349] MS, Sh.: °*kāmaḥ*.

[350] Sh: *uccālayati* (without any emendation mark or note).

[351] Sh applies continous *sandhi* and reads: *pravarttata* (without any emendation mark or note). I treat the occurrence here as zero *sandhi* at the end of a sentence and this may also have been the scribe's intention (see Skt. dipl. ed.).

[352] Sh reads with MS: *nirodha*, without any punctuation mark. See also note 346 above.

[353] MS, Sh read °*samāpattir* and do not use any punctuation mark.

[354] W omits *lābhī*.

[355] MS: *nenābhijñādhipataye*. Sh emends similarly: [अ]नेनाभिज्ञाधिपतये(पतेय[ः]) (but he does not apply regular *sandhi* rules at the beginning of the compound). W reads: '*nenābhijñādhipataye* (without any emendation mark or note). See note 253 to Engl. tr.

[356] Sh, W: same emendation as above.

[357] Sh: same emendation as above. W reads: *dharmapratisaṁvedinas* (without any emandation note or mark).

[358] Sh notes that this is 'a repetition, [which] may be deleted' (p. 461, n. 2). W reads: *tathā tathā* (without any note). The reading *tathā tathā* is guaranted by Tib. *de lta de ltar* as well as Ch. 如

bahulīkārānvayād bhavati[359] sa kālo[360] bhavati samayo yad asya bhāvanāphalā<*ḥ*>[361] pañcābhijñā utpadyante.

3.28.5.2.1. (MS 118b3R; Sh 462, 1; W 129, 10) api ca tathārthapratisaṁvedī[362] dharmapratisaṁvedī sarvābhijñānirhārāya[363] dvādaśa saṁjñā bhāvayati, tadyathā: laghusaṁjñā<*m*>[364], mṛdusaṁjñā<*m*>, ākāśadhātusaṁjñām, kāyacittasama<*va*>dhāna-saṁjñām[365], adhimuktisaṁjñām, pūrvānubhūtacaryānukramānusmṛtisaṁjñām, nānāprakāraśabdasaṁnipātanirghoṣasaṁjñām, avabhāsarūpanimittasaṁjñā<*m*>[366], kleśakṛtarūpavikārasaṁjñā<*m*>, vimokṣasaṁjñām[367], abhibhvāyatanasaṁjñā<*m*>[368], kṛtsnāyatanasaṁjñāṁ ca.

3.28.5.2.2. (MS 118b4R; Sh 462, 8) tatra laghusaṁjñā <*ya*>yā[369] laghukam ātmānam adhimucyate, tadyathā tūlapicur[370] vā, karpāsapicur[371] vā vāyumaṇḍalake

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是如是.

[359] MS, Sh, and W have *daṇḍa* here, but this obscures the meaning of the sentence. See Engl. tr.

[360] W: *sakālo*. This spelling would suggest a different sense from the original Skt., which is clearly supported by Tib. and Ch. Wayaman's English translation (p. 129, l, 8-9) construes, however, the sentence correctly.

[361] Sh: भाज(व)नाफ ला:(:) (the notation at the end of the compound is rather confusing). W reads with MS: *phalā*.

[362] Sh: *tasyā(sa tathā)rtha pratisaṁvedī.*

[363] W emends to: *sarvābhijñā(m) nirhārāya.*

[364] Here and below, Sh and W make emendations similar to the ones suggested above, but they spell with final *anusvāra* as they apply continous *sandhi* (Sh also employs *daṇḍa* or comma after most of these compounds).

[365] Emendation based on *samavadhānasaṁjñā* in passage 3.28.5.2.5. below. Sh, W: same emendation as above.

[366] The decipherment of the MS is difficult: *avabhāsa*° or *avadāsa*° (see note to Skt. dipl. ed.). Sh: *avadātarūpanimittasaṁjñāṁ* (without any emendation note or sigla). W: *avabhāsarūpa-nimittasaṁjñāṁ* (without any emendation note or sigla). The reading *avabhāsa*° is supported by Tib. and Ch. as well as by passage 3.28.5.2.9. below which describes this ideation in detail.

[367] MS appears to read: *adhimokṣasaṁjñām* (actually, °*saṁ jñā dhi mo kṣa*°) (see note to Skt. dipl. ed.). Sh has: *[a]dhimokṣasaṁjñām*. W similarly reads: *(a)dhimokṣasaṁjñām*. There is, however, little doubt that *vimokṣasaṁjñām* is the correct reading here since this ideation refers to the practice of the eight liberations (*aṣṭau vimokṣāḥ*) (see passage 3.28.5.2.11. below). The reading *vimokṣa*° is also guaranteed by Tib. *rnam par thar pa* and Ch. 解脱想.

[368] Sh: *amibhvāyatanasaṁjñām* (with no emendation note or sigla).

[369] MS: *laghusaṁjñayā*. Sh: *laghusaṁjñāyāṁ* (see note to Skt. dipl. ed.). Tib. suggests: *laghusaṁjñā <ya>yā*, a syntactic construction which is actually used in most of the parallel passages below (see 3.28.5.2.4., 3.28.5.2.5., etc.). Though precise syntactic correspondence between a Sanskrit text and its Chinese translation is more difficult to ascertain, Xuanzang's rendering points in the same direction as the Tib. It must be noticed, however, that the MS reading makes good sense as such. In the light of Tib. (and maybe Ch.?) as well as the passages below, I suggest the emendation above, but I do not exclude the possibility that the MS may reflect the original reading of the ŚrBh and that its authors and/or editors may have not intended a perfect uniformity in the wording of their descriptions of the twelve ideations.

[370] Sh: *tūlapindhur*. The word *pindhu* does not exist in Sanskrit. Unfortunately, it was adopted by YoBh-I, s.v. 妬羅綿 (whose Skt. equivalent is given as *tūla-pindhurva*); YoBh-D, s.v. *tūla-pindhurva* (sic) and *shing bal gyi 'da' ba* (whose Skt. equivalent is also given as *tūla-pindhurva*). See note 263 to Engl. tr.

{*vā*}[372]. sa tathādhimucyamāna<*ātmānaṁ tatra*> tatra[373] prerayaty ādhimokṣikeṇaiva manaskāreṇa, tadyathā mañcāt <*pīṭhe*> [374], pīṭhān mañce, evaṁ mañcāt <*tṛṇasaṁstarake*>[375], tṛṇasaṁstarakān mañce.

3.28.5.2.3. (MS 118b5R; Sh 462, 12) tatra mṛdusaṁjñā <*yayā*>[376] mṛdukaṁ kāyam adhimucyate, tadyathā kauśeyaṁ vā [377], kac{*c*}aṁ[378] vā, paṭṭaṁ[379] vā. itīyaṁ mṛdusaṁjñā{*yā*} [380] laghusaṁjñāyāḥ poṣikā anugrāh*i*kā [381] yayānugṛhyamāṇā laghusaṁjñā pṛthuvṛddhivai*pu*lyatāṁ[382] gacchati.

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[371] Sh: *karpāsapindhur.* This compound, too, was adopted by YoBh-I, s.v. 疊絮 (= *karpāsapindhurva*); YoBh-D, s.v. *karpāsapindhurva* and *ras bal gyi 'da' ba* (= *karpāsa-pindhurva*); and BCSD, s.v. 疊絮 (whose equivalent is recoreded as *karpāsapindhu*). See note 263 to Engl. tr.

[372] Sh reads with MS: *vāyumaṇḍalake vā.* Tib. and Ch. suggest: * *vāyumaṇḍalakaṁ vā.* The locative reading *vāyumaṇḍalake* is, however, grammatically possible and better agrees with the canonical parallels of this phrase (SN V 284, 1-2, SN V 443, 27-28, etc.: see note 259 to Engl. tr.). I therefore keep *vāyumaṇḍalake* but omit *vā* which makes no sense in this case.

[373] MS: *tathādhimucyamānaḥ tatra.* Sh: *tathā [a]dhimucyamānaḥ tatra.* The scribe seems to have made two haplographies. The addition of *ātmānaṁ* is supported by Tib. *bdag nyid kyi lus* and Ch. 其身. The extra *tatra* is supplied on the basis of Tib. *de dang de dag tu* and Ch. 於彼彼處. For *tatra tatra* used in the sense of 'hither and thither' or 'in all directions', see, for instance, Aṣṭa = AbhisamĀl 189, 19 (glossed upon at 190, 3-4) and 745, 18.

[374] Sh reads with the MS, which again has a haplography. The addition above is supported by Tib. and Ch.

[375] Sh reads with the MS, which again has a haplography. The addition above is supported by Tib. and Ch.

[376] Sh reads with the MS. My emendation is supported by Tib. The Chinese rendering, too, has a similar syntactic structure as in the parallel sentence in 3.28.5.2.2. above. See also the similar syntactic construction in passages 3.28.5.2.4., 3.28.5.2.5., etc. below. Cf. note 369 above.

[377] Sh seems to decipher: *kauśayam vā* and notes: 'the correct reading seems to be (*kauśeyaṁ vā*)' (p. 462, n. 2). See note to Skt. dipl. ed.

[378] Sh spells with the MS and adds: 'this seems to be a BHS form' (n. 3, p. 463). The usual BHS form is, however, *kaca* (cf. BHSD, BWDJ, s.v., both on the basis of Mvyut # 5870).

[379] Sh reads: *padgam*, adding in n. 3, p. 463: 'this seems to be a BHS form'. However, Shukla's decipeherment as **padgam* is quite uncertain (see note to Skt. dipl. ed.). Besides, **padgam* seems to be a 'ghost' word which is not attested in any source, primary or lexicographical (at least, none which I am aware of). Unfortunately, it was adopted as such in YoBh-I, s.v. 熟練; YoBh-D, s.vv. *padga* (Skt.) and *dar* (Tib.); and BCSD, s.v. 熟練.

Reading *paṭṭu* here is actually perfectly meaningful, needing no emendation and basically agreeing with Tib. and Ch. Another possible decipherment would be: *paṅga* (see note to Skt. dipl. ed.). This word does not exist either, but we may postulate (plausibly, I think) that the original word was **pṛṅgaṁ* 'figured silk' (see BHSD, s.v.) and that the scribe miscopied *pa* instead *pṛ*. This also makes good sense here, but it seems to me less probable than *paṭṭa* (see note 266 to Engl. tr.).

[380] Emendation based on grammatical reasons and supported by Tib. and Ch. Sh. reads with the MS.

[381] MS: *anugrāhakā.* Sh also suggests emendation to: *anugrāhikā.*

[382] MS: °*vaikalyatāṁ.* Sh: °*vaikalyatāṁ(vipulatāṁ).* Sh's emendation is semantically possible, but I prefer to stay closer to the MS and emend as above. The reading is also supported by the similar occurrence of *pṛthuvṛddhivaipulyatāṁ gacchati* at BoBh Wogihara ed. 110, 7 = Dutt ed.

3.28.5.2.4. (MS 118b6M; Sh 462, 17) tatrākāśadhātusaṁjñā yayā saṁjñayā laghutāṁ ca mṛdutāṁ cātmāno <'>dhimucyate[383]. sacet kvacid gantukāmo bhāvati, tatra yad antarāl*e*[384] vibandha*k*araṁ[385] rūp*a*gataṁ[386] gamanāya tad ākāśam adhimucyate ādhimokṣik*ena*[387] **(Sh 463, 1)** manaskāreṇa.

3.28.5.2.5. (MS 118b7M; Sh 463, 1) tatra cittakāyasamavadhānasaṁjñā yayā cittaṁ vā kāye samavadadhāti, kāyaṁ vā citte, yenāsya kāyo laghutaraś ca bhavati, mṛdutaraś ca karmaṇyataraś ca prabhāsvarataraś ca, cittānvayaś cittapratibandhaś cittaṁ niśritya vartate.

3.28.5.2.6.1. (MS 118b8M; Sh 463, 5) tatrādhimokṣasaṁjñā[388] yayā saṁjñayā dūragam āsanne[389] <'>dhimucyate[390], āsannaṁ dūre, aṇu sthūlaṁ, sthūlam aṇu, pṛthivī<*m*> āpaḥ, āpaḥ pṛthivī<*m*>[391], evam ekaikena mahābhūtenānyonyaṁ[392] karaṇīyaṁ vistareṇa. tathā nirmitaṁ cādhimucyate, rūpanirmitaṁ vā śabdanirmitaṁ vā.

77, 21 (the subject of the sentence being *kāyaprasrabdhiś cittaprasrabdhiḥ*, treated as singular; see also n. 1 in Wogihara ed.) and BoBh Wogihara ed. 110, 8-9 = Dutt ed. 77, 22 (the subject here being *jñānadarśanaṁ*).

[383] Sh: same emendation as above.

[384] MS, Sh: *antarālaṁ*. This is not an impossible reading, but Ch. 於中間 suggests: **antarāle*, which is a better solution here. The form *anatārale* is attested in various sources (e.g., AKBh 131, 13; 162, 9; AbhSamBh 49, 11; etc.).

[385] MS: *vibandhadharaṁ*. Sh: *vivindhacaraṁ*. Emendation supported by Tib. *bar chad byed pa* and Ch. 能爲障礙.

[386] MS, Sh: *rūpigataṁ*. The usual form is, however, *rūpagata*, and there is nothing in Tib. (**gzugs can*) or Ch. (*有色) to suggest *rūpigata*. On the other hand, *rūpagata* is well attested (see BHSD, s.v.), and both Tib. and Ch. support this form here.

[387] MS: *ādhimokṣikaṁ ca*. Sh: *ādhimokṣikaṁ(kena) ca*. Tib. suggests: **ādhimokṣikenaiva*, which is also a possibility. The phrase *ādhimokṣikeṇaiva manaskāreṇa* is actually seen in passage 3.28.5.2.2. above. The presence of *eva* is not, however, imperative here. I think that the emendation can be kept to a minimum and explained as follows: MS *kaṁ* was a mistake for *ke* and *ca* was miscopied instead of *na*. Sh also suggests *ādhimokṣikena*, but reads *ca* with the MS. Grammatically, *ca* is not required here.

[388] Sh: *adhimokṣikasaṁjñā*.

[389] Sh: *bhū(dū)ragamāsanne*. See note to Skt. dipl. ed.

[390] Sh: *[a]dhimucyate*.

[391] MS, Sh: *pṛthivī āpaḥ, āpaḥ pṛthivī*. Grammatically, the nouns should be in accusative here. Both Tib. and Ch. seem to presuppose the accusative. There are actually two parallel passages which support the emendation above: ŚruBh (Yaita ed. 519, 12): *pṛthvīm āpo 'dhimucyamānasya*; and BoBh (Wogihara ed. 60, 5-6 and 7-8 = Dutt ed. 42, 1 and 2-3): *pṛthivīm apo 'adhimucyate* [...] *apaḥ pṛthivīm adhimucyate*. One problem which arises if we adopt an accusative reading is whether *āpaḥ* should be kept as such (like in ŚrBh MS and ŚruBh) or should be emended to *apaḥ* (as in BoBh). The former form is possible even in classical Sanskrit, whether we construe *āpaḥ* as a noun in accusative, neuter, singular (see Wackernagel and Debrunner [1954] 1987, vol. II.2, p. 222) or take it as a nominative employed as accusative (see ibid., vol III, p. 240; cf. also p. 61), and is also attested in the ŚruBh. Keeping the ŚrBh MS form as such is therefore preferable. Finally, there is another solution for construing the sentence: one might presuppose that the MS reading with all nouns in the nominative, i.e., *pṛthivī āpaḥ, āpaḥ pṛthivī*, is a quotation of the ascetic's reflection, the *iti* being omitted in the surface structure. I think, however, that the latter alternative is less likely.

[392] Sh: *mahābhūtenā[']nyo[']nyaṁ*.

3.28.5.2.6.2. (MS 119a1L; Sh 463, 11) ity ābhiḥ pañcabhiḥ saṁjñābhir[393] bhāvan*ayā*[394] pariniṣpannābhir anekavidhaṁ ṛddhi<*vi*>ṣayaṁ[395] pratyanubhavati: eko bhūtvā bahudhātmānam upadarśayati, yadutādhimokṣikayā nairmāṇikayā saṁjñayā[396]; tatra bahudhā punar ātmānam upadarśay*itv*aikībhavati[397], yaduta nirmaṇāntardhāyikayādhimuktisaṁjñayā[398]; tiraḥkuḍyaṁ tiraḥśailaṁ[399] tiraḥprākāram asajja**(Sh 464, 1)**mānena kāyena gacchati {*yena gacchati*}[400]; pṛthivyām unmajja<*na*>nimajjanaṁ[401] karoti, tadyathodake; udake <'>bhidyamānena[402] srotasā[403] gacchati, tadyathā pṛthivyām; ākāśe paryaṅkenākrāmati[404], tadyathā pakṣī śakuni<*ḥ*>[405]; imau vā sūryācandramasāv[406] evaṁ mahar<*d*>dhikau[407] mahānubhāvau pāṇināmārṣṭi[408] par*i*mārṣṭi[409]; yāvad brahmalokāt kāyena vaśe vartayati.

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[393] Sh: *pañcasaṁjñābhiḥ.*

[394] MS: *bhāvanāyā*. Sh emends to: भवन(ा)या . Tib. and Ch. read as if translating two juxtaposed verbs (most probably past participles): * *bhāvitapariniṣpannābhir* or **bhāvitābhiḥ pari-niṣpannābhir*. Apart from the slight emendation above, the MS reading makes, however, good sense.

[395] MS, Sh: *ṛddhiṣayaṁ.*

[396] Sh: *nairmāṇikayā(kyā)saṁjñayā*. Sh's emendation is explained in note 1, page 463, where he conjectures on the basis of the DN, BoBh, etc. that the form *nairmāṇikī* (hence the instrumental *nairmāṇikayā*) is preferable. However, according to BHSD (s.v. *nairmāṇika*), both feminine forms *nairmāṇikā* and *nairmāṇikī* are possible. This makes Sh's emendation unnecessary.

[397] MS: *upadarśayeccaikī°*. Sh: *upadarśayanccai(yaṁcai)kī°*. It seems that we have a BHS gerund form (cf. BHSD vol. 1, p. 173ff). At some stage in the MS transmission, a scribe (ours or an early one) probably mistook the original *°tvai°* with the fairly similar *°ccai°*. Cf. the parallel passage on miraculous powers which reads here: *bhūtvaiko* (DaśBh Kondō ed. 56, 17; SaṅghBh 2.246, 17) or (with irregular *sandhi*) *bhūtvā eko* (Pañca 83, 9; SaṅghBh 2.247, 2; see also DaśBh Kondō ed. p. 56, n. 26 with *var. lec.*). See note 275 to Engl. tr. for more sources.

[398] Sh: ° *kayā [a]dhimuktisaṁjñayā.*

[399] Sh omits: *tiraḥśailaṁ.*

[400] Sh also mentions this scribal error (which most probably, represents a dittography of *kāyena gacchati*), but his notation is misleading. Sh's text reads: *kāyena gacchati | yena gacchati | (yena gacchati)* |, and the last occurrence is described as: 'a repetition, [which] may be deleted' (p. 464, n. 1). This, however, may leave the false impression that the MS reads the superfluous *yena gacchati* twice.

[401] MS, Sh: *unmajjanimajjanaṁ*. The form *unmajja* is also possible and is attested in Buddhist sources (see BWDJ, s.v., on the basis of the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*). However, the pair *unmajjana-nimajjana* (frequently appearing in a context like ours) is seen in a variety of texts: DaśBh Rahder ed. 35, 1 = Kondō ed. 57, 2; SaṅghBh 2.246, 19; MVyut # 222; etc.

[402] MS and Sh do not use *avagraha.*

[403] Sh: *srātasā.*

[404] Sh: पय[ं]°.

[405] Sh similarly has: *śakuni[ḥ].*

[406] In this compound, *sūrya* appears with long *ā* (which seems to be an archaism). Cf. SaṅghBh 2.246, 26, 247, 7 and 21; Pañca 84, 1. In DaśBh Kondō ed. 57, 5, and MVyut # 227, in which we see the words in the compound arranged in reverse order: *candra-sūryau* (see also Pali parallel passage at DN I 78, 8, which has: *candima-surye*).

[407] Sh reads with the MS.

[408] MS, Sh spell: *pāṇinā āmārṣṭi.*

laghumṛdvākāśadhātucittakāyasamavadhānasaṁjñāparigṛhītayādhimuktisaṁjñayā [410] sarvam etat karoti. yathāyogaṁ veditavyaṁ.

tatra dvividhā brahmalokasya kāyena vaśe vartanā[411]: gamanena ca vaśe vartayati, yatheṣṭyādhimuktyā [412] *ca* [413] brahmalokād adhaś caturṇāṁ [414] mahābhūtānāṁ [415] tadekatyasya copādāyarūpasya.

3.28.5.2.7. (MS 119a4L; Sh 464, 14) tatra pūrvānubhūtacaritānukramānusmṛtisaṁjñā yayā kumārakabhāvam upādāya—yatrāsya smṛtiḥ pravartate, na vyāhanyate—yatrāyaṁ gato bhavati, sthitaḥ, niṣaṇṇaḥ[416] **(Sh 465, 1)**, śayitaḥ, vistareṇa sarvāṁ pūrvānubhūtāṁ caryām {*audār*}audārikaudārikatayānuparipaṭikayā avyutkramaṇikayā[417] samanusmaran[418] saṁjānāti. tasyā bhāvanānvayād bhāvanāphalam[419] "anekavidhaṁ pūrvenivāsaṁ samanusmarati" yāvat "*sākāraṁ* [420] soddeśaṁ" [421]

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[409] MS: *paramārṣṭi.* Sh: पर[ा]°. My emendation is based on the parallel passages in DaśBh Rahder ed. 35, 9 = Kondō ed. 57, 6; SaṅghBh 2.246, 23; etc. Let us, however, note that MVyut # 227 reads: *pāṇinā parāmṛṣati parimārjayati.*

[410] Sh: °*samavadhānasaṁjñayā parigṛhītayā adhimuktisaṁjñayā* (without any emendation mark or note).

[411] The only source, primary or lexicographical, which attests to the existence of *vartanā* as a feminine noun is BDWD, s.v. The sense recorded here is, however, that of 方隅 'corner, spot' or 方所 'place, direction' (apparently on the basis of the AKVy, but I could not locate the term in the text). Although I have not been able to find the word with the same meaning in other sources, I have left *vartanā* as such as it may represent a BHS form, which is rather lax about grammatical genders (cf. BHSD, vol. 1, p. 39). On its meaning here, see note 278 to Engl. tr.

[412] Sh: *yathaivādhimuktyā.*

[413] MS, Sh: *vā*. This is semantically possible, but in view of the preceding *ca* (with which it is correlated) as well as of Tib. and Ch., *ca* appears more likely.

[414] Sh: *cartukāmatā.*

[415] Sh: *bhūtānāṁ.*

[416] Sh emends similarly: *niṣaṇṇuḥ(ṇṇaḥ)*. See note to Skt. dipl. ed.

[417] MS: *audāraudārikaudārikatayānuparivāṭikayā avyutkramanti | kayā.* Sh reads with the MS, suggesting only the emendation of what he takes to be the verb: *avyutkramanti(te)*. Here are the reasons for my emendations. I consider the first occurrence of *audār(a)* a dittography; *audārikaudārikatā* is supported by Tib. which repeats *rags pa. Anuparipāṭikayā* 'in regular order' is a BHS form (cf. classical Skt. form *anuparipāṭikrama* in MW, s.v.; cf. also *anuparipāṭī* in PW Nachträge, s.v.). In addition to the occurrences of *anuparipāṭikayā* at Avad 2.11, 1, and BoBh 92, 26, which are adduced by Edgerton (BHSD, s.v.), one can also mention the usage of the word at YoBh 38, 10. Concerning *avyutkramaṇikayā* 'in the manner [/way] of not skipping [/passing over] [any act]', I would regard it as a form derived from °*kramaṇa* in the same manner as *paripṛcchanikā* < *paripṛcchana* (see Wackernagel, Debrunner [1954] 1987, vol. II.2, p. 320, § 201b). Another possibility of emendation would be *avyutkrāntikayā*, which could be regarded as derived from *avyutkrānta* like *pradhāvitikā* < *pradhāvita* (see ibid.) (cf. also the form *vyutkrāntaka(-samāpatti)*, BHSD, s.v.). Tib. *thod rgal du ma gyur pa* seems to suggest: **avyutkrāntaṁ*, but Tib. construes the phrase slightly different from Skt. (see note 773 to Tib. ed.) Let us also note that both Tib. and Ch. semantically support my emendations, but matters of precise detail cannot be decided and minor differences in wording, probably determined by the style requirements of each language, do also exist.

[418] According to BHSD, s.v., *samanusmarati* is rare in Sanskrit but common in BHS.

[419] See note 281 to Engl. tr.

[420] MS, Sh: *saṁsāraṁ*. The reading is not meaningless (the recollection can extend 'up to the

vistareṇa.

3.28.5.2.8. (MS 119a5M; Sh 465, 6) tatra nānāprakāraśabdasaṁnipātanirghoṣa-saṁjñā: yasmin grāme vā, nigame vā, śreṇyāṁ vā, pūge vā, parṣadi vā, āyataviśāle vā gṛhe, avavarake vā, nānāprakārasya janakāyasya saṁniṣaṇṇasya saṁnipatitasya yo vyatimiśro vicitro nirghoṣo niścarati[422] (yaḥ kalakalaśabda ity ucyate), mahatyā vā nadyā vaha<*n*>tyā[423] nirghoṣaḥ, tatra nimittam udgṛhya yā saṁjñābhāvanā, yayā samāhitabhūmikena manasikāreṇāryānāryeṣu [424] śabdeṣu divyamānuṣyakeṣu dūrāntikeṣv ābhogaṁ *dh*ārayati[425]. tasyāś ca[426] bahulīkārānvayād bhāvanāphalaṁ divyaṁ śrotraṁ pratilabhate, yena divyamānuṣyakāñ[427] *śabdāñ*[428] śṛṇoti, ye <'>pi[429] dūre ye <'>py[430] antike.

3.28.5.2.9. (MS 119a7M; Sh 465, 18) tatrāvabhāsarūpanimittasaṁjñā pūrvavad ālokanimittam udgṛhya tad eva nimittaṁ manasikaroti. sa<*t*>tvavaicitryāc ca nimittam udgṛhya kuśalākuśalakarmakriyādibhedena tad eva nimittaṁ manasikaroti.[431] iyam avabhāsarūpanimittasaṁjñā[432].[433] tasyā bhāvanānvayād **(Sh 466, 1)** bhāvanāphalaṁ cyutyupapādajñānaṁ pratilabhate, yena "divyena cakṣuṣā viśuddhena" vistareṇa yāvat

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[whole] cycle of rebirths'), but *sākāraṁ* is supported by Tib. *rnam pa dang bcas*, Ch. 所有行相, and the canonical formula (e.g., DN 81, 23-24; SaṅghBh 2.249, 16, and all other sources listed in the note 282 to the Engl. tr.).

[421] This represents the citation of a canonical stock-phrase. See notes 282 and 283 to Engl. tr.

[422] Sh: *niścarita.*

[423] MS: *vahatyā*. Sh suggests similar emendation: *vaha[n]tyā.* The emendation is supported by Tib. *chu klung chen po 'bab pa'i sgra*. The Chinese translation is more developed (see Ch. ed.).

[424] Sh: *manasikāreṇāryā[']nāryeṣu.*

[425] MS, Sh: *vārayati*. MS *ābhogaṁ vārayati* 'chooses the [mental] focusing [lit., orientation]' is not excluded but, in my opinion, does not make the best reading. Ch. 採 in 聽採 suggests 'to collect, to select', but the rendering does not seem to be literal, and the character occurs in a binome in which 聽 conveys the basic meaning. In BHS, *vārayati* also means 'shares, hands out in turn (as gifts), distributes' (BHSD, s.v.). I am, however, sceptical about the possibility of using *ābhogaṁ vārayati* in a more abstract sense of 'distributes [i.e., directs] the [mental] focusing' (?). At least, I am not aware of such a usage attested in other sources. I think that the best solution is to conjecture a simple scribal mistake: *vā* instead of *dhā*. The two *akṣara*s are quite similar and very easy to confuse. There is little doubt that the reading here in our MS is *vā*, but it is very likely that it may represent an error (originating with our scribe or at an earlier stage). Emending to *ābhogaṁ dhārayati* makes much more sense and is also supported by Tib. *sems gtod par byed do* 'turns [/directs] [his] mind' (though we cannot determine with precision the form of the verb in the MS used by the Tibetan team).

[426] Sh. *tasyāsya*. See also note to Skt. dipl. ed.

[427] MS: *°mānuṣyakāṁ*. Sh: *°mānuṣyakāṁ[kān]*. The MS *-ṁ* is, most probably, an alternative spelling for *-ñ*. Cf. note 473 below.

[428] MS: *cchandāṁ*. Sh: *śabdāṁ[bdān].*

[429] Sh: same emendation as above.

[430] Sh: same emendation as above.

[431] Sh omits the whole sentence (from *sa<t>tvavaicitryāc* to *manasikaroti*).

[432] Tib. and Ch. suggest: **ucyate.*

[433] Tib. contains a relative construction which would suggest something like: *°yālokanimittaṁ* [...] *manasikaroti, sattvavaicitryāc ca* [...] *mansikaroti, iyam* [...]. The extant Skt. original makes, however, perfect sense as it stands, and does not need emendation.

"kāyasya bhedāt sugatau[434] svargaloke deveṣūpapadyante"[435].

3.28.5.2.10. (MS 119b1M; Sh 466, 3) tatra kleśakṛtarūpavikārasaṁjñā yayā raktadviṣṭamūḍhānāṁ krodhopanāhamrakṣaparidāhamāyāśā{*ṭ*}ṭhyāhrīkyānapatrāpyakleśopakleśaparyavanaddhacittānāṁ [436] sattvānāṁ rūpāvasth*ā*m [437] upalakṣayati, paricchinatti [438]. evaṁrūpā raktasya rūpāvasthā bhavati, rūpavikṛtiḥ, tadyathoddhatendriyatā [439], unnatendriyatā [440], smitamukhatā. evaṁrūpā dviṣṭasya rūpāvasthā bhavati, rūpavikṛtiḥ, tadyathā mukhavivarṇatā, sagadgadasvaratā, kṛtabhṛkuṭitā. evaṁrūpā mūḍhasya *rūpā*vasthā [441] bhavati, rūpavikṛtiḥ, tadyathā mūkatārthanidhyaptāv [442] apratipadyanatā [443], prākṛta{*prākṛtā*}vāgvyāhāratā [444]. ity ebhir ākārair evaṁbhāgīyair yāvad āhrīkyānapatrāpyaparya(**Sh 467, 1**)vasthitasya yā rūpāvasthā bhavati, rūpavikṛtiḥ, tato nimittam udgṛhya manasikaroti. ta*syā* [445] bahulīkārānvayād bhāvanāphalaṁ cetaḥparyāyajñānam utpadyate, yena parasattvānāṁ parapudgalānāṁ vitarkitaṁ vic*ā*ritaṁ[446] mano manasā yathābhūtaṁ prajānāti.

3.28.5.2.11. (MS 119b4L; Sh 467, 6) tatra vimokṣābhibhvāyatanakṛtsnāyatanasaṁjñābhāvanā (pūrvavad veditavyā, tadyathā ***Samāhitāyāṁ bhūmau***) yayā bhāvanayā āryām[447] ṛddhim abhinirharati, vastupariṇāminīṁ[448] nair*mā*ṇikīm[449] ādhimokṣikīṁ, tadyathāraṇā[450], praṇidhijñānam, catasraḥ pratisamvidaḥ, tadyathā dharmapratisaṁvit,

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[434] Sh: *svargatau*. See also note to Skt. dipl. ed.

[435] Sh: देवेषूपपद्यन्ते(ते). The canonical formula reads *deveṣūpapadyante*. See note 289 to Engl. tr.

[436] Sh reads °*pra[yu]kta*° instead of °*mrakṣa*° (Sh notes: 'syllable damaged by pin-hold' (p. 466, n. 2); see also note to Skt. dipl. ed.). Sh writes the following word as: परिदाह[ा]. Sh's emendation became necessary because he omitts the next two words: °*māyāśāṭṭhyā*°.

[437] MS: *rūpāvastham*. Sh: same emendation as above.

[438] MS: *parichinatti*. Sh: *pari[c]chinatti*. I also apply regular *sandhi*, but the MS reading may represent a variant BHS spelling rather than a mistake. Cf. *parichinatti* recorded in BHSD, s.v. (though only in the sense of 'reaps').

[439] MS (followed as such by Sh): *tadyathā uddha*°, probably applying BHS hiatus *sandhi* (for this phonetic phenomenon, BHSD, vol. 1, p. 35).

[440] Sh omits: *unnatendriyatā*.

[441] MS, Sh: *paryavasthā*. There is, however, no reason to change the pattern of this sentence, which in all other respects is parallel with the two sentences above. Tib. and Ch. corroborate this parallelism.

[442] MS (followed as such by Sh) spell: *mūkatā artha*° probably applying BHS hiatus *sandhi*.

[443] Sh: *apratipadyanatā(danatā)*.

[444] MS: *prākṛtāprākṛtā*°. The emendation above is supported by Tib. and Ch. Sh reads: *prākṛtā[']prākṛtā vā vāgvyāhāratā*.

[445] MS, Sh: *tadyathā*. Tib. *de la* and Ch. 於此 as well as passages 3.28.5.2.7. and 3.28.5.2.9. above support the emendation above. An alternative would be to suppose that we have here *tasyāś ca* as in passage 3.28.5.2.8. above. I think, however, that the emendation suggested above is more likely.

[446] MS: *vicaritaṁ*. Sh: same emendation as above.

[447] Sh: आया[ॅ]°.

[448] Sh: *vastupariṇāminī[ṁ]*.

[449] MS: *nairyāṇikīm*. Emendation supported by Tib. and Ch. Sh also reads: *nairmāṇikīm* (without, however, any emendation note or mark). See also note to Skt. dipl. ed.

[450] MS and Sh apply hiatus *sandhi*: *tadyathā araṇā*°. For this part of the sentence, see note 300 to Engl. tr.

arthapratisaṁvit, niruktipratisaṁvit, pratibhānapratisaṁvit[451].

3.28.5.3. (MS 119b5L; Sh 468, 1; W 129, 26) tatrāryāyāś cānāryāyāś ca[452] ṛddher ayaṁ viśeṣaḥ: āryayā ṛddhyā yad yad eva vastu pariṇāmayati, yad yad eva nirmitaṁ[453] nirmiṇoti, < *yad yad evādhimucyate,*>[454] tat tathaiva[455] bhavati, nānyathā. sarveṇa ca[456] tena kāryaṁ śakyate kartum. anāryayā {*na*}[457] punar na tathaiva[458] bhavati, api tu[459] māyākārakasy*eva*[460] saṁdarśanamātrakaṁ khyāti **(end of fragment edited by W)**. evam ābhir dvādaśabhiḥ saṁjñābhir bahulīkārānvayād yathāyogaṁ[461] pañcānām abhijñānām āryāṇāṁ ca guṇānām apṛthagjanas*ā*dhāraṇānāṁ[462] yathāyogam abhinirhāro veditavyaḥ.

3.28.6.1. (MS 119b6M; Sh 468, 10) tatra prathame dhyāne mṛdumadhyādhimātra{*pari*}bhāvite{*na*}[463] yathāyogaṁ Brahmakāyikānāṁ, Brahma-

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[451] MS and Sh apply continous *sandhi.*

[452] Sh omits: °*ś ca.*

[453] Sh: *nimittaṁ.*

[454] The addition is based on Tib. *gang dang gang la mos par mdzad pa* and Ch. 隨所勝解. W also suggests an addition which he tentatively reconstructs (on the basis of Tib.) as: *yatra yatra evādhimucyate.* Sh reads with the MS but mentions W's addition in a footnote (p. 468, n. 1). It is true that *gang dang gang la* alone can be reconstructed as *yatra yatra* (cf. TSD, s.v., on the basis of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*), but the object of *mos pa byed pa/mdzad pa* requires *la* (see passages 3.28.2.1.3. and 3.28.5.2.6.1., in which the direct objects of *adhimucyate* are rendered into Tib. as noun + *la mos par byed*). Skt. **yad yad eva* also has the advantage of being identical with the two preceding constructions.

[455] W: *tac caiva.* See also note in Skt. dipl. ed.

[456] Sh omits: *ca.*

[457] Sh reads with the MS. W is aware of this superfluous *na*, noting within square brackets: 'MS now has *na*'.

[458] W: *tac caiva.* Sh (p. 468, n. 2) records Wayman's reading but makes no comment upon it. See also note in Skt. dipl. ed.

[459] Sh and W spell and punctuate with the MS: *bhavaty api tu* |.

[460] MS, Sh, W: *māyākārakasyaiva.* Tib. *bzhin du* and Ch. 猶如 suggest the *māyākārakasyeva* (*māyākārakasya* + *iva*), which is a preferable reading.

[461] Sh: *yathāyogaṁ sa.*

[462] MS, Sh.: °*sandhāraṇānāṁ.* Emendation based on Tib. *so so skye bo dang thun mong ma yin pa* and Ch. 不共異生.

[463] Sh reads with the MS. In view of all parallel constructions in passages 3.28.6.2. to 3.28.6.5. as well as Tib. and Ch., which translate the same here and below, emending to a locative is preferable. Let us also note that MS *paribhāvitena* is different from the parallel constructions below which have *bhāvite* (passages 3.28.6.2. to 3.28.6.5.) or *bhāvitāyām* (passage 3.28.6.6.). Tib. and Ch. translate our passage and all passages below consistently with the same *bsgoms* and 修習 respectively. Semantically, *paribhāvita* is not excluded (cf. BHSD, s.v., meaning 'made to be completely pervaded'; PED, s.v., one of its senses being 'practised'). In a similarly worded passage describing the *rūpadhātu*, YoBh 75, 15-76, 7, consistently uses *paribhāvita* in all occurrences. However, *paribhāvita* is usually rendered into Tib. as *yongs su bsgoms pa*, and this is also the Tibetan translation used in the passage equivalent of YoBh 75, 15-76, 7 (D Chi 38b5ff). The Tib. rendering of the BoBh also renders similarly (see BoBh Wogihara ed. 368, 3-4 = Tib. D Wi 190a2). For uniformity's sake, I emend as above, but it is not excluded that the original text may have contained here °*paribhāvite.*

purohitānām, Mahābrahmaṇāṁ <*ca*>[464] devānāṁ sabhāgatāyām upasaṁpadyate.

3.28.6.2. (MS 119b7L; Sh 468, 12) dvitīye dhyāne mṛdumadhyādhimātr*a*bhāvite [465] yathāyogaṁ Parīttābhānām, <*Apramāṇābhānām,*>[466] Ābhāsvarāṇāṁ ca devānāṁ sabhāgatāyām upasaṁpadyate.

3.28.6.3. (MS 119b7M; Sh 468, 14) tṛtīye dhyāne mṛdumadhyādhimātrabhāvite yathāyogaṁ Parīttaśubhānā{*ṁ*}m, Apramāṇaśubhānām [467], Śubhakṛtsnānāṁ [468] ca devānāṁ sabhāgatāyām upasaṁpadyate.

3.28.6.4. (MS 119b7R; Sh 468, 17) caturthe dhyāne mṛdumadhyādhimātrabhāvite yathāyogam Anabhrakānām, Puṇyaprasavānām, Bṛhatphalānāṁ ca devānāṁ sabhāgatāyām upasaṁpadyate. sacet[469] punar anāgāmy anāsraveṇa[470] dhyānena caturthena sāsravaṁ vyavakīrṇaṁ **(Sh 469, 1)** bhāvayati, tasmin [471] mṛdumadhyādhimātrādhimātratarādhimātratamabhāvite yathāyogaṁ pañcānāṁ Śuddhāvāsānāṁ devānāṁ sa{*ha*}bhāgatāyām[472] upasaṁpadyate, tadyathā Avṛheṣu[473],[474] Atapeṣu[475], Sudṛśeṣu[476], Sudarśaneṣu, Akaniṣṭheṣu.

3.28.6.5. (MS 120a2L; Sh 469, 5) ākāśavijñānākiṁcanya-naivasaṁjñānāsaṁjñāyatane mṛdumadhyādhimātrabhāvita [477] ākāśavijñānākiṁcanya-naivasaṁjñānāsaṁjñ*ā*yatanopagānāṁ [478] devānāṁ sabhāgatāyām upasaṁpadyate.

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[464] Sh reads with the MS. Emendation based on Tib. and parallel constructions below.

[465] MS: °*mātre*°. Sh reads °*mātra*° but has no emendation mark or note.

[466] Sh reads with the MS, omitting: *Apramāṇābhānām*. The original Skt. no doubt contained all the three Heavens (known from other Buddhist sources as well—see note 308 to Engl. tr.) which should correspond to the three degress of intensity, i.e. *mṛdumadhyādhimātrabhāvite*. The addition is also supported by Tib. *Tshad-med-'od dang* and Ch. 無量光天.

[467] MS: *parīttaśubhānāṁm apramāṇaśubhānāṁ*. Sh: *parīttaśubhānāṁ, sapramāṇaśubhānāṁ*. See also note to Skt. dipl. ed.

[468] Sh: *śubhakṛtyānāṁ*.

[469] Sh spells: *sa ce*°.

[470] MS, followed by Sh, seems to apply hiatus *sandhi*: *anāgāmī anāsraveṇa*.

[471] MS: *tasmiṁ*. Sh: *tasmiṁ(smin)*. The MS *-ṁ* probably represent an orthographic alternative for *-n* before a nasal. Cf. note 427 above.

[472] Sh also emends: *sa(ha)bhāgatāyām*.

[473] Or: *abṛheṣu*. Since *vṛ* and *bṛ* are virtually indistinguishable, and both readings *avṛha* and *abṛha* are recorded spelling variants (see BHSD, s.v.), it is nearly impossible to take a definitive decision. AKBh (111, 24) and BoBh (Wogihara ed. 62, 5-6) seem to prefer *abṛha* (as far as we can judge from their modern editions and provided that decipherment is correct or, rather, possible at all!). Sh reads: *adahe(hre)ṣv*. On the name of this Heaven, see note 313 to Engl. tr.

[474] MS spells: *tadyathā avṛheṣv*. Sh has: *tadyathā adahe(hre)ṣv*. I deliberately depart here from regular *sandhi* (which would have required: *tadyathāvṛheṣu*) in order to keep the capitalisation of the proper nouns uniform for all the Heavens listed here.

[475] Sh: °त[ा]°.

[476] Sh omits: *sudṛśeṣu*.

[477] MS and Sh read: °*bhāvite*, a spelling which probably reflects a BHS hiatus *sandhi*. Also note that in MS there is a half-*daṇḍa* after the word.

[478] MS: °*saṁjñoyatanopagānāṁ*. Sh reads (without any emendation mark or note): °*saṁjñāyatanopagānāṁ*. See note to Skt. dipl. ed. The form *-upaga* is distinctly BHS (see BHSD, s.vv. *upaga* and *upaka*).

arūpiṇaś ca <*te*>[479] devāḥ, tasmāt teṣāṁ sthānāntarakṛto bhedo nāsti, vihārakṛtas tu viśeṣo bhavati.

3.28.6.6. (MS 120a3L; Sh 469, 9) asaṁjñisamāpattyāṁ bhāvitāyām asaṁjñisattvānāṁ devānāṁ sabhāgatāyām upasaṁpadyate.

3.28.7. (MS 120a3M; Sh 469, 12) tatra katamāni vītarāgasya liṅgāni? āha: sthirakāyakarmānto bhavati, acalendriyaḥ, na cāsyeryāpatha āśu paryādīyate. ekenāpīryāpathena ciraṁ kālam atināmayati, aparitasyamānaḥ, na cāśv[480] īryā<*pathā*>ntaraṁ[481] spṛhayati. mandabhāṇī ca bhavati, praśāntabhāṇī ca, na[482] saṅgaṇikārāmaḥ, na saṁsargārāmaḥ, dhīrā cāsya vāk[483] pravartate. cakṣuṣā rūpāṇi dṛṣṭvā rūpapratisaṁvedī bhavati, na rūparāgapratisaṁvedī. evaṁ śabdagandharasaspraṣṭavyapratisaṁvedī bhavati, no tu **(Sh 470, 1)** yāvat spraṣṭavyarāgapratisaṁvedī. viśāradaś ca bhavati, gambhīrabuddhiḥ, vipulapraśrabdhicittakāyopagūḍhaḥ, anabhidhyāluḥ, avikṣobhyaḥ, kṣamāvān, na cāsya kāmavitarkādayaḥ pāpakāś cittaṁ kṣobhayanti. ity evaṁbhāgīyāni vītarāgaliṅgāni veditavyāni[484].

ity ayaṁ tāval laukikamārgagamanasya vibhāgaḥ.

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[479] Sh reads with MS. It is true that the sentence makes sense even without *te*, but Tib. *lha de dag* and Ch. 彼諸天 suggest its presence, which is stylistically preferable.

[480] MS reading is not clear here: *na aśu* (?) (see note to Skt. dipl. ed.). Sh reads: *na tāśu(su)*. Tib. *myur du* [...] *mi* [...] *dang* clearly suggests: *na cāśu*.

[481] MS, Sh: *īryāntaraṁ*. The usage of *īryā* (or *iryā*) alone is also attested (see BHSD, s.v.), but *īryāpatha* is more frequent and supported here by Tib. *spyod lam* (cf. TSD, s.v., which gives *īryāpatha* as the only equivalent for *spyod lam*).

[482] Sh: च[।]न.

[483] Sh also corrects MS *sandhi* to: *vāg(k)*.

[484] Sh spells with the MS: *veditavyānīty*, without separating the sentences.